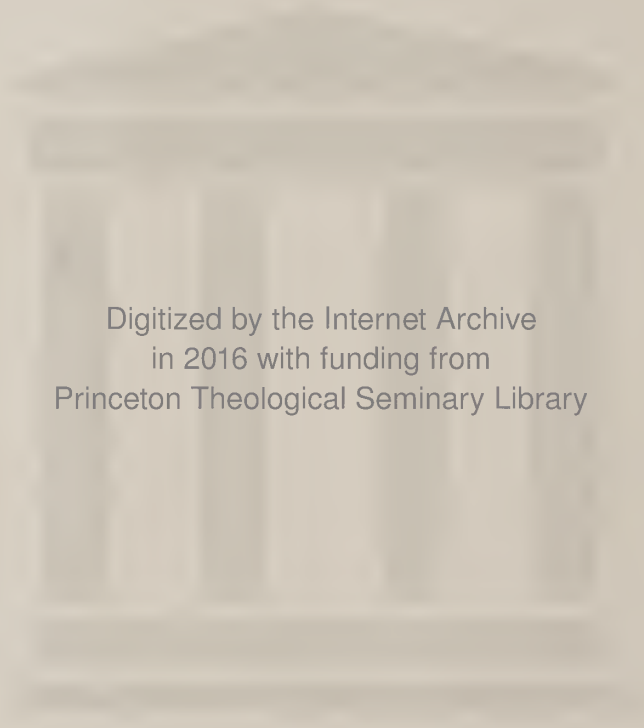

THE

BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

APRIL, 1834.

No. II.

James Carnahan

ART. I.—*An Address delivered before the Alumni Association of Nassau Hall, on the day of the Annual Commencement of the College, Sept.* 25, 1833, by John Sergeant, LL. D.

THE day which closes the college life of a young man, is highly interesting, not only to the individual, but also to his friends and to his country.

Having finished his preparatory studies, he is ready to select a profession or occupation for life. Released from the inspection and control of teachers, he is henceforth to follow, in a great measure, his own guidance.

On such occasions, the most heedless can hardly exclude from their minds serious reflections respecting the past, and painful solicitude respecting the future. At this moment, whatever directions, or warnings, or encouragements may be given, by men of distinguished talents and virtues, cannot fail to make a deep and salutary impression on the youth anxious to know which way to direct his steps. On this account we cannot too highly commend the custom which prevails of having addresses delivered on the anniversaries of our literary institutions, by men eminent in civil and professional life. When the subject is well chosen and when the speaker is adequate to the task which he has undertaken, the most happy results may be safely anti-

cipated. Not only the youth, who are going forth into active and public life may be benefitted, but the mind of the community may be enlightened respecting the nature and importance of education. It gives an interest to these anniversaries which they could not otherwise profess. Men of intelligence and influence, who would not leave their business and homes to witness the first public efforts of the graduating class, will be induced, on these occasions, to meet each other, to renew their early friendships, to cheer and encourage each other in advancing the cause of literature and science.

By a mutual interchange of sentiments, as well as by the public addresses delivered, new light will be thrown on the nature and importance of education. Old and established errors will be overthrown, and the numerous schemes of education every year promulgated will be examined and approved so far as they are worthy of commendation, and condemned and rejected when destructive of intellectual and moral improvement. There is no subject on which experiments are more dangerous, and if unsuccessful, more fatal, than education. The youth, on whom abortive experiments are made, are lost to the community, and not unfrequently extend the errors which prevented the full developement of their own powers to others; so that the evils resulting from a false scheme of education involve many far remote from the first individuals concerned.

On this subject very little confidence can be placed in mere theory, however plausible it may appear. A system of education which in time past has produced distinguished and useful men, ought not to be hastily abandoned, in order to adopt others not proved by experience.

We are very far from intimating that we have reached the acme of perfection in the art of intellectual and moral discipline; so that no changes should be admitted in the course pursued by our forefathers. Our meaning is, that such changes ought to be made with caution, because when the season of youth is past, the loss sustained by a wrong course of training can seldom be repaired.

On this subject the opinions of men of acknowledged professional eminence and moral worth ought to have great weight. If they recommend a course of education different from that which was employed in their own early training, we should conclude that they wish to warn others of the errors into which they have fallen. On the other hand, if they have found no inconvenience, but great advantage arising from their early studies, we should pay great deference to their opinions. In either case their testimony should be considered as the honest conclusion of

men desirous to promote the improvement of the rising generation.

The address to which we have referred contains views of the nature and importance of a collegiate education so just, that we are desirous to aid in causing them to be more generally known. And it is the presumption, that many of our readers will not have the opportunity of seeing the address, that induces us to make liberal extracts, believing that we cannot better subserve the cause of education than by presenting the views of the author in his own words.

After an appropriate introduction derived from the occasion on which the Alumni of the College were assembled, and noticing the interesting scenes which such an occasion recalls to the memory of such as revisit the place of their early studies, the author inquires why all students do not receive the same literary distinctions during their college course? And he very justly remarks that in many cases the student is not to be blamed, because he does not occupy the first place as a scholar in his class. Causes beyond his control not unfrequently prevent his making attainments equal to others, not more deserving. Among these causes a prominent place is very justly assigned to the want of suitable preparatory instruction, and to the folly of parents in urging the admission of their sons into a class for which they are not prepared. After mentioning a less advanced state of the intellectual faculties, accidental disturbance in study, temporary loss of health, as causes of literary and scientific deficiency during the College course, the author adds the following appropriate remarks:

"It happens, too, and deserves to be especially remarked, for the consideration of parents, and of all who are charged with the care of the instruction of youth, that a failure in the competition for the highest honors of the College, is owing sometimes to defect in preparatory education. If *that* has been defective and insufficient, there is a want of strength for the trials of the collegiate course, which can only be supplied by uncommon abilities or extraordinary application. Very often, however, this sense of comparative weakness developed in the exercises of the College, becomes a discouragement to exertion, and the young aspirant yielding to what seems to be an invincible obstacle in the path of a just ambition, abandons himself to indolent despair, and sinks below the level he might really have attained without any very undue effort. Of the permanent ill effects of such despondency, which every day becomes deeper, as its consequences are more and more felt, until it settles into a permanent feeling of self-abasement;—of the probability or even the possibility, that it may enfeeble the character for life, disappointing and destroy-

ing the hopes of friends, and turning to naught the time, the labour and the expense bestowed for his improvement, it is needless to speak. Let us hope that they seldom occur, at least to the whole extent that has been suggested. That they *may* occur, in any degree, even though it be far short of the measure of calamity, supposed to be possible, is one among many arguments that might be urged to enforce the duty of parents and guardians who are entrusted with the care of children. They cannot be too often, nor too anxiously reminded, that upon this point the responsibility is theirs. The examinations for admission into College will, to be sure, exclude the cases of plain deficiency—though not even then, without encountering resistance and complaint;—but that fulness of preparation, which will give confidence and strength, and enable the student to apply himself to his task, with all the power at command which ought to be brought to it, depends upon years of previous careful instruction and discipline—nay, it depends upon every moment of those years, and hence the indispensable necessity there is, and the high obligation resulting from it, that every moment shall have been well employed, under the direction of able and conscientious teachers.

"It is a mistake to suppose that this portion of education may be committed to feeble and incompetent hands—that it may be negligently conducted without much injury—and that all its omissions and defects are to be made up and supplied during the few years that are passed in College. This is what a College does not profess to do. It is what a College cannot do. Its professors, however learned, cannot bring back the time that has gone by, nor cause the work to be done, which that time was allotted for performing. If it were allowable at present to dwell longer upon this subject, it might be added with unquestionable truth, that the examinations for admission into College ought to be considered as the disinterested judgment of enlightened and competent men upon the progress that has been made. There can be no motive for unreasonable strictness. The bias, if any there be, must he on the other side. There is great danger, indeed, that the motives for undue laxity will be too much increased, since institutions professing to teach the higher branches have become so multiplied in our country; some of them struggling for a precarious existence, with the fear of poverty always before their eyes. But if in the faithful discharge of their duty as examiners for admission into College, professors are obliged to make known to parents, that their children are not qualified, however unwelcome such a communication may be, parents, if considerate, will receive it as information given to them for their own benefit, and instead of complaining, or seeking to evade its effects by appealing to a more liberal tribunal, or a more indulgent interpretation, will profit by it, for the benefit of their offspring, by sending them to places of instruction, where their defects can be supplied. A little more time may qualify them to enjoy the advantages of College. What will they be profited by entering College, if they be not so qualified? At best, they can reap but a barren honour.

And this is not all. If, when their course is finished, they are found to be deficient in the proper requirements belonging to a collegiate education, they are degraded in the estimation of others, as wanting in capacity or industry to profit by the opportunity they have enjoyed. What seemed to be an advantage, thus becomes in effect, a most serious injury. The whole matter may be thus summed up. The work is in fact but one. The preparatory education is the ground-work. The collegiate education is the structure raised upon it. If the former be wanting, the latter has nothing to rest upon. If the one be defective or unsound, the other will be imperfect and insecure. Should it become necessary in any given case to decide which of these shall be dispensed with, (both being unattainable,) there can be no hesitation whatever in making the decision. An attempt to build without a foundation is too obviously absurd to require to be insisted upon, and any scheme, however plausible, which professes to accomplish such an end, must inevitably originate in ignorance or imposture.

"A College may perhaps be so organized as to do the work of a Grammar School, and then it ought to be considered as a Grammar School, and nothing more; but if it undertake to do the proper work of a College, without the aid of suitable preparatory instruction, it will graduate pupils who, with their Bachelor's diploma in their hands, could not be received into the lowest form of a conscientious and well arranged institution, without a violation of its statutes, and, (if it be not a contradiction to say so,) an egregious imposition upon their parents.

"Long as this digression has already been, it is impossible to leave it, without an additional remark. After what has been said, very little reflection is necessary to enable any one to perceive, how important a place in the work of education is occupied by what have been denominated preparatory schools, by which of course are understood to be meant those schools where pupils spend some of the years which precede their being presented for admission into College. Yet, it is more than doubtful whether their value is justly appreciated; or those who labour in them as teachers, are in general estimated as they ought to be. The name may have some influence. They are denominated Schools, which at the same time that it places them in the relation of inferiority to Universities and Colleges, seems to confound them with the greater part of the class designated by the same term, and occupied only with the instruction of children. They are affected too by the fact, that their pupils, when received into them are really children, and a large portion must always be actually of that description. But while to those who take a careless or superficial view, it has thus the appearance of a children's school, it will be found to embrace a portion of life when the developement of the faculties is more rapid, and the transition greater, than at any other period whatever. Compare a boy, for example, of ten years of age, entering upon a course of discipline like that we have been

speaking of, with the youth of fourteen or fifteen who has passed through it. What a difference there is in his moral and intellectual power! How much may have been determined for his future character and habits! His success in College, as we have already seen, may depend upon it, and the character and the self-respect with which he enters upon the larger scene of life may be influenced materially by that success. Nor must it be forgotten that the entrance into College is the period when the first considerable change of discipline takes place. The pupil is no longer to be so much in the presence of his teacher, nor under his immediate personal inspection and control. He is to he left more to his own government, rendering an account of his conduct, at stated periods, by the ability he manifests to perform his tasks in the recitation room. For this change too, he is to be prepared. A most serious one it unquestionably must be, since it commits to him at once the direction of so large a portion of his own employment, and requires him to make the first serious essay, (which through all his life long, he will be obliged to repeat, if he mean to be a rational creature,) of his capacity to sacrifice present inclination for the attainment of future advantage—to make his appetites and his passions yield to his sense of duty.

"Enough, it is hoped, has been said to give some faint and imperfect notion of the nature of the charge which devolves upon *him* who undertakes to conduct this portion of preparatory education. In proportion as it is arduous and important, ought the teacher who faithfully acquits himself of it, to be treated with respect and consideration—not for his own sake merely, and as due in justice to honest and valuable services of a very high order—but for the sake of society, for the sake of parents, for the support and advancement of the great interests of morality and learning. All are deeply concerned, and there is little hazard in asserting that the finishing department of education can never be what it ought to be, unless the department where so large a part of the substance and body of the work is prepared, be sustained at its proper elevation, by an adequate public estimate of its value, and a suitable regard for those who labour in it with diligence and effect. Let them be judged, not by ridiculous promises of which any one *may* know can never be fulfilled—not by assurances of short and easy methods—not by a vain display of trifling accomplishments, or precocious and ephemeral acquirement to captivate the ignorant—but by the fair fruits of discipline and instruction, coming in season, gradually unfolding their beauty, and at length attaining their full size, and ripening according to the order of nature."

To the truth of the preceding remarks we most fully subscribe, and we think the author might have added other consequences of a defective preparatory education still more disastrous. The intellectual attainments of a youth while in College are not only retarded, but moral habits are also put in imminent hazard by a defect in his previous attainments.

A youth of delicate feelings enters a public institution with an expectation of standing on an equality with at least the majority of his class in the studies prescribed. At first he applies himself with all possible industry to the task assigned; and failing to comprehend the subject, and to answer the questions proposed in the class-room, he sinks into despondency, and abandons the hope, and at the same time, the attempt to make himself master of the studies prescribed. His situation is like that of a debtor, who has lost all hope of extricating himself from his embarrassment by honest and persevering industry. He becomes reckless, and makes no effort to repair his deficiency, or to maintain his present condition. To the youthful mind, full of hope, and anticipating distinction in future life, nothing is more injurious than assigning a task utterly impracticable. In these circumstances not one youth in a hundred will continue to apply himself to his studies from day to day. Persevering industry will accomplish wonders, but it cannot effect impossibilities. Feeling that he has no chance of maintaining a decent standing as a scholar, it would be strange if he did not seek distinction among the idle and vicious. His mind becomes soured, his feelings irritated, and he dislikes his books, his instructers, and every thing which reminds him of the disgrace under which he labours.

It is very possible that the supposed youth is not destitute of talents, and if he had been well taught before he entered college, he would have chosen very different companions, and have avoided the temptations which ruined his moral habits.

Parents are afraid their sons will be idle, and therefore they wish them to enter a class above their attainments. They forget that by requiring too much, they present a more powerful temptation to idleness and immoral conduct than by requiring too little. As far as our observation has extended, we have noticed that generally the worst scholars in a class are most idle and mischievous. Place a youth among the first in his class, and if he has any love of knowledge or any desire of distinction, he will endeavour to maintain the high ground which he occupies; but if by his utmost efforts he cannot rise higher than the lowest, he will probably make no exertion, lose his self-respect, and endeavour to forget his disgrace in the society of corrupting companions.

The next topic touched in this excellent address, is the importance of improving the advantages afforded during a collegiate course, and the difficulty of repairing, at a subsequent period, the loss sustained. The remarks on this head are appropriate and highly important; but as they are applicable to persons into whose hands this work will not probably fall, we omit

to give any extracts, and hasten to present to our readers the masterly refutation of a prevailing error on the subject of a collegiate education. The extract is long; but it cannot be abridged without injuring the argument:

"The error chiefly in view, is that which supposes the higher education, or collegiate education, to be useful and even necessary for those who are intended for what are denominated the learned professions, but not for those who expect to dedicate their lives to other occupations. If a parent mean that his son shall be a divine, or a lawyer, or a physician, he does right, according to this theory, in sending him to College; but if he mean that he shall follow any other way of life, a College is not a suitable place for him. Thus stating the matter, it will be at once perceived where the danger lies, and what is the extent and magnitude of that danger, if such a notion as this could become generally prevalent. Of all the youth of a country, by far the greater part are debarred by uncontrollable circumstances from the privilege of extended moral and intellectual culture. The residue, consisting of the few who might enjoy this advantage, is to be again divided, and a portion of that few excluded—strange to say—by deliberate choice. It cannot be requisite, in exposing the fallacy of an opinion like this, to insist upon the obvious objection, that it assumes a basis which cannot be admitted, namely, that the occupation for life is to be determined before the time arrives for entering College. It would be unwise if it were practicable. But it is plainly impracticable. Who can tell what changes may happen before the period arrives for carrying such a decision into execution? Why then make it? Why adopt unchangeably a system for the future, when the future may not admit of its application? Surely no discreet parent—whatever his fond anticipations might suggest—would do any thing so absurd. He will postpone his decision, till the fit time for it shall arrive, and that fit time is not the period for entering College, but the period of leaving it. The faculties and dispositions are then more fully developed, the character better understood, the means of forming a judgment more distinct and ample. One consideration, indeed, ought upon this point to be entirely conclusive. The trials of the College, and their results, are themselves the very best guides to a sound and wise decision. They try by actual experiment the qualities which are the proper elements of judgment in this delicate and important question. Sometimes it may happen that they disappoint expectation. Much oftener they disclose a power which was before unknown, and but for their searching efficacy, might have remained unknown even to the possessor of it himself. If they had no other use than this; if the process of collegiate education had no other virtue, than to detect and bring out the latent fire which lies slumbering and unnoticed for want of excitement and collision, what parent who can duly estimate the value of such a hidden treasure, would hesitate to have it sought for, if there were but a chance that

it might be found by searching. Nor is it necessary to urge another obvious consideration, namely, that the choice of a pursuit or occupation, made at the proper time, and actually carried into execution, is still not final. How many accidents, over which he has no control, may compel a man to change his pursuit in life! How many powerful motives may induce him to do so, when he is under no such compulsion! Instances of both are every day occurring, numerous enough to falsify a calculation founded upon the indissoluble union of man with the occupation he enters upon in the beginning of life.

"Waiving these considerations, however, weighty as they are, enough will still remain to show satisfactorily, nay, to show demonstratively, that this notion has no foundation whatever, and thence to lead us to the plain conclusion, that every parent who has it in his power, is bound in duty to give his child a collegiate education, unless he can give him a better. It is not intended to discuss at all the question between public and private instruction. All that is to be insisted upon is, the advantage of as full a measure of thorough education, as can be given, without encroaching upon that portion of life, which in the order of nature ought to be applied to the performance of duty, rather than to preparation for it.

"It may be, that in the distribution of the occupations of this world, with reference to their nature, some are regarded as intellectual, and others as not so; and it may be that it is thence concluded, that the culture of the intellect is necessary for the former, but not for the latter. Such a distribution cannot be admitted to be correct. But if it were, would the inference be a just one? Upon a fair estimate of the matter, it ought to be the very reverse. If the way of life to be followed, is such as to afford neither nourishment nor discipline to the intellect, then ought the provision of both to be the greater before it is entered upon, unless we mean to admit the extravagant suggestion that the capacity which our Maker has in his wisdom given us, may, with impunity, be suffered to perish. A divine, or a lawyer, or a physician, is all his life long in a state of intellectual exercise;—his faculties are continually kept alive, and in healthy action, and his learning continually increasing;—this is what is said,—therefore it is proper that he should receive a full preparatory training—that he should be fully educated. One devoted to some other calling—we dare not be more specific—it would be deemed derogatory and disrespectful—such an one will never be invited or required by his occupation to make an effort of mind, nor furnished by it with the slightest particle of intellectual wealth. The stock that he begins with, is all that he can ever expect to have. Therefore, it is better that he should begin with none at all. Absolute destitution is thus deliberately chosen. Such a conclusion is not warranted by sound logic, nor by sound wisdom. It is worse than this—it is immoral and sinful. It is no better than a voluntary sacrifice of the gifts of God, to some idol, whose ministers are the meanest appetites of man. That any parent should ever consent thus to devote a child, with a sense

of what he is doing, it is impossible to believe. If he err, it must be simple error, the offspring of sheer ignorance.

"But is there any reason in such a distribution, or, to speak with more exactness, is there any sense in the inference made from it? Is it true that education can or ought to be thus adapted to the occupation or profession intended to be pursued? There is no difficulty in understanding why a very large portion of mankind are excluded from the benefits of liberal education. It is from various causes placed beyond their reach. Of such we do not speak. We speak only of those who have it in their power; and as to them we would inquire whether there is any rational ground for asserting, that some ought to have more, and others less of the advantages of early discipline and culture? Whether, in other words, to the inevitable privation caused by uncontrollable circumstances, we are to add a conventional privation arising out of the arrangements of society;—whether, to state it plainly and at once, in the shape of example, one who is to be a merchant, ought to be less educated, than one who is to be a lawyer;—whether the one ought to be sent to college, and continue to receive instruction till the age of eighteen or nineteen, and the other be taken from school, and put to work, at thirteen or fourteen, simply because they are respectively designed for different pursuits?

"The first mistake committed by those who would adopt this arbitrary and injurious distinction, is in supposing that a man's occupation or profession, being merely of a worldly nature, is the whole concern of his life; that it occupies all his time, and includes all his duties, and all his pleasures. Miserable would his condition be, if this were true. Miserably would he fulfil the purposes of his existence if it were even to approach the truth. But it is not true. For, whether he be a lawyer or a merchant, or a planter or a farmer, or a manufacturer, he is, notwithstanding, a *man*, with the high privileges and duties belonging to that character, which he ought to be able to enjoy and to fulfil. He is a social being, connected with those around him, by a thousand ties from which he cannot disengage himself, without doing violence to the better part of his nature. He cannot shut his eyes to distress, nor close his ear to its cry, nor withhold his hand from its relief. He cannot refuse to aid the ignorant, or to help the friendless. He is a son, a brother, a husband, a father, relations which employ and reward his affections, but call for the exercise of his virtues and his talents. He is a citizen of a free political community, and there, too, finds occasion to reflect, that there are other claims upon him, besides the claims that are made by his peculiar business. Nor must we forget that he is subject to infirmities; that calamity may overtake him; that death will come to him;—that he is exposed to temptations;—that he has an evil heart to be purified, and that he stands in need continually of the aid of an enlightened conscience. Surely it must be conceded by every one who has bestowed a single thought upon our nature, that these points of identity are far more numerous, and far more important, than the accidental difference occa-

sioned by profession or occupation. They entirely outweigh it. Duly estimated, they render it absolutely insignificant. Nay, there is scarcely one of them, that singly taken, is not of greater moment. Collectively, they make up the character, not of a lawyer, a physician, a merchant, a manufacturer, but of that which is common to them all, the character of a man—a social man, in a civilized and Christian community. It is upon these points peculiarly, that education operates, where it produces its proper effect. It forms the man—its impress is upon the general character—its discipline for general usefulness and worth. To admit that any calling in life is of such a nature that it cannot be successfully followed by one who is wise and good, or that it will be more successfully followed by one who is weak and wicked, would be to sink it below the level of honest and worthy occupations. Such an admission supposes that it requires the individual who enters upon it to be in a degraded state as to morals and intellect. Who would be willing that such an opprobrium should be fastened upon the occupation he follows, and, as an unavoidable consequence, attach to himself, and go with his gains to his children? No one, assuredly. But some who would indignantly reject such an imputation, will hint, nevertheless, that a certain natural shrewdness and dexterity, unrestrained by too nice an observance of the dictates of a becoming pride, or the admonitions of a vigilant moral sense, are in some pursuits the best instruments of success. Be it so. For the sake of exposing a miserable fallacy, let it be conceded that this is the shortest and surest way to succeed. What then? Is the nature of the thing altered by the mode of stating it, or even by the assurance that the end is likely to be attained? What is thus described, is but the definition of knavery, however it may be disguised or softened in terms. Brought into plain English, it is neither more nor less than this, that a knave will do better than an honest man. What kind of work must it be that requires such a workman? Will any one with the slightest sense of accountability, contend that it is lawful, or honourable, or becoming? Will any one be hardy enough to assert, that an intelligent and accountable creature, ought to be counselled, or even permitted to degrade and dishonour the faculties his Maker has given him, by such a prostitution of them, for any earthly purpose whatever? If education will preserve him from such debasement, it performs a noble office.

"It will appear the more extraordinary that such a notion as we are now considering, should be entertained for a single moment, when we reflect, that it is now an universally established law of society, that men are not to be marked or known by their occupation or profession. According to a common but somewhat coarse adage, they must not smell of the shop. In their general intercourse with their fellow men, they must be able to present a character and qualifications so entirely independent of their peculiar pursuits in life, that what these are, shall not be known by any thing in their conduct, or conversation. Such a requirement may possibly be sometimes carried

too far. But in the main, it is right, and founded in good sense and good breeding, which both demand that when we go out into society, we shall leave our working dress and our private affairs at home, and carry with us what will be agreeable and profitable to others, as well as to ourselves. How shall we be able to comply with this law, if we have nothing to carry out with us? Shall we sit in a corner, stupid and vacant, contributing nothing to the innocent gratification or to the instruction or assistance of others, and receiving nothing from them in return? This is what no man could endure. Will he then retreat from the world entirely, shut himself up in his own shell, and devote himself exclusively to his own concerns? They will not occupy him. They are not sufficient for him. No young man can live safely in retired leisure, unless he has the capacity to read, to reflect, to study, to enjoy the exercise of his intellectual and moral faculties. How shall he have this, if they have never been cultivated, if he has been left unconscious of their very existence? But man is not born to be idle, nor to be alone. He must have exercise, and he will seek association. If he cannot enjoy what is good, he will betake himself to what is bad. He will connect himself with his fellow creatures, not by his strength, but by his weakness. They will be bound together, not by the exercise of their rational powers, but by the indulgence of their sensual and vicious propensities, corrupting and destroying, instead of enlightening and invigorating each other. These indulgences create and increase wants, whose importunate craving, unchecked by moral restraint, leads in so many instances to frightful crime. This is a catastrophe too hideous to be regarded with indifference or unconcern.

"In the adoption of such a notion, there seems, besides, to be a striking contradiction and inconsistency. There is scarcely a man engaged with any activity in business, of whatever kind, who does not promise himself a period to his labours, when he shall be able to retire from business, and enjoy repose and reflection. This is a natural feeling, and, if not absolutely universal, a very extensive one. A hasty view might incline us to believe that it is nothing but the desire of rest. One would fain hope, however, that it is something more —that there is a stirring in it of our better faculties—a prompting of the sense we have, that these faculties are capable of other and higher and more expanded exercise, and a sort of promise that their neglect and abuse shall be atoned for at some future time—a scheme, in short for *living;* which, whether well or ill conceived, does certainly admit that a man is not living when he is entirely engrossed by his business. And this is undoubtedly the truth. The future, thus contemplated, if the matter be rightly considered, is present every day of our life. It is especially present in the earlier part of it. There are portions of every day which may be given to reflection, to reading, to preparation for the performance of our duties, and to the performance itself. No rational man need postpone to the end of his life, that calm which all promise themselves; he may have it each day if he will; he may have it, if he choose to understand aright

the gracious appointment of the Author of our being, in a still higher degree, at the end of each week, when he is not only permitted, but enjoined to withdraw one-seventh of his time from the cares and occupations of life, and to dedicate it to meditations which refresh his weary nature, which purify and refine it from earthly corruptions, and while they exalt, invigorate it for whatever tasks it has to perform. There are those who persuade themselves, that their business demands of them all their time, and that even the Sabbath cannot be spared for its appropriate employment. Let such an one deal fairly with himself. Let him take as strict an account of his time as he does of his money, for a week or a month, allowing six days to the week, summing up at the end all the fragments that have been wasted in listless idleness,—that have been worse than wasted in hurtful indulgence, or have been involuntarily sacrificed to some of the thousand contrivances invented for killing time,—and then say whether he had not a moment to spare for moral and intellectual improvement, for cultivating relations of good will and kindness, and for fulfilling the duties of a social man, in all their various forms. The best excuse he can offer, if he should find a large balance against him, will be, that he has not been educated—that his taste has not been cultivated—that his capacity has not been developed and disciplined; in a word, that he is unable;—that while yet a child, he was plunged, uninformed and uninstructed, or imperfectly instructed, into the turbulent current of business, and he is fit for no other element. Why was he not educated, is the natural inquiry? If he be less than he might have been, as the confession seems to imply, there is a grave responsibility somewhere. Let all who have the care of the conduct of youth, look to it. But for encroaching upon the appointed day of rest—putting aside all serious considerations—there is no excuse at all. It is not an evidence of industry in one's avocations, but the contrary. It is not profitable upon a mere worldly estimate, but injurious. It is commonly the refuge of laziness and disorderly habits, which, neglecting things when they ought to be done, suffer them to accumulate, with the expectation that the arrears will be cleared off on Sunday. A man who yields to this temptation, does not labour seven days—he allows himself seven days to do the work of six, and after all the work is not done. The thief procrastination will be sure to steal more than one day out of the six, and leave to the seventh an undue proportion of work, even though its own proper duty be at the same time left entirely unperformed. What was said by Sir Matthew Hale in 1662, doubtless he would have been able to repeat in 1833—"I have found by a strict and diligent observation, that a due observance of the duty of this day hath ever had joined to it a blessing upon the rest of my time; and the week that hath been so begun, hath been blessed and prosperous to me." But apart from the considerations which governed that pious man, and deserve the deep attention of every one, no one who seriously reflects, will fail to be convinced, however paradoxical it may appear, that more work can be done in

six days than in seven. The fact is believed to support the argument. Speaking as a witness, after some experience, and careful observation, I can say, that many of the most industrious, and in their respective walks, the most eminent men I have known, have been those who refrained from worldly employment on the Sabbath. But to return to the point under discussion—how do those who promise themselves a period of rest and of rational enjoyment, after the fatigues of a long day of uninterrupted labour, propose to spend it, if in the course of Providence it should be mercifully granted to them? I will not attempt to answer the question, but leave it for those to reflect upon, whose experience and studies have enabled them to decide, what the chances are, that the buds, and the blossoms, and fruit, which in the order of nature are the ornament and delight of the season of genial warmth, will come forth in the frosts of winter.

"An opinion has already been intimated that the benefits of early education, continued through the period which nature indicates as the time for training and discipline, are not entirely lost, even though the acquirements in College should afterward be neglected. Wholesome nourishment and exercise for the time, are like wholesome nourishment and exercise for the body. They enter into the constitution, and impart to it a general health and strength, and capacity for the exertions it may be called upon to make, and the trials it may be doomed to suffer. This is especially true of childhood and youth, and as to all that concerns our physical condition, is universally admitted, in practice as well as in theory. The tender infant is not suffered to lie in torpid inaction. Its little frame is put in motion in its mother's arm. As soon as it can bear exposure, it is sent forth to larger exercise in the open air. The boy is permitted and encouraged to rejoice in active and invigorating sports; and the youth, quite up to the season of manhood, is taught to blend the healthful exertion of his sinews and muscles, with the cultivation of his intellectual and moral powers. Why is this indication of nature, thus carefully observed and obeyed? Why do parents watch with so much anxious care over the forming constitution of the body, and seek to train it to grace and vigour? It is because it *is forming*, and the fashion it then receives may more or less abide by it ever after. Their anxious care is well bestowed. Much of the happiness of life depends upon it, and every one is aware that such is the case. Hence it is that gymnastics have been introduced into places of instruction, where feats are performed which no man of full age expects to repeat, unless it should be his lot to be a tumbler or a rope-dancer. Is there not a precise analogy, in this respect, between the two parts of our nature? Have not the moral and intellectual faculties a growth, a period of expansion, a season for nourishment and direction, when the constitution of the mind and heart is taking a form like that of the body, and when the intellectual and moral capacities are to be assisted and trained into a healthy condition? Are there no gymnastics of the mind? It would be deemed a palpable absurdity if any one were to

argue, that a child was likely to be employed in sedentary occupations, and therefore it was not material that he should have the use of his limbs. Is it not still more absurd to use such an argument in relation to his higher and better faculties? It is a great calamity to be deprived of sight—to be unable to behold the glories of the visible creation, and enjoy the beauties of art. Is it a less one, to be destitute of intellectual vision, by which we are enabled to 'look through nature up to nature's God,' and to discern glories greater far than those, great as we must confess them to be, which are manifested to the eye of the body? By which, too, we are enabled to look into ourselves, and there to see the fearful and wonderful thing we are, and how it is that from the source of infinite wisdom and goodness, there is an emanation of light imparted to us, which we are commanded not to allow 'to be darkened.' Surely, surely, these are reflections which ought for ever to silence the sordid calculation that would bend man's whole powers down to the earth, instead of helping him to grow up towards the heavens. The super-incumbent weight of the world's business will press heavily enough upon him. With all the preparation he can have, and all the improvement he can make of it, there is danger that he will but seldom be able to raise himself above the thick fog that creeps along the ground, and limits his view to the objects immediately around him, into the clear region where higher duties and higher enjoyments offer themselves to his attention—where the spirit may breathe, the mind hold communion with intelligence, the affections kindle, the charities be nursed, and his whole nature exalted, under the quickening influence of the consciousness that he is a man. It is in this consciousness, properly enlightened, that dwells his real dignity, and in it, too, the sense of all his duties. What parent, then, who has the ability, will withhold from his child, the means of such instruction and discipline, in their fullest measure, as may promise to give him a moral and intellectual constitution fitted to seize upon, and improve the occasions that may arise for purifying and exalting his nature, and fulfilling all his obligations? In this consists his highest happiness. It will not control the course of events. It will not make adverse fortune prosperous, nor the contrary. But, like a wall in the sea, well planted and well supported, broad in its foundation, and carried to its proper height, it will establish a secure and quiet retreat from the shocks, both of prosperity and adversity, to which he may betake himself in the hour of dangerous trial, and escape the imminent hazard of being overwhelmed by either."

The reader will indulge us in giving one more extract; it refers to the duty of educated men:

"The body of educated men in a country, besides their other distinctions (all attended with corresponding duties) are the natural guardians of the cause of education. They are expected to be able to

perform the office of guardians. To them, chiefly, this great cause must look for support, in all its extent and variety, from the highest to the lowest. Professors and teachers, learned and able as they may be, are still regarded as interested persons, and listened to with doubt and distrust. They must be upheld by testimony entitled to respect as disinterested and competent—the testimony of men known to be able to appreciate their labours and their services, and to judge of their fitness and their qualifications. Hence it is, that every considerable institution is finally under the control of a board of trustees, in some way selected from the mass of the community, to superintend its interests, to watch over its conduct, and by actual inspection to observe the working of the system as well as the capacity and fidelity of all who are entrusted with its details. Who will be able to perform this duty but such as having had the advantages of early education have improved it by continual culture? Who else can be competent to judge of the examination of classes, of the merits of professors and teachers? In whom else can there be confidence that the great interests of education are safe under their charge? And *they*, too, are to be judged; they are amenable to public opinion, which is at last to decide upon them, who decide upon every thing else. But how shall the tribunal be constituted which is to pass upon their doings? How shall public opinion be enlightened, so that from their judges they may look for justice, unless there be a body of educated men, who feel a lively sympathy in their labours because they know their value, and who are able by their influence to inform and direct the public mind?

"To this same body of educated men, it belongs to judge of proposed improvements, to weigh them carefully, to examine thoroughly, and to sanction and adopt them only when after a rigorous investigation they appear to be clearly good. New schemes are constantly offering themselves, claiming to be superior to the ancient methods. Sometimes, they profess to make the way of learning easy and quite an amusement; forgetting that one great point in education is to prepare us by discipline for a life of exertion and toil. At others, they would exclude the ancient languages, and instead of the fine models they exhibit in the productions of the masters who used them, satisfy us with translations, when every one who can study them in the original is aware, that even if the substance can be retained, (which is more than doubtful) the graces and beauties which constitute their main charm, are unavoidably lost in the transfer. Then there are those who, under the plea of utility, would crowd into the work of education many things which may be admitted to be well in their place, and fit enough to be learned at the proper time, but have nothing to do with our general nature, nor with the cultivation of our general powers. And so of a thousand other plans, to which there is not time even to make an allusion. But of all the blows that can be levelled at this good cause, there is none so deadly and destructive, as that which aims to sever or to weaken the union of learning and

religion. Our fathers thought them inseparable. When they were to build up an edifice for instruction, they laid its foundation in piety, and they humbly invoked the Divine aid to fill the whole structure with the light of truth. Nor did they neglect the appointed means. Within its walls they fixed an altar, not like that in Athens, inscribed to the "Unknown God," but to Him, who having always manifested Himself in the works of creation and Providence, has also made Himself known by the revelation of His attributes, and of His holy will. Around this altar they thought it right to assemble daily the youth committed to their care, and to endeavour to provide that its fire should be fed, and its services be performed, by pious and learned men:—that so the perfume of its offerings might fill the atmosphere of the nursery of youth—all human learning be accomplished with the spirit of devotion, and the recollection of our dependence, and our duties be continually present with the effort to improve the faculties of the mind. Such an institution was to be an Alma Mater. It was to fulfil a mother's duty, not only with a mother's affection, but with the deep religious sense that is seated in a pious mother's heart, to guide and govern that affection so beautifully exhibited, in the first lessons of childhood, when the little hands are upraised towards heaven, by the mother's side, before the tongue has power to give utterance to praise or thanksgiving. But now, there are those who would separate religion from learning, who would exclude the altar from the nursery of youth, and leave the place of instruction without any visible manifestation or acknowledgment of duty to our Maker. If such a proposal were limited to scoffers at religion, to such as indulge in sneers and sarcasms at all that is serious, to men who vainly imagine they make themselves giants, by raising their puny hand against heaven—it would not be surprising, and, comparatively, it would be harmless. *They* are few in number, and of little weight. The real matter of astonishment, not unmixed with deep concern, is, that it should find favour with any one else. That it can be entertained for a moment must be owing to ignorance or thoughtlessness. Here, then, the body of educated men must take their stand. By all the means in their power they must endeavour to avert the pestilent mischief of desecrating the place of instruction, of separating the culture of the heart from that of the mind; and, under the pretence of a liberal morality, of rejecting the only morality that is clear in its source, pure in its precepts, and efficacious in its influences—the morality of the Gospel. All else, at last, is but idolatry—the worship of somethiug of man's own creation, and that thing imperfect and feeble like himself, and wholly insufficient to give him support and strength."

Art. II.—*The Religious Obligations of Parents.*

In considering this subject it would not be irrelevant to refer to the proof which the social organization furnishes of the wisdom, as well as the benevolence of God. It is easily seen that whilst such an arrangement seems indispensable to the happiness of man, it appears to be no less essential in effecting the great moral designs of the Creator. It accomplishes the former purpose by its coincidence with the affections of human nature; whilst to promote the latter and supreme object, it furnishes the best mode and the best security for the transmission and maintenance of the Divine authority.

But in inviting the attention of *Christian* parents to the contemplation of what is deemed their positive *duty*, we shall postpone the argument drawn from the constitution of society, until we have looked at the expression of the Divine will as made known by revelation, and exemplified in the history of the race.

At the calling of Abraham is dated the commencement of the formal recognition of a portion of mankind as the Church of God. In looking at its constitution, we see at once, that the children of the faithful are prominently included in the covenant made with their fathers, and that its blessings are expressly entailed upon them. "I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee and thy seed after thee." Gen. xvii. 7. The condition of the blessing uniformly was, "thou shalt keep my covenant, thou and thy seed after thee, in their generations;" Gen. xvii. 9. always implying that their duty to God, and their interest in the engagement with Abraham, was to be the subject of instruction of one generation to the succeeding. So, it was on the ground of this confidence in the faithfulness of the original party to the covenant, that the Lord condescended to impart to Abraham his secret counsels respecting the destruction of the cities of the plain: "For I know him that he will command his children, and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment; that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him." Gen. xviii. 19. The expectation, then, that the Divine precepts would be transmitted and perpetuated by the faithful instruction of the children, was part of the arrangement on which the Almighty based his purpose of blessing his people; a purpose extending far onward to the end of the

human family, and embracing all those, who being "Christ's," are "Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." Gal. iii. 29.

To make this obligation still more impressive and memorable, the Lord established a solemn rite, which was made obligatory, under the most fearful penalties, on every parent. This law required him to present his male offspring in an early period of existence to receive the token of its connexion with the promise. Gen. xvii. 10—14. Thus was established an ordinance with the express object of keeping in mind the conditions on which all the advantages of the Divine favour are suspended, and appealing to the duty of the father to insure their performance. How wise the device! how doubly dear its perpetuation in the Christian form!

The proposal to the father of the faithful was repeated in the same terms, to his lineal descendants, at Gerar and Bethel; Gen. xxvi. 3—5; and the title by which Jehovah announced himself to the nation, after this distinct engagement with the representatives of three successive descents, is strongly characteristic of the nature of the constitution, "THE LORD GOD OF YOUR FATHERS, THE GOD OF ABRAHAM, AND THE GOD OF ISAAC, AND THE GOD OF JACOB. This is my name forever, and this is my memorial unto all generations." Exod. iii. 15.

At the next great epoch in the history of Israel, on the eve of their release from Egypt, and when they were about to resume their national and ecclesiastical existence, the family character of their religion was again signally marked. The passover was directed to be observed in each *household*, and a special command given that the ceremony should be explained to the children. Exod. xii. 1—28. The peculiar devotion and redemption of the first-born was also required from every parent, to commemorate the same event, and thus another occasion was furnished for teaching the children their obligations to the God of Israel. Exod. xiii. 11—15.

When the tribes had arrived at the end of their forty years' pilgrimage, and Moses was to be left to die on the borders of their inheritance, he reviewed before them the history of their trials. In the prospect of their separation, the venerable leader enjoined on the people obedience to the law of God, and the preservation of his worship. "Take heed," said he, "to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen, and lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life." And as the surest means of averting the result, he adds, "but teach them to thy sons, and thy sons' sons." Deut. iv. 9. He then rehearsed to the tribes the precepts of the deca-

logue, and with the solicitude of one who had so memorable an experience of their liability to forget God, solemnly repeated his instructions that these commandments should be faithfully transmitted from generation to generation; "and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." Deut. vi. 7. And this was not merely for a memorial of an historical event, but when their children should inquire into the meaning of "the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments, which the Lord our God hath commanded," they were to be taught, in connexion with the history of the deliverance of their fathers from Egypt, that "the Lord commanded us to do all these statutes, to fear the Lord our God, for our good always, that he might preserve us alive, as it is this day; and it shall be our righteousness, if we observe to do all these commandments before the Lord our God, as he hath commanded us." Deut. vi. 20—25. And thus Moses commanded that all Israel should be assembled at the feast of tabernacles, to hear the law "that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and observe to do all the words of this law, and that their children which have not known any thing may hear and learn to fear the Lord your God." Deut. xxxi. 10—13, and see ver. 19—21. One of the national poets celebrates this statute, in opening an exhortation which may be regarded as a specimen of the pious instruction of the age, "Give ear, O my people, to my law; incline your ears to the words of my mouth. I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings of old, which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us. We will not hide them from their children, showing to the generation to come the praises of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonderful works that he hath done. For he established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers, that they should make them known to their children; that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born; who should arise and declare them to their children, that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments, and might not be as their fathers, a stubborn and rebellious generation, a generation that set not their heart aright, and whose spirit was not steadfast with God." Psalm lxxviii. 1—8.

Thus it appears evident that the Hebrew parents were held under a moral and positive obligation to teach their children fully, constantly and practically the laws of God, and the history of their people as illustrative of the consequences of fidelity or

disobedience, and that this mode of transmission was adopted as the most natural method of preserving the religion of Sinai. That this instruction was expected to be something more than a matter of mere rote, is clear from the spirit of the latter quotations. That it was thus understood, is exemplified in several particular instances. David not only assured his son of prosperity if he should take heed to fulfil the statutes and judgments which the Lord charged Moses with concerning Israel, 1 Chron xxii. 13, but added this solemn admonition, "and thou Solomon my son, know thou the God of thy father, and serve him with a perfect heart and with a willing mind; for the Lord searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts; if thou seek him, he will be found of thee; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off forever." 1 Chron. xxviii. 9. Nor did the anxious monarch leave the vain warning without supplicating the "Lord God of Abraham, Isaac and of Israel," to give his beloved successor "a perfect heart" to keep the commandments of the Most High. 1 Chron. xxix. 18, 19. Solomon has made an immortal record of the faithfulness of his father, and given an epitome of his lessons of wisdom: Proverbs iv. and it was with a vivid impression of the effect of parental fidelity that he wrote "train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." Prov. xxii. 6. The history of Samuel, and of Eli, also stands forth in contemporaneous history, as if to show by contrast the results of parental fidelity and parental neglect. 1 Sam. i. 26-28, and iii. 12-14.

There has been but one system of religion revealed to man. The mode of its external organization has been different, but the Mosaic and Christian theology are one. Moral obligation is unaltered, and the principles of human nature remain the same. The old dispensation was immature Christianity: the Gospel is its consummation. The rule of transmitting this religion when first revealed to men, therefore required no republication. The provision for its propagation was not limited to the patriarchs, or to Israel. It looked forward to all who are blessed in Abraham, and the same natural principles which secured its operation whilst the Jew was the depositary of the law of God, insured its perpetuity when the Gentiles were admitted to the inheritance. It could not, therefore, be repealed without altering the characteristics of man, and changing the plan of the divine government. Besides, such an admission would annul the precepts of inspiration in the Old Testament, which enforce the parental duty as one of immutable obligation. As Prov. xxii. 6: xxix. 17, &c. We do not mean to argue that the accomplishment of the divine purposes was dependent on the traditionary effect of

this instruction, but that it was the evident design of God so to incorporate this duty with the domestic obligations, as to make it the ordinary channel of the blessings of the covenant.

Accordingly, we find that the church of Christ, like its type, receives its members as infants, and acknowledges them as her children. The same duties of instruction and example are implied, as the obligation not only of the church but of the parents. All that is tender in natural affection gives force to the duty as a result of faith in the Gospel. Does the parent believe that if his child is spared to the age of moral responsibility, repentance and faith alone can bring him within the promise of mercy, and will not nature bind him to the duty of training his child in such a manner as to afford the strongest ground of hope that his soul will yield that faith and repentance? Does the parent feel bound to glorify God by bringing the impenitent within the means of grace, and will he overlook his own offspring? Does he feel his solemn responsibility to improve every means and opportunity of imparting a Christian influence, and shall not his own household be the first to feel its power? Above all, if he is actuated by love to Christ, enjoys the peace which it imparts, and is prompted by the holy zeal which it inspires, he will need no penal statute to drive him to the duty of striving to bring his own children to the enjoyment of the same gracious hope.

The primitive Christians rejoiced to know that the promise was "to them and to their children," Acts ii. 39: and that as they were "Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise," Gal. iii. 29: their offspring, like his, were interested in the covenant and entitled to its seal. They asked for no positive command *requiring* them to offer their children for baptism. They could not have reconciled the exclusion of their offspring from the Christian church with the provision which admitted them into the Jewish. They did not believe in such an inconsistency. As a matter of course it would follow that the same kind of instruction required by the Mosaic law should be continued, with the assistance of the light revealed in the Gospel. "Bring them up," said the Apostle, "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;" Ephes. vi. 4: a precept full of significancy, meaning literally, nourish them in the discipline and instruction of the Christian religion.* The exemplification of it is furnished by the same Apostle, when speaking with confidence of the "unfeigned faith," of his disciple, he refers to the piety of his two maternal ancestors, and afterwards to his early instruction in

* Εκτρεφετε αυτα [τεκνα] εν παιδεια και νθεσια κυριυ.

religion, implying that it was to parental care, that "from a child" he had "known the Holy Scriptures," not only as an intellectual acquisition, but as able to make him "wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus." Comp. 2 Tim. i. 5, and iii. 15. Timothy had been educated according to the injunctions of Moses; the Scriptures which he had learned were those of the Old Testament, and it was that knowledge, perfected by faith in the Redeemer and a reception of the Gospel, which became to him the wisdom of salvation.

But the precept had already been emphatically delivered by the Lord himself in a living parable, when "they brought young children to him that he should put his hands on them and pray." He who did nothing that was unmeaning "took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them and blessed them." Matt. xix. 13: Mark x. 13. 16. There was a significance in this unusual act, which rendered explanation unnecessary. It is connected with the command that will go with the record forever, as making its own application, "suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God." Mark x. 14. The deed was more eloquent than the words; and no incident can be compared with it for expressiveness, with the single exception of that kindred scene when the dying Lord from his cross said to his mother, "woman behold thy son," and to the disciple whom he loved, "behold thy mother!"

Having thus reviewed the scriptural authority in proof of the duty of parents to educate their children religiously, we can only glance at the evidence of nature and reason to the same point.

That such a responsibility exists might be judged, even if revelation were silent, from the natural relation in which God has placed children to their parents. He has made them dependent for their daily support, protection and preservation, during a long period of helplessness. He has so constituted the tie, that there is an influence inevitably exerted by the parents on the child by which his character is formed. By the force of habit and association, if not by direct instruction, they mould his habits, direct his thoughts and fix his early opinions. They can take advantage of the pliant state of his faculties to place before him such subjects of knowledge and observation, as may establish in a great degree all his future views and conduct. His inexperience of the world, his comparative innocence, and docility, present the most favourable circumstances for the exercise of a good or evil influence. They have him constantly within their reach, and subject to their authority. Not only do habit and

authority secure this influence; but where the affection of a parent accompanies it all to the tender and open disposition of a confiding child, the effect is deepened beyond the power of any other human agency. The natural affections, indeed, lose their end in the moral economy, if these results do not follow as a general consequence. God has thus bound parent and child, and that shall measure that parent's guilt, who either overlooking this law of nature, neglects to avail himself of it to promote the eternal welfare of his offspring, or who takes advantage of it to transmit his own wickedness by his example and licence!

There is also a natural consciousness of responsibility to which we might appeal. Every one instinctively feels that he is in some measure answerable for the general character of those over whom he exercises a constant influence. The master of the apprentice, the man of eminence among his followers, the parent of the child, feel sure that there is a connection between their conduct and that of their dependents. But most of all does the *Christian* realize this obligation, who has been taught by the Gospel that men must give account for all the means and opportunities of glorifying God, that he has given them. He knows that neglect of duty, as well as the commission of positive evil, is criminal in the sight of the searcher of hearts, and that "inasmuch as YE DID IT NOT to one of the least of these" was the very instance of guilt chosen by the Judge to characterize those who shall be consigned to the condemnation of the devil and his angels. Matt. xxv. 45. If the house of Eli were to be "judged forever," "because his sons made themselves vile and he restrained them not," though he had remonstrated with them, 1 Sam. iii. 13. what must be the guilt of the parents who embrace the Christian faith and do not "bring up" their children—"train" them, from infancy in the "nurture and admonition of the Lord"? If he has practically "denied the faith," and is, in this respect, "worse than an unbeliever" in that faith, who in temporal things, "provides not for his own and especially for those of his own house," 1 Tim. v. 8, how would Paul have described the parent who professed to be Christ's, and to have his spirit, 1 Cor. iii. 23, Rom. viii. 9, and yet uses not his influence to save his children from the consequences of their depravity? Such a parent must not look for sympathy to the man who had "great heaviness and continual sorrow" in his heart for his "brethren and kinsmen according to the flesh," Rom. ix. 1—3, and who "by the space of three years ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears." Acts xx. 31.

The question of positive obligation being evident from every

view in which the subject can be considered, the manner of its performance is easily learned from the same sources which teach the duty. To "train" or "nurture" a child from infancy on any particular set of principles or for a particular end, implies regular, patient cultivation; it supposes that the great object will always be pre-eminently in view, and that every thing in the education and associations of the child shall be favourable to the design. So will it be in training children for heaven. The example of the parent, manifesting the holy and happy influence of his piety in all his domestic intercourse; the uniformity of his religious conduct, impressing the child from his earliest observation with the assurance that godliness is the supreme duty of life; the punctual observance of the ordinances of the church of Christ; the maintenance of family worship; the regular perusal and explanation of the Scripture; the constant exhibition of the necessity of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, of the plan of salvation through the atonement of Jesus Christ, and of the importance of seeking the divine blessing in the use of sacred truth as a means of converting and sanctifying the heart; the constitution of the church as the depository of the Gospel and its ordinances; by these and similar methods of "discipline and instruction," Ephes. vi. 4, will the faithful parent fulfil his obligations. They will be conducted with all the affection and anxiety of the Christian parent, actuated by the desire of glorifying God and seeing the salvation of his child. They will be accompanied with secret and fervent supplication for the blessing of heaven to make his efforts effectual.

In the discharge of these personal duties the assistance of the Church will be sought. Her ministry and her institutions afford facilities for advice, control, instruction, and devotion. In receiving the sacrament of baptism the child has been admitted into the visible Church, and received a sign and seal of the covenant of grace.* The parents are, on that occasion, exhorted,† and in most cases, make express stipulations to teach the child to read the Scriptures, and to instruct it in the principles of religion, to pray with and for it, to set an example of piety and godliness before it, and by all the means of God's appointment to bring it up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.‡ They are, thenceforward, unless suspended or removed by ecclesiastical judgment, members of the Church,§ responsible to its authority, and subject to its guardianship. How far the Church is faithful to this sacred charge it is not within our pre-

* Confession of Faith, ch. 28.
† Directory, chap. 7. § 4.
‡ Directory, chap. 7. § 4.
§ Confession of Faith, ch. 25, § 2.

sent purpose to inquire. But Christian parents must be reminded that they stand pledged, by their voluntary act, to the Church and to God, for the full and faithful performance of these solemn engagements. All that is binding on them by the ties of nature, and by the word of God, is thus strengthened by their own assumption. These duties are imperative and unalienable; but both parent and child, as members of the Church, have also claims on its care.

The special modes of assistance offered by the Church in aid of parental duty, are the catechising of the children by the minister, and the instructions of the Sunday School. The former means must necessarily be, in the generality of congregations, insufficient for all the purposes desired in the religious teaching of the young. The various calls upon the services of the minister, the shortness of time during which he is able to meet the children, and the difficulty of suiting instruction to their different ages and capacities, allow but partial benefits from this source. The Sunday school precisely meets the deficiency. It is part of the parochial organization of the Church; it is, if properly constituted, under the same inspection and control as the other means of religious instruction enjoyed by each congregation; first, for the instruction of the children of the Church, and secondly, for all such other children as may be sent for the same purpose. The advantages of the system are obvious. Provision is made for imparting knowledge and impressing truth on the young, under the most favourable circumstances. The subjects of instruction are made plain to their comprehension; the mode of conveying it is adapted to their taste and intelligence; the acquaintance which each teacher gains with his own class of pupils, gives a clew to their feelings, and opens an avenue to their hearts which no other means can so well effect. They are also supplied with books expressly suited to the study of the Scriptures, and with others for miscellaneous reading, calculated to impress moral and religious truth in the most engaging and permanent manner.

But the Sunday school is not to be regarded as the substitute for parental care. These obligations cannot be transferred. The parent will employ it as an auxiliary, and will labour in co-operation with it to make its instructions effective. It supplies a valuable kind of knowledge which few parents are qualified to impart, such as relates to the explanation and illustration of the customs, geography, history, and antiquities of the Bible. And in other respects too the teachers, (who are supposed to be pious, intelligent, and prudent,) may be supposed to enjoy peculiar advantages. They associate for the purpose of mutual assistance in all the departments of their duty; they employ the best

helps to aid them in preparing for the service; they devote themselves to this special duty, aiming to forward the religion of Christ, by making it understood, and bring their pupils under its influence.

When such a system as this, consistent as it is with the principles of the Bible, owned by the divine approbation, and directed by the Church, is offered to a parent, surely there is an obligation on him either to avail himself of its gratuitous privileges, or to be sure that his own care at home renders such a resort unnecessary. It is not a device to relieve parents of their responsibility, or to enable them to dispose of their children on the Lord's day, or merely to keep them from profaning it; it is not an unimportant appendage to the Church, which may be disregarded and forgotten by its members, and consigned to the charity of a few teachers. It is the *nursery of the Church*, and demands the protection, the support, and the prayers of the Church. We have considered the Institution in this special light in a former number,* and shall here leave it in the connexion in which it occurs among the auxiliaries to Christian duty, which claim the serious regard of every consistent parent.

Art. III.—*The Bible the Christian's Standard.*

All men have some general standard of action; and this standard, whatever it may be, will determine the character. The world abounds with false standards, while there is one, and only one in the universe, that is right. This God himself hath framed; and it is identified with the richest gift, next to the Saviour himself, which he has ever bestowed upon the world. This gift is the Bible; which reveals not only a perfect rule of conduct, but a perfect way of salvation. Let all standards then which are opposed in any degree to this be cast to the winds; and let all men, as they regard their own highest interests, and as they revere the authority, and dread the displeasure of God, keep "to the law and the testimony."

Our design in this article is to hold up *the Bible as the only authoritative standard;* as the great rule by which we are to settle our faith, by which we are to regulate our conduct, by which we are to try our characters; and then to notice some of the *advantages* which will result from our adopting and adhering to this rule.

* Biblical Repertory, July 1832.

The Bible is the only rule by which we are *to try the principles of our faith.* It is so in distinction from human *authority* and human *reason.*

Human *authority.*—We do not mean to intimate that no advantage is to be derived in this respect from uninspired men and uninspired books; on the contrary, he who should turn his back upon these, would certainly set at nought an important means of good; and besides, Providence has clearly intimated that it is right to avail ourselves of human helps in forming our religious opinions, by having made parents and teachers responsible for the first religious impressions which are communicated to children. We say then it *is* right that, in learning the mind of the Spirit, we should not only consult the record itself, but the commentaries, and treatises, and catechisms, and systems of great and good men; and he who is too wise to be instructed by any of them, is most probably too wise to open his mind and heart to the teachings of the Spirit. The point to be insisted upon in this matter, is, that all human productions should be kept in their proper place; that they should be considered merely as helps in interpreting God's word, and not be substituted in place of it. Be it that children in the earliest stage of their existence must depend on their parents for their views of religious truth,—yet, whenever they arrive at the period in which they are capable of examining the Bible for themselves, they are bound to do so; and if they neglect it, every error which they hold, however early they may have heard it inculcated, involves aggravated guilt. The Bible is a plain book. It commends itself to the understanding and conscience of every one who studies it with an honest and docile spirit. No man then can have any apology for holding a fundamental error; not even in the fact that he inherited it from his parents, or learned it in the catechisms and standards of his church. Parents, and catechisms, and standards, have no dominion over his conscience, any farther than they speak in accordance with the lively oracles.

Let us say a word here in respect to church standards and confessions of faith. It has been common for some religious sects in modern times to speak against all creeds and confessions as worse than useless, on the ground that they were a substitute for the Bible: but this is misrepresentation; and it is what their advocates would revolt at as truly as their opposers. They are designed not to take the place of God's word, but simply as an epitome of what God's word is supposed to contain. When I subscribe to a confession of faith, the language of that act is, not that this confession is the *ultimate* standard of truth, but merely that it expresses what *I* believe are the genuine doctrines

of the Bible. And who will question my right to do this? I do not thereby infringe upon the liberty of any other man—I merely express my own convictions. There may be those bearing the Christian name who reject doctrines which I may consider fundamental; and I may refuse to recognise them as Christians; but the ultimate ground of this refusal is, not that the doctrines which they reject are prominent in my confession of faith, but that I regard them as prominent in the Bible; in other words, it is because I consider the individuals concerned as disbelieving the testimony of God. And if one man has a right to express his conviction of what constitute the doctrines of the Bible, so has another, so have any number; and they have a right to associate together in church fellowship, taking this common expression of their belief as the basis of their communion. No individual can honestly join himself to such an association, if his views differ materially from what they have taken as their standard; nor can any one honestly and consistently remain in such an association, if his views of Christian doctrine become materially changed. The language we hold by joining ourselves to it, or by remaining in it, is simply this—that we regard it as maintaining the great principles of gospel truth and order. We still take the Bible as the ultimate standard; and the only ground for regard to any confession of faith, is that we suppose it to be conformed to the Bible.

But we are to take God's word as the rule of faith, not in opposition to human authority only, but to human *reason.* There have always been men who have manifested a disposition to be wise above what is written; to substitute their own speculations for the simple verities of God's word. In the indulgence of this propensity, some have completely annihilated the Gospel, while others have greatly weakened its energy and obscured its glory. We do not object to human philosophy—we only insist that it should be kept in its place; that it should neither be substituted for the doctrines of the Gospel, nor so connected with them as to hinder their legitimate efficacy. Reason has certainly something to do in respect to religion: she has to weigh and decide upon the evidence that the Bible is the word of God; and she has moreover, to determine what the Bible actually contains; but if she attempt any thing beyond this, she manifestly strays beyond her province. Then and only then, is she in her right place, when, with a spirit of humility and docility, she is inquiring, "What saith the Lord?"

The Bible is the great standard by which we are *to regulate our conduct.*

Men adopt a variety of standards in this respect, according to

the circumstances in which they are placed, and the ruling passion by which they are controlled. Even professing Christians, to a great extent, adopt other rules of living than those which are contained in God's word. They measure themselves by each other; and instead of inquiring of conscience, and the God of conscience, what is right, they look to others who have the weight of Christian obligation resting upon them, and who *ought* to exhibit an example which it is safe to follow. But all this is utterly wrong. The only rule they have a right to think of for a moment, is the perfect rule which God's word exhibits. Say, if you will, that Christians are often called to act in cases which no precept of God's word *particularly* contemplates—yet there are no cases which the *spirit* of his word does not contemplate; and very few in respect to which the Bible does not speak to an enlightened conscience in such a manner as to preclude doubt. The grand difficulty is, not that there is any obscurity in the rule of duty, as it is laid down in the Bible, but that men will not contemplate it—will not study it: they love darkness rather than light, and hence they turn aside from the Bible to some human standard that is more accommodating to their corrupt inclinations.

Let us illustrate more fully what we mean. A professing Christian is tempted towards some scene of vain amusement or forbidden pleasure—his conscience is right, but his inclination wrong; and instead of looking to the Bible, which would settle the question of duty in a moment, by saying, "Be not conformed to this world," he begins to look at one and another of his fellow professors, and those perhaps who may have been considered sufficiently strict, and inquires whether they have not sometimes done the very thing to which he is tempted; and when he finds that he can plead the authority of their example, he asks for nothing beyond it. So too, a professor may be tempted to defraud his neighbor in a slight degree in a bargain, and instead of looking at God's word which says imperatively, "Defraud no man," he turns his thoughts to some other professors whom he may have known guilty of some similar aberration; and with their example in his eye, he goes forward and commits the sin without much compunction. Now this is the exact opposite of what the Christian's duty requires. If we would know what we ought to do in any given case, our only inquiry should be, "what the *Lord* will have us to do."

The Bible furnishes the rule by which we are *to try our own characters.*

The question more interesting to every individual than any other, is, whether he has experienced that great change without

which no one can ever enter heaven. There are many, indeed, who practically treat this as an unimportant matter, and never take the trouble to refer their character to *any* standard; but there are many others who earnestly desire to possess evidence that they have been renewed; and of these not a small number judge their experience by other standards than that which the Bible furnishes. Some will have it that the great evidence of Christian character is to be sought in a life of honesty or of active benevolence; and because they are conscious of general uprightness in their dealings with men, and in giving liberally of their substance for the promotion of Christ's cause, though they have no real love to the Saviour, and no intelligent acquaintance with his doctrines, they take the comfort of thinking that they rank among his friends. Others make the great evidence of piety to consist in burning zeal; and because they find themselves possessed of it, they imagine that they are certainly Christians, though they have nothing of the spirit of humility, or charity, or genuine devotion. Some fasten upon one grace, and some upon another, as if it were the whole of the Christian character; and because they find something which they imagine is like it in themselves, (too often, there is reason to fear, it is not the genuine quality) they confidently conclude that they have been born from above, and not improbably pass severe judgment upon those whom they suppose, in that particular, to fall below themselves.

But very unlike all this is the *Bible* standard of Christian character. The Bible Christian is he who understands and believes the great truths of the Bible; who feels their influence on his heart, and exhibits that influence in his conduct. It is not he who has merely a knowledge of God's truth; nor he who has merely an occasional gust of religious feeling; nor he who is merely exemplary in his external deportment; but it is he in whose character, knowledge, and feeling, and action are all combined. And he who would know whether he be a Christian in deed and in truth, must inquire whether such be his own character. If he suppose that he has evidence of possessing only one of the Christian graces, and is relying upon that as evidence of his piety, it is altogether probable that he is deceiving his own soul. The Christian character, though it is a consistent and beautiful whole, is nevertheless made up of many parts; and in investigating our claim to it, we ought to extend our inquiry to every part, and especially to those which the Bible makes most important.

What are some of the ADVANTAGES that would result from adopting and adhering to this rule?

It would *impose a powerful check upon religious controversy.*

It admits of no question that the controversies which have existed in the church in respect to religion have been one of the most formidable obstacles to the progress of the Gospel; and amidst the disputes which have arisen in respect to what religion is, multitudes have found it an easy matter to act upon the principle that it is nothing. Nay, there is scarcely any point which infidels have made more prominent in their attacks on the Gospel, than the fact that its advocates could not agree in respect to its doctrines; and that what some professing Christians have regarded as of great importance, others have rejected as absolutely false. Now there is no room for question that this evil is to be referred more than to any other cause, to a disposition to be wise above what is written; to substitute human philosophy for the simple testimony of God, or at least to add the one to the other. Let all who profess to be Christians consent to bring their opinions to this simple test, and instead of inquiring what is, or what is not, consistent with some favourite system of human philosophy, let them simply ask, "What saith the Lord?" and rely on it, most of the controversies which exist in the church, and even some which are conducted with the greatest asperity, would be banished at once; and some who seem now to be at a great distance from each other, would be seen walking together in the love and fellowship of the Gospel.

An adherence to the Gospel standard *would contribute much to Christian consistency and decision.* A Christian may be said to be inconsistent, when one part of his conduct does not agree with another, or when any part of it is at variance with the word of God. There are some men who profess a strong regard to the truths of the Bible in conversation, who yet manifest but an equivocal regard for them in their lives. There are some who appear devout without being charitable; and some who seem to be full of Christian sympathy and kindness, who nevertheless exhibit less relish for devotion, and other more spiritual parts of religion than could be desired. There are those too, who, without evincing much positive regard for religion in any way, by their worldliness, by their levity, by their opposition to good objects of various kinds, make the cause of the Redeemer bleed continually. Let a professor of religion be in some respects exemplary; let him in certain departments of religious action even be a model, and at the same time let his deportment in other respects be loose and unedifying, and it is probable that the bad influence he exerts, will preponderate over the good—the world who look on and scrutinize his conduct will find it much easier to account for what may seem good in it in consistency with his being a bad man, than for what may seem evil,

and what really is evil, in consistency with his being a good man. Many a true Christian, no doubt, who has been influenced in the main by a sincere desire to glorify Christ, and who has really brought forth much fruit to his honour, has greatly abridged his good influence by being conformed in some respect to the world, or by being delinquent in some course of duty, of which perhaps he may have formed a partial or erroneous estimate.

Let the Christian take the Bible as his only standard, and this evil he will of course effectually avoid. Here are rules to guide him in every part of his conduct; and in adhering to them, he can exhibit no other than a consistent character. By doing the various duties which devolve upon him, at the proper time, and in the proper place, he cannot fail to let his light shine before men.

But the adherence to this standard is not less important to Christian *decision* than to Christian consistency. Wherefore is it that when Christians are placed in circumstances of temptation, they so often yield, and thus shamefully violate covenant obligations, and bring a reproach on the cause of Christ? Wherefore is it that they so often seem embarrassed as to what they ought to do, and after reflecting, and hesitating, and counting the cost on one side and not on the other, finally do wrong? The great reason is that they are looking away from the perfect and unerring standard of God's word, to the low standards of human opinion. There is ordinarily no difficulty in the case but what they themselves make; and they make it by turning their eye away from the perfect rule of duty. That individual who makes it a rule to ask but this single question in respect to any case in which he may be called to act—"What does God require me to do?"—will rarely be at loss in regard to the course he shall adopt. And acting upon this principle he will acquire a firmness of purpose which nothing can shake—he will have genuine decision of character—decision based on Christian principle. And while this will give an energy and efficiency to all that he does, it will impart to his general character an influence, the extent of which it is not easy to calculate. Witness examples of this in Moses, and Daniel, and Paul, and Luther, and a host of martyrs, who valued their convictions of truth and duty so much, that, rather than abandon them, they have marched fearlessly and triumphantly to the stake.

An adherence to this great standard would be *the best security against a false hope of an interest in Christ.* There is always danger that persons will think themselves Christians when they are not so; owing to the difficulty of distinguishing between true and false experience—a difficulty which arises from

the deceitfulness of the heart, and the power and wiles of the adversary. And while this danger is incident to any period, it is especially incident to a period of great excitement—such as that upon which the church at this day has fallen. It is no doubt one of the great errors of the day that men are encouraged to think themselves converted too soon; and instead of *proving themselves*, they too often rely on the favourable opinion of their minister, or some other persons; and there is reason to fear, often settle down permanently on a false foundation. It is impossible, from the nature of the case, that any sufficient evidence of Christian character should be gained in a moment, or a day, or a week. There may indeed, in so short a period, be much transport; there may be bright visions of God and of heaven; and so too they may prove to be not the visions of Christian faith, but the delusions of a heated fancy. The scriptural evidence of regeneration is to be sought in holiness of heart and life. This always exists at first as a very feeble principle; but it gradually expands and developes itself, so that its existence may ultimately be known, if the Christian is faithful, with absolute assurance. Let the principle be generally adopted, that the slightest change of feeling, when the sinner is under conviction, or indeed any change of feeling he can experience, is to be taken as sufficient evidence of conversion, and you will see the number multiplying on every side who are going down in the light, or rather the darkness, of a false hope, to the chambers of death; and let this be the evidence on which the doors of the visible church are open to receive communicants, and you may rest assured that there will soon be an amount of spurious religion in the church, which will be just cause for her putting on the garments of sackcloth.

The way, and the only way, of guarding against this evil, is to refer all religious experience, or all that purports to be such, to the unerring standard. Each one must do this for himself, if he will not run the hazard of being found at last with the hypocrite's hope. And so too ministers and Christians must do the same thing in respect to others, especially in seasons of revival, when, from the strong excitement that often exists, there is extreme danger of self-deception. When an individual begins to express a hope that he has obtained God's gracious forgiveness, while he receives all the encouragement the case will warrant, let him be distinctly admonished of the deceitfulness of the heart, of the importance of self-examination, and especially of his trying himself not by the opinions of men, but by the perfect standard of God's word. And we cannot repress the conviction that, if all were to be withdrawn from the church, who have come in in consequence of judging themselves by a wrong standard, we

should find a large accession to the ranks of those who are confessedly strangers to the power of religion.

An adherence to the standard furnished by God's word, would *save true Christians from forming erroneous estimates of their own spiritual condition.*

Every Christian knows, and most know by sad experience, that good men are liable to grievous backsliding; and sometimes they wander long before they are reclaimed. Now it often happens that the Christian backslides, while he is scarcely sensible of it. And the reason is that he is not comparing his feelings and his conduct with the divine rule; he is looking rather to the opinions and example of his fellow men. In this way he, imperceptibly to himself, declines, and is scarcely sensible of any unfavourable change in his spiritual condition, till he finds himself at a great distance from God, and begins to doubt whether all his previous experience has not been delusion.

But in this state, again, he is liable to be misled by looking at a wrong standard. It has been specially common in latter years for Christians who may have been cold or backslidden, in seasons of unusual excitement, to give up their hopes, and proclaim to the world their conviction that they had hitherto been strangers to the renewing grace of God. No doubt there are cases in which a false hope is detected in such circumstances, and then surely it is right to abandon it; but it may be doubted, even then, whether more harm than good will not result from the fact being published to the world: better, we verily believe, that the world should learn the change from a subsequent change of conduct than from any professions, which have almost always the appearance of ostentation. But the remark which we were about to make is, that Christians, from looking away from the true standard, may sometimes too readily cast away their hope, and write bitter things against themselves. If you look into the Bible, you will find that David and Job and other holy men, were subject to seasons of desertion, and temptation, and spiritual despondency; and one reason why these things are recorded respecting them is, that they may help the faith and encourage the hope of other Christians in similar circumstances. It seems to be part of the economy of sanctification that Christians should sometimes have their seasons of darkness and trial; and though during such seasons there may be special reason why they should inspect closely the evidence of their discipleship, they are not warranted, they are not permitted, for a light reason, to refuse the comfort that may really belong to them—that of hoping that they have been born of the Spirit.

A proper regard to the Bible as a standard of faith and conduct

would *minister greatly to all the interests of the church.* On the one hand, it would keep out error; on the other, it would secure the prevalence of truth in all its greatness and power. On the one hand, it would make men earnest in defence of the faith once delivered to the saints; on the other, it would induce a spirit of gentleness and kindness towards those whom they regard in error. It would increase a deep, and earnest, and glowing piety, while it would banish inconsistency, irreverence and delusion. It would put out the wild-fire of fanaticism, while it would cause the fire of true devotion, of holy zeal, of genuine love to God and man, to burn with increasing fervour. It would render the church every where, one bright field of Gospel order, so that the eyes of the world could not be turned towards it without admiration. It would, more than any thing else, nourish the spirit of genuine revivals. It would set Christians to labouring and praying, and sinners to mourning and repenting, and the angels to rejoicing and triumphing. Away then with every standard that is not in accordance with the Bible, and let this be all in all. Take it, Christian, as the rule of your faith, as the rule of your conduct, as the rule of your experience; and you will have nothing to fear as it respects your influence or your destiny. But take any thing else than this, or adopt this but partially, and if you are not a mere cumberer of the ground, you certainly will not be a flourishing plant of righteousness; if you do not actually lose your soul, it will be saved only so as by fire.

Art. IV.—*Decorum due to Public Worship.*

There is not less of truth than beauty in the declaration of the poet, that "order is Heaven's first law." We see this every where exemplified in the kingdom of nature, providence, and grace. Whether we look at the grandest or the most insignificant of the works of creation; whether we observe the revolutions of the heavenly bodies as they sweep through the illimitable regions of space, or the motion of an atom as it is borne on the wings of the wind; whether we ascertain the laws of physical existence as applied to the formation of an insect, or the laws of mental existence as exemplified in the intellect of an angel; we cannot fail to discern evidence that it is all the production of a God of order. In contemplating the system of providence too, when we make due allowance for the derangement that is occasioned by sin, we arrive at the same conclusion: we find there

are certain fixed laws, agreeably to which the course of events is regulated. And in the kingdom of grace, we find God still working like himself, evincing design and contrivance in every thing. The scheme of divine mercy for the salvation of men which the Gospel presents, is complete in all its parts: the design which it contemplates, it accomplishes by the most simple, and yet the best adapted, means. And while the Gospel, considered as a system of doctrine, is characterized by perfect order, the same is true of all its practical bearings and results, its ordinances and institutions. In the worship of heaven we are taught that, though there is a fervour that mortals cannot conceive, and though there are ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands who join in it, yet there reigns the most perfect order; and as it is in this respect with the glorified inhabitants of heaven, so it ought to be with humble worshippers on earth. To illustrate the nature and importance of Christian decorum in connexion with the public worship of God, is the whole design of the present article.

Let no one imagine that this is an unimportant topic; for nothing is unimportant that relates to the worship of God, or that God has been pleased to make the subject of an express command. Let it be considered also that this subject has much to do with the *spirituality* of Christian worship; for not only is it essential to our religious improvement that we *observe* this divine institution, but that we observe it in the very manner which God has ordained; and hence it will always be found, other things being equal, that religion exists in the most healthful and flourishing state, where the ordinances of God, and especially this ordinance, are most faithfully and diligently observed. Not that any thing merely external can be substituted for purity and devotion in the soul, but these ordinances as God has given them to us, are among the most important means of awakening and cherishing spiritual affections; and just so far as, in our observance of them, we mar the simplicity, and beauty, and order, which bespeak their divine original, so far we must expect to come short of the advantage they were designed to secure.

There should be proper decorum on the part of *those who attend on social worship, without taking a direct part in its services.* When we speak here of social worship, we mean to include not only the public services of the sanctuary, but the more retired services of the lecture-room and of the prayer-meeting.

It cannot be necessary here to dwell upon the more gross violations of decorum in the house of God, and in other places appropriated to religious worship; such as jesting, and trifling, and unnecessary talking; for it is not to be supposed that persons

who so flagrantly offend, not only against Christian propriety, but common decency, will occupy themselves in reading these pages. There are, however, some other points concerning which it is more common to trangress, and in relation to which the error, though a serious one, is so frequent that it often passes unnoticed.

We mention particularly a habit which too often exists, of gazing over the assembly, with a view to ascertain who are present, or to make observations on the appearance of individuals. This is indeed generally considered a harmless matter; and the rather, as merely looking at a person does not, of course, ordinarily disturb him; but is it not manifest that this habit, to say the least, must greatly interfere with one's own religious improvement? We assemble in the sanctuary for the professed purpose of worshipping God and listening to his truth; and just in proportion as we fail of this, our attendance there is the merest mockery. But if an individual passes the hour in gazing over the assembly, with a view to ascertain the number or appearance of the strangers, or for any other purpose, it is utterly impossible that, in *his* case, the end of public worship should be answered: and we have only to suppose that a whole congregation should do this, (and certainly if it is right for one it is right for all) in order for the whole service of the sanctuary to degenerate into the merest formality.

But while this habit is to be reprobated as it respects *any* part of the service, it is especially worthy of reprehension as it respects public prayers. We will not say that it is not possible that an individual may acquire, in so high a degree, the power of abstracting himself from surrounding scenes, that external objects, and even objects fitted to awaken curiosity may meet his eye, without causing his mind to wander; but if this attainment is possible, it is manifestly one that few ever reach. And hence when an individual in prayer voluntarily suffers his eyes to wander over the assembly, fastening upon every person who happens to enter or leave the house during that period, there is great reason to fear that that individual's heart is wandering as well as his eyes: certainly if he really prays, he cannot blame others for suspecting that he does not. It is not uncommon for men of the world, who do not so much as profess to join in the devotions of the sanctuary, to express their surprise that many professed Christians apparently feel no more interest in this service than they do themselves; that their attention can be diverted, and their heads turned, by the most trifling occurrence. We would say to every Christian, even if this habit is consistent with the keeping of his thoughts and the keeping of his heart before God, it had still better be avoided; because it does leave on the minds of others a painful impression of insincerity; and there are those no doubt

who will take occasion from it to excuse their own listlesness and inattention in the house of God.

There is yet another practice which is even a still greater offence against the decorum that is due to public worship, than that which has just been noticed. We refer to the practice of making personal applications of the truth, by casting a significant look at the individual to whom it is supposed to be especially adapted. Persons who allow themselves in this habit, will be sure to hear preaching to little purpose; because, in their excessive concern for their neighbours, they entirely overlook themselves. They carve out large portions for those around them, and lest they should not have another opportunity, they serve them up on the spot; but they appropriate nothing for their own benefit; and even if others provide for *them* in the same way, it is all to little purpose; for it generally happens that persons of this class have so little self-knowledge, and so much self-confidence, that it is not easy by a look, however significant, to turn their eye inward upon themselves. We said that they who indulge in this habit are not likely to derive any personal advantage from the ministrations of the sanctuary: we go farther, and say that there is a great probability that they will prevent the spiritual improvement of others. You hear a reproof, or some exhibition of divine truth, from the pulpit, which you think must strike hard upon the conscience of a neighbour. Now then, if you will do your utmost to give it its effect, let your heart go up to God in a silent petition that he will accompany it by the influence of his Spirit; but do not turn your eye upon the individual to see how he bears it. For if you do this, and he observes it, whatever else you may accomplish, you have not aided the effect of divine truth upon his heart. You may have succeeded in awakening in his bosom mortification, or resentment, or some other evil passion, and you may have even sent him away from the sanctuary in the attitude of reflection; but then he will be reflecting not upon the truth of God, but upon what he at least will deem the impertinence of a fellow mortal. Let every one remember that his great business in the house of God is, not to watch the effect of divine truth upon others, but to see that it has its full effect upon his own heart; not to endeavour to read the operations of other minds in the countenance, but to commune with his own spirit on the one hand, and with the Almighty Spirit on the other.

But there is also a decorum to be observed in respect to *the manner of conducting public worship.* Our remarks under this article shall be confined to the exercises of devotion—to prayer and singing.

In respect to the first of these—viz. *prayer,* it is due to the

decorum of worship that it should be conducted with great reverence. We would indeed never have it forgotten that fervour of spirit is essential to this part of the service of God; and that however reverential may be the manner, if there be little or no feeling, there is an awful and radical deficiency. Still we maintain that mere fervour can never make amends for the lack of reverence; and that where the former exists without the latter, there is great reason to believe, either that it is mere animal excitement, or at best is associated with gross ignorance. The fervour which is inspired by genuine devotion is simple and child-like: it is the devout and earnest longing of a spirit that feels itself to be as nothing in the presence of the Almighty Spirit with which it is attempting to commune. But there is a fervour which is noisy and boisterous; which breaks out in extravagant and sometimes violent expressions; which descends to a degree of familiarity with Jehovah which would scarcely be considered decorous in the intercourse of one mortal with another; and we may even add, which sometimes discharges itself in a sort of holy trifling with the Highest, and in little short of imprecations on some of his creatures. We know there are those with whom this passes for prayer; and who, if there be an apparent earnestness in this exercise, think little of what there is, or what there is wanting, besides; but it is greatly to be feared that much that passes for prayer on earth, passes for mockery in heaven; and that many a man who takes upon himself the credit of wrestling with God, is actually chargeable with the guilt of insulting God. When you remember, Christian, who the Being is whom you profess to approach in your devotions,—that God in whose sight the heavens are not clean, and before whom even the angels do not bow without veiling their faces; and when you contemplate the examples of prayer which are left us in God's word, and observe by what deep and awful reverence they are marked; can you doubt for a moment that any approach to an irreverent manner in this exercise must be exceedingly offensive? This is an evil to be avoided even in our private devotions; and certainly it becomes greater in social worship, where its influence is felt not merely by the individual who conducts the service, but by those who wish to join in it.

Let us say one word, before dismissing this topic, in respect to the length of social prayers. The human mind is so weak, and in its best state so inclined to wander, that its powers cannot remain fastened in all their intensity, and without interruption, for a long time, even upon the most interesting and glorious of all subjects. Hence, that this service may be performed with the best effect, it must not be protracted beyond a proper limit; be-

cause, whenever the mind becomes fatigued with the exercise, it is worse than in vain to have it continued; for not only is all spiritual communion for the time at an end, but the wandering of the mind in such circumstances is fitted to produce a habit of irreverence, and to render the duty of devotion less welcome under more favoured circumstances. If the individual be only speaking forth his own desires to God in the closet, why then he may be governed, as to the time of his continuing this exercise, by his own feelings alone; but when he leads the devotions of an assembly, he is bound to keep in view their benefit as well as his own; and especially to bear in mind the fact, that if he wearies them by the length of his prayers, he actually defeats the end at which he is bound to aim; viz. their spiritual improvement. It is a fact which deserves to be carefully considered, that the specimens of prayer which are recorded in Scripture, and especially the form of prayer which our Lord gave his disciples, are short—very short; and though we may not infer from this any obligation on our part never to transcend these precise limits, yet we may reasonably conclude that God intended to inculcate in general the duty, that when we approach him, our words should be few as well as rightly chosen.

But we pass to consider the other part of public worship—viz: *singing*. No one who is at all familiar with the Scriptures, can doubt that the celebration of God's praise has always made part of public worship. The design of sacred music of course is nothing less than to awaken devotional feelings in the heart, while it serves as an expression of those feelings as they are directed to the heart-searching God. Most persons are capable of being wrought upon, and many in a high degree, by this peculiar exercise of the human voice; and though there may be a glow of animal feeling produced by it without any thing like genuine devotion, yet in a mind piously disposed, it cannot be doubted that it is eminently fitted to awaken and cherish a devotional spirit. The effect must, of course, be measured, in some degree, by the original capability of the mind to receive impressions from this source; but there are few minds so constituted that the impression made by devotional sentiments will not be heightened by their being appropriately expressed in music. If such be the design of this part of public worship, then it follows not only that it is of great importance that sacred music should be cultivated, but that that is the best style of music which is best adapted to cherish true devotion. That it should be conducted with propriety and with taste, certainly does not admit of question; because, otherwise, instead of being a help to devotion by falling in with an original current of feeling in the human breast, it be-

comes a hinderance to it by giving a shock to some of our finest sensibilities. There are indeed a few minds constituted in such a manner as to be in a good degree proof against the most exquisite melody on the one hand, and the most grating discord on the other; but in the great majority of instances, the devotions of the Christian will in the one case be greatly embarrassed, in the other, greatly assisted.

But while this part of public devotion ought to be performed with correct taste, and if you please, with a measure of elegance, it ought to be in a style of Christian simplicity. If the minister who should lead in the public prayers should assume the manner of an actor, and should seem to be praying merely to gratify the taste or amuse the fancy of a portion of his hearers, every one would regard it not only as unpardonable trifling, but downright impiety. And what better is to be said of that style of singing God's praise, which causes his praise to be forgotten, and the singing only to be thought of? God forbid that the church should ever borrow any thing from the stage—no, not even the parade and fascination of its music! We repeat, let every thing be done here in perfect simplicity! It matters little whether the devotions of Christians be hindered by awkward and discordant sounds, on the one hand, or by strains which only become the theatre, on the other: in the latter case, as truly as in the former, the decorum of Christian worship is violated.

If the preceding remarks are correct, it surely is the duty of every religious congregation to cultivate sacred music to such an extent as to secure in the best manner the design it is intended to answer as a part of divine worship: and if it is the duty of every congregation to do this, it is the duty of every individual who is endowed with the power of music to cultivate this gift, as God gives him opportunity. And we go farther and say, that it is the duty of all who are able, to aid, from time to time, in this part of public religious service. It was for this very purpose, of celebrating his praise, that God gave them this noble faculty; and if they never use it in this way, are they not chargeable with burying at least one talent in the earth? This is a duty which every individual who is thus gifted, owes to himself, his fellow-worshippers, and his God. He owes it to himself, as it is not only an expression of devotional feeling, but a powerful means of exciting and cherishing it. He owes it to his fellow-worshippers, as he thereby contributes to make melody in their hearts, and to deepen the current of their devotion. He owes it to God, as a reasonable expression of his homage for every good gift; and as one principal means which God himself has ordained for acknowledging his goodness and celebrating his praise.

I cannot forbear to remark in this connexion, that the course to which I have here adverted, would be an important security against the decline of sacred music in any congregation, as well as the most efficient means of effecting a revival of it where it has already declined. Let not this be a thing to be monopolized by persons of any age; but let all who have the ability regard it a privilege to render their aid. Even the tremulous voice of old age, if it does not destroy the harmony, will increase the solemnity and dignity, of this part of religious worship. Can you conceive of a spectacle at once more delightful and more sublime, than a great congregation all engaged, so far as they are able, in celebrating God's praise; in which the old, and the middle aged, and the youth, and even the little child—we had almost said the lisping infant, are mingling their voices in a common expression of thanksgiving to God and the Lamb? Let each one feel his personal obligation on this subject and act accordingly, and this blessed, thrice blessed result would be realized.

In illustrating the IMPORTANCE of the general duty which has been presented in the preceding pages, we would remind every Christian that he obeys God in the observance of his ordinances only in proportion as he attends upon them, or celebrates them, with religious propriety and decorum. In relation to the manner in which we are to celebrate his worship, he has given us as explicit directions as we need; and this not only by direct precept and instruction, but by recording for our benefit the example of those who have shared most richly in the influences of his Spirit. Just in proportion then as we depart from the scriptural manner of worshipping him, and substitute any invention of our own, we are chargeable with disregarding the Divine authority. No doubt there are some things in relation to this matter which are left to human discretion; but it is not left to human discretion whether or not all things shall be done decently and in order. We acknowledge too, that there may be some things that are wrong, very wrong, in the observance of this ordinance, when after all its substance is retained; but if we do these wrong things, we are without any apology; we may imagine that we are honouring God by adding to his institutions; but we are really dishonouring and disobeying him.

Besides, it is only as we maintain a proper regard to Christian decorum in our worship, that we have a right to expect that our service will be crowned with a blessing. The ordinance of religious worship, as God has established it, is adapted in the happiest manner possible to exert the influence it was intended to exert on the intellectual and moral nature of man. We know that it *must* be so, from the fact that it was appointed by a Being of

infinite wisdom, who made the mind, and who knows perfectly how to influence it; and we know that it *is* so from actual observation and experience. If then God's appointment is overlooked, and something else substituted in its place; if under the cover of great zeal and spirituality, public worship degenerates into a mere tumult of the animal passions, why then the blessings promised to those who wait upon God will be withheld of course; not only because God will frown upon the perversion of his own institutions, but because whatever is substituted in place of them, being a device of man, is not adapted, like the ordinances of God, to subserve man's religious improvement. If any thing better than these ordinances could have been devised, God no doubt would have devised it; and certainly his work will not be the more perfect for man's attempting to mend it.

But does any one ask, if this be so, how is it that in scenes of tumultuous excitement, where the common proprieties of public worship are all set aside, and there is groaning, and falling, and writhing, there are so many more converts, than where things are conducted with more coolness, and as *we* should say, decorum? We answer, this question takes for granted a fact which, to say the least, is of a most equivocal character;—the fact that the mass of individuals who profess to be converted in these circumstances are really so. If a man lives a Christian life, let it have commenced in as suspicious circumstances as it may, doubtless, we are to acknowledge his claim to the Christian character; but with our eye not only upon God's word, and the record of all past experience, but upon the very principles of human nature—we declare unhesitatingly, that all those supposed conversions which take place under powerful efforts to inflame the passions, amidst scenes of disorder and tumult—in short, where God's institution is in a great measure set aside, and the wisdom or rather the folly of man substitutes something in its place—that all these supposed conversions may be doubted—ought to be doubted, until their genuineness has been proved by a long course of holy living. It is hardly to be expected that men will be converted to God in the very act of disobeying God's plain commandments. We know that ignorance may sometimes be pleaded as an apology for fanaticism; but is not that ignorance which excuses fanaticism inconsistent with that knowledge of the truth which is essential to our sanctification?

Let it be remembered, moreover, that the manner in which these external duties are performed, must, from the very nature of the human constitution, powerfully influence the heart, and give complexion in a great degree to the religious character. It is a law of our condition that our characters are formed, to a con-

siderable extent, by external circumstances; and that the practical estimate which we form of any thing, depends much on the objects with which we find it associated, or the medium through which it is seen. Now then, if we are accustomed to associate religion with scenes of disorder, or to connect with its appropriate duties, extravagances which God's word does not warrant, admitting that there is a principle of grace in the heart, we shall inevitably in this way prevent it from a regular and vigorous growth. If there be true religion in this case, it will indeed live amidst all the rubbish by which it is surrounded; but it will not exist in fair and beautiful proportions. And on the same principle, just in proportion as we err habitually in respect to any of the parts of external worship, our Christian character must suffer loss; because, though the error relate to an external act, it is an act which is designed to influence, and which must influence, the inner man.

Let no one suppose that it has been the design of any part of this article to plead the cause of a formal religion. We have indeed exhorted Christians to a faithful observance of the ordinances of God; but we have done this not in the way of proposing a substitute for the devotion of the heart, but the most efficient of all helps to it; even that which God himself hath prescribed. We would that it might be distinctly impressed on the heart of every reader, that nothing that is merely external can ever be a qualification for entering heaven; and if there is no sincerity, no life, no spirituality in your religious services, however much of order there may be in them, however much to attract the eye and call forth the praise of man, they will be found to contain the elements of an aggravated condemnation. Be satisfied with nothing short of the religion of the heart, and let this be acted out, not only in your faithful observance of God's institutions, but in whatever is pure, and lovely, and of good report. Thus will your Christian character rise in goodly proportions, and you will be training up for an inconceivably glorious reward.

And that reward—oh! it will consist in no small degree, in worshipping God with the innumerable throng of heaven. Christian, *there* will be nothing of the frost of formality on the one hand, or the false fervours of animal passion on the other. *There* indeed will be burning zeal; devotion that never tires; joy that rises to higher and still higher ecstasy; but there also will be light without a cloud; order without interruption. All will rise and bow around the throne, and will shout together the praises of redemption; but there will be no discordant notes in their music: the song that will tremble on their harps and on their tongues will be one—the song of praise to the Lamb that was

slain. Christian, you will soon be there. Let your worship here be more like the worship of heaven. Let the inward feeling and the outward act be just as God requires. And while you are yet watching, and waiting, and worshipping, your Saviour will reach down from the heavens, and take you up into his presence, and the light of the throne will shine upon you, and you will know how to touch the golden harp, and all your worship will be pure and transporting, like that of the angels.

ART. V.—*Reflections on the Life and Character of Balaam.*

FEW men whose history is recorded in the sacred Scriptures, possessed a more extraordinary character than Balaam. He was, a famous diviner of the city of Pethor on the Euphrates. As the children of Israel were on their march to Canaan, Balak, king of Moab, in conjunction with the princes of Midian, became alarmed lest this vast multitude which were passing through their territories, should fall upon them in a hostile and successful invasion. With a view to impair the strength of the Hebrews and render them a more easy conquest, Balak despatched messengers to Balaam, with an urgent request and with powerful inducements to come and curse this formidable nation. Balaam, whose ruling passion was covetousness, was more than willing to comply with this request: but from some divine impression upon his mind, he was afraid to give them an answer, till he had had an opportunity of consulting the divinity: whether he meant the true God or an evil spirit it is not easy to ascertain. But be that as it may, the true God took the matter into his own hands, and commanded Balaam not to go on this malignant errand; assuring him that the people whom he was desired to curse, were blessed. Mortified and vexed with his ill success, he sent the messengers back to apprise Balak of the result. Balak thinking it possible that there was something lacking either in the character of the messengers or in the reward that was offered, which occasioned the reluctance of the enchanter, immediately sent more honourable messengers, and offered a larger reward. To this message Balaam replied, that for a house full of silver and gold, he could not go beyond the word of the Lord to do less or more. Nevertheless, having his heart set upon obtaining the reward that was offered him, he besought them to remain till he could have an opportunity to consult the deity again, to ascertain whether he had changed his mind. The result was that God in judgment gave him liberty to go; declaring at the same time that in the

course he should pursue in respect to the Israelites, he should be guided entirely by subsequent intimations of the divine will.

The point was now settled in the mind of Balaam that he would go; and early in the morning, he and the messengers set off. But before he had proceeded far, he met with a severe reproof for his wickedness, in a miraculous and most appalling incident. The angel of the Lord, or the angel Jehovah, had placed himself in the way with a drawn sword in his hand. Balaam perceived not the unusual appearance; but the beast on which he rode saw it, and was affrighted. After the poor creature had been most wantonly abused by her master, and had actually fallen down with fear, not daring to go forward, she was miraculously endued with power to reprove him for his cruelty and madness: but even this seems not to have terrified him, owing probably to the fact that he had been accustomed to converse with devils in the form of beasts, and perhaps maddened with rage. The eyes of Balaam were then opened to behold the angel, who also rebuked him for his cruelty; and assured him that the turning aside of the beast was what saved his life. Balaam acknowledged his sin, and reluctantly offered to return; but he was permitted to proceed on his journey on the condition that he should be governed in respect to the object of it by divine directions.

To a man of almost any other spirit than that which Balaam possessed, this would have been enough to have changed his purpose, and to have caused him to abandon with terror the errand on which he had set out. But no; he has a sort of courage that carries him forward. Balak met him on the frontiers of his kingdom, and conducted him no doubt with great pomp to his capitol, and there entertained him with a splendid feast. On the next day he brought him to an adjacent hill, which was consecrated to Baal, that there he might have a good view of the people whom he had been sent for to curse. That he might obtain divine permission to comply with Balak's wishes, Balaam requested the erection of seven altars, and the offering of a sacrifice upon each. While this was doing, Balaam retired to take counsel of the divinity; and lo! he was inspired with this unwelcome message;—that it was in vain he had been brought from the East to curse the Israelites whom God had not cursed; and that they should be the numerous and peculiar favorites of heaven. In delivering this message, he expresses the wish that in respect to his death and posterity he might resemble Jacob.

By request of Balak, two other attempts were made in circumstances which were considered more favourable, to obtain the divine permission for the accomplishment of his purpose; but in both cases there was the most mortifying failure. Balaam was

not only forbidden to curse the Israelites, but was commanded to bless them; and to predict in the most unqualified manner, not only their future prosperity and glory as a nation, but the prosperity and glory which would be secured to the world through a Hebrew Messiah. The result of the whole was, that Balak kindled into rage, and directed Balaam forthwith to leave his territories; while the prophet justified the course he had taken by a constant reference to what he had originally told the messengers, that he could not go beyond the word of the Lord to do less or more. Thus was the counsel of the wicked turned against themselves;—turned into foolishness.

But while Balaam was divinely constrained to bless the people of Israel, and to utter predictions which should be for the consolation of the church in all ages, it is certain, that with criminal inconsistency, he suggested a plan to Balak for seducing the Israelites into gross iniquity, and thus causing them to forfeit the favor of God. The plan was adopted, and with success; for it issued in the death of a thousand Hebrews by public execution, and twenty three thousand more by a plague. Shortly after, however, God commissioned Israel to avenge herself of these enticements of the Midianites by making war upon them; and in this war Balaam himself closed his miserable career. He was caught, fatally caught, in the net which had been spread by his own hands.

The history which has been thus briefly sketched from the inspired record, suggests several important practical lessons. We will attend to a few of them.

I. *It presents a striking example of an awakened conscience in connexion with an unsubdued heart.*

The fact that Balaam would not venture even to attempt to comply with the request of Balak, till he had obtained the divine permission for going with the messengers;—the fact that he did not dare do otherwise than obey strictly the intimations of the divine will, and that he actually blessed the people which he was sent for to curse, and which in his own heart, he desired to curse; and still more the fact, that he expressed his desire that he might himself die the death of the righteous, proved beyond all question that he had a conscience which recognised the difference between right and wrong, and which during all this time was awake, and faithfully doing its office. But, on the other hand, his whole career furnished equal evidence that his corrupt inclinations existed in all their strength; and especially that avarice, which seems to have been the ruling passion of his nature, held him in complete dominion. It was this which made him dissatisfied with the answer that God gave to his first application, and em-

boldened him to renew his request. It was this which urged him forward in spite of all the appalling manifestations which he witnessed of the Divine displeasure. It was this that made him so ready at the suggestion of Balak to change the post of his observation, and to obtain, if possible the approbation of God to the malignant work for which he had been called. He loved the wages of unrighteousness. His heart was fully set in him to do evil. His ruling inclinations were utterly at war with the decisions of his conscience. Do you imagine that the case of Balaam in this respect stands alone? Far from it—it is a case of which every unrenewed sinner, if he would take cognizance of all that passes within, would, at some time or other, find himself an example. You are meditating some act of doubtful character;—it may be to practise some deception upon a fellow mortal for the sake of advancing your fame or your fortune; or it may be to rush into the haunts of guilty pleasure and sensual indulgence. And yet in all this you do not feel free and happy. And wherefore is it? Not surely on account of the feebleness of your inclinations to compass the object in view; but because there is a principle within you which you are obliged to respect, whether you will or not, which contravenes your inclinations, and inspires a gloomy foreboding that the indulgence of them will be fraught with evil. In the conflict which is thus occasioned, conscience will sometimes prevail; and sometimes inclination; but at any rate, it greatly embitters the pleasures of sin.

There is another case in which the war between conscience and depravity sometimes produces a still greater tumult in the bosom: we refer to the case of the awakened sinner;—the sinner who has become convinced of his guilt under a special divine influence. On the one hand, conscience thunders out against him the sentence of condemnation. She points him to the wrath to come. She well nigh uncovers before him the fiery gulf. She causes images of wo and despair to pass before his eye, and will let him hear of nothing but weeping and gnashing of teeth. On the other hand, his corrupt inclinations rise up with a giant's strength. He knows the reasonableness of God's claims, but his heart rebels against them. There is in his bosom a spirit which would, if it were armed with power, usurp Jehovah's throne. The thought of yielding up all pretensions to personal merit, and of being saved through the righteousness of Christ, is so revolting to his pride that he knows not how to submit to it. There are not wanting those who can testify from experience that this conflict is productive of the keenest agony they have ever felt.

And here too lies to a great extent the secret of the torment of hell. The moment the sinner has passed into that region of

outer darkness, every restraint upon his evil inclinations is removed; and the principle of sin is left to operate in all its fierce and appalling malignity. There too, conscience, though for the most part it may have slumbered up to that hour, wakes in stern and awful majesty; and resents the insults which have been shown it in a life of sin; and makes itself felt as a tormentor in every thought and emotion that rise in the soul. Oh, could the inhabitants of the world of wo pluck out this never-dying worm, hell would cease to be hell; acclamations would ring through the prison of despair; and smiles would beam upon countenances from which joy had been supposed to have taken her final flight.

Here then is a great practical lesson for every sinner. It is, that in order to be happy, his conscience and inclinations must be brought into harmony. In other words, the desires and affections of the soul must be subdued to the authority of conscience: in compliance with its dictates, he must yield up the rebellion of his nature, and devote himself, his all, to the service of God. Do you say that we are giving you a false alarm, and that you are not sensible of this internal war of which we are speaking? Then it is because your depravity has, for the present, got the mastery over your conscience, and is keeping it in an unnatural subjection. Rely on it, though your conscience may be asleep, it is not dead; it will ere long wake, and will not only cause you to feel the reality of its existence, but to writhe under the fierceness of its accusations. Your conscience you cannot exterminate, but your depravity, by the aid of God's Spirit, you may. Conscience is one of the original elements of your moral nature, and must remain forever: depravity is a superinduced or accidental quality, and may be eradicated; and this instead of occasioning a defect, will contribute to the perfection of your moral nature. God has told you how to get rid of your depravity, and to pacify your conscience. He has pointed you to the blood of Christ, which has a sovereign efficacy over the one, and to the Spirit of Christ, whose operations effectually destroy the other; and as you desire that the harmony of your nature may be restored; as you desire that you may be delivered from the corrosions of guilt, and from the promptings, and the restlessness, and the turbulence of evil affections;—above all, as you desire that you may be saved from the miseries of hell, and exalted to the glories of heaven, be entreated to avail yourself without delay of the glorious provision which is offered in the gospel. An active conscience and a rebellious heart would make hell any where in the universe. Beware, O beware, that this fearful union does not exist in your own case, no not for an hour!

II. In the history of Balaam *we have a striking example of the mischiefs and folly of a spirit of avarice.* It is manifest that Balaam was prompted by this in every step that he took in his foolish expedition against Israel: this is the solution given of it by the apostle when he says, that "he loved the wages of unrighteousness." The rewards which were held out to him by Balak, were too tempting to be resisted by a man of such disposition. He eagerly hailed the opportunity, as he regarded it, of making money; and to this ruling passion he made himself a slave. But what was the result? It was confusion, mortification, utter defeat. It proved to be an expedition fraught only with disappointment and disgrace; an expedition which will cause his name to go down to the end of the world, with the curse of God resting upon it.

It is important that a spirit of avarice should not be confounded with that prudent attention to our worldly pursuits which reason and even religion enjoins. The fact that a man is diligent and industrious in his worldly calling, and even that he is intent on accumulating property, by no means renders him liable to the charge of covetousness. It is part of his duty to provide for his own subsistence; and if there be others dependent upon him, to provide for them also; and this in all ordinary cases, involves the necessity of diligence and industry. So too, he may task himself to the utmost in the acquisition of wealth for the sake of appropriating it to useful and charitable objects; to benefit his fellow men, and to extend the kingdom of Christ. It is not the fact then that an individual is intent on increasing his substance that renders him liable to the charge of avarice; but the spirit with which he pursues his worldly vocation. If he labour, or if he desire to become rich, merely for the sake of being rich; of enjoying the reflection that he has his tens of thousands or millions at his command, when neither himself nor his fellow men are the better for it; in short, if he labours for worldly property only in the spirit of a miser, you may rely on it, he is pursuing a course which will bring down upon him the rebukes of Providence; and which he will himself sooner or later be compelled to deprecate.

There is no spirit which more effectually than avarice, benumbs the best feelings of the heart. There is a noble kind of pleasure in doing good; though it be only from the impulse of a naturally generous disposition. But the avaricious man knows nothing even of this kind of pleasure. The region of his affections is cold as winter, and dark as midnight. He has the strange faculty of deriving happiness, and even his chief happiness, from the sight of heaps of money, which are lying utterly useless, when they might be appropriated to supply the wants of the wretched

and suffering around him, and possibly even his own personal necessities. Will you call this happiness? Who that is not cursed with the spirit of a miser would desire it?

Besides, the gratification of an avaricious spirit is usually marked by severe labour and painful self denial. The man who possesses it is not merely industrious, but his faculties are continually upon the stretch, and he toils with unremitting assiduity, and sometimes hazards, and even sacrifices, his health, in the pursuit of gain. He is not merely frugal, but not unfrequently subjects himself to a retrenchment of many worldly comforts, and sometimes even to severe bodily sufferings, that he may have larger heaps of glittering dust to look at. If he would speak out the honest language of his heart, he would say that his life is a hard one; nevertheless he voluntarily renders it so by indulging his excessive love of the world.

And then too, it is the ordinance of God that the covetous man should not always attain his object: he never indeed fully attains it, for at least nothing short of the wealth of the whole world would satisfy him; but he is often signally frowned upon; and his most diligent efforts to become rich do not raise him above a moderate competence; possibly not above abject poverty. Here then there must be unhappiness of course; for the disappointment of one's wishes always occasions unhappiness; and that in proportion to the strength of desire and effort with which the object has been pursued. But there is something worse still; for scarcely any thing is more common than for the avaricious man to see his wealth blown away after it has been actually acquired; blown away by a single blast of misfortune, perhaps by a single miscalculation of his own, after it had been acquired by the laborious, the self-denying, the miserly, efforts of many years. But even if his property all remains with him to the last—suppose that up to the moment that there arises in his case the necessity of a shroud and a coffin, all that he has acquired or inherited, and set his heart upon, remains in his possession—what becomes of it then? We may not be able to tell what *will* become of it; but we may say with confidence what *will not:* it will not accompany his body to the chambers of the sepulchre; it will not attend his spirit in its flight to other worlds. It remains here; but it does not remain long as he left it; for as his heirs have not known the labour of accumulating these possessions, they will most probably make short work of dissipating them. Say, if you will, that this will all be nothing to him *then;* but ought it not to be something to him *now?* Ought it not at least to rebuke his infatuated pursuit of the world?

But the worst thing in respect to an avaricious spirit remains

to be said: it is, that where it is the ruling passion, and is suffered to continue so, it destroys the soul. If you die unrenewed you must indeed perish at any rate; but if your ruling passion be covetousness, it will be to that especially that you will have to refer your destruction. Oh, dwell upon that most impressive question, which fell from the Saviour's own lips—'What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?'

The practical use which we wish to make of what has been said under this article, is to lead all who read these pages to a proper estimate of the possessions of the world. It is not a virtue to be regardless of them; it is almost a condition of our existence here, that we make them in some degree an object of pursuit; and in doing so, we certainly increase the means of our own usefulness. But on the other hand there is danger that we shall set our hearts upon these perishable things, and love them merely for their own sake; and that in the pursuit of a bubble which will after all elude our grasp, we shall sacrifice our souls. Beware, ye men of business, that ye do not incur this amazing evil. Beware that ye use the world as not abusing it. Seek it from right motives, and use it for right purposes, and you need not fear that it will harm you; but if you suffer your attachment to it to be supreme, from whatever consideration, you will be treasuring up for yourself bitter disappointment, and everlasting, though unavailing regret.

III. In the history of Balaam *we have an instance of God's restraining influence on the mind of a bad man.*

When he was first applied to to curse the people of Israel, he hesitated, and from some divine impression no doubt, refused to go, until he should have taken counsel of the divinity. And after his meeting with Balak, though he manifestly desired to comply with his wishes, yet during the whole time there was a divine influence acting upon him, which not only prevented him from cursing, but caused him to bless the Hebrew nation. He repeatedly declared, both to the messengers and to Balak, that he could not go beyond the word of the Lord to do less or more.

Admit, if you will, that the influence which was exerted upon Balaam was to some extent miraculous, yet in its general aspect, it is a fair specimen of what God is constantly doing in the world. Sinners, we know, act as if they regarded themselves independent even of the Highest; they project and mature, and carry forward their guilty plans, with as much confidence as if there were no eye that could see farther than their own, and no power that could confound their evil designs; but the real fact is that their principal witness and their tremendous judge is always present; and he has his own plan in suffering them, not in compelling them, to work iniquity; and

though they do not realize it, he restrains them at his pleasure, and causes even the wrath of man to praise him. Yes, that sinner who glories most in his fancied independence, is doing nothing but what God permits him to do; nothing even but what God will take care shall redound to his own glory.

One means by which God restrains bad men in their wickedness, is the operation of conscience. Balaam's conscience, as we have seen, was awake; and this it was that dictated a refusal to comply with Balak's wishes, and even to yield to his own. Other sinners have been checked in their career of guilt by the operation of this principle as well as Balaam. Have you never yourself half projected a guilty purpose, which something within forbade you to mature, much more to execute? Admit that a regard to your own character in the view of the world may have had some influence in keeping you back, yet are you not conscious that the most efficient agency has been that of this internal monitor which has spoken with stern authority, and bid you look forward to the results of your conduct, as they will be developed at the judgment? We venture to say, if you knew the secret history of every wicked man, you would know that his conscience often operates as a curb upon his inclinations; and that one grand reason why the world is not literally engulphed in crime, is, that this ever present judge of actions *will* speak, and for the most part, *will* be heard, even amidst the clamours of passion and the boisterous revellings of vice.

There is another way in which God exercises a restraining influence upon the wicked: it is through the arrangements of his providence. You are not conscious perhaps that there is any other agency in the disposal of your lot than your own: you do not even dream that there is any higher power at work in ordering the circumstances of your condition. But the fact really is, that God's providence is concerned with every thing that happens to you, and every thing that relates to you; and all the minute circumstances which mark your lot, are as truly a matter of his cognizance and direction, as is the great system of worlds that fill immensity. And he orders the condition of every sinner with reference to the amount of wickedness which he shall commit; that is, he so orders it that he shall be restrained in his guilty career beyond a certain limit. This he may do by keeping him out of the way of temptation;—temptation especially to those sins to which his inclinations most powerfully prompt. He may also bring him under the influence of circumstances which shall serve to inspire self-respect; and thus keep him from the extreme debasement of his faculties. Many a man no doubt has a respectable standing in society, and would revolt at the idea of gross

crime, who has nevertheless that in him, which if it were called forth by temptation, might make him a terror or a scourge to all around.

You see then that God keeps the rein in his own hand. Why he permits sin at all is indeed a question which we cannot answer; but that it is not forced upon the universe without his permission, and that he has said concerning it in his decrees, and does say in his providence, that "hitherto it shall come and no further," is alike a dictate of reason and revelation. Here then, sinners, is a consideration which ought greatly to abate your triumph: for even *you* are in the hand of God, to be dealt with according to his pleasure. You cannot go beyond the limit which he has marked out; and though you are perfectly voluntary in your wickedness, and of course answerable for it, yet you will know at the last, that God's eye and God's hand had been always upon you. Here too is a consideration in view of which the church, and every true member of the church, has a right to rejoice. You may not understand wherefore sin is permitted at all, wherefore the wicked seem to prosper, wherefore there are sometimes no bands in their death, but you do know that all this shall never harm your interests; because your interests are bound to the throne of Him who has declared in respect to his people, that all things, even the most adverse, shall work together for their good.

IV. We may learn from the history of Balaam that *dangers lurk in the path of the wicked.* The angel of the Lord had stationed himself in Balaam's path with a drawn sword; and the life of the prophet must have been the sacrifice, if the beast on which he rode had not turned aside. From some cause, either natural or preternatural, the appalling spectacle at first entirely escaped his observation.

So too there are dangers in the path of every sinner. In the way of open vice there are dangers which respect the present life, as well as the future. The dishonest man, the gamester, the intemperate man, the sensualist, the thief, the liar, the robber, the murderer, the openly wicked of any character, are constantly in the midst of dangers: this is true even of those who are but just beginning, or who are only just contemplating a career of vice. You are in danger of losing your character, of losing your health, of losing your property, of losing your friends, of losing your life. But what is worse than all, whether you are openly vicious or not, if you are only unrenewed, you are in imminent danger of losing your soul; in danger of having your portion at last in everlasting burnings.

But is it true that you are sensible of these dangers? Are you

practically sensible that destruction is in your path, and that if you keep on, you will inevitably run yourself against the sword of Jehovah's vengeance? Is it not, on the contrary, the melancholy fact, that like Balaam you see not your danger; and that you even resist every effort that is made to bring you to see it? When the ministers of Christ proclaim it to you, and urge you to flee from it, what else do you do than treat the warning as if it were an idle tale? When your Christian friends perform in private the same office of kindness, can you say that they are more successful in rousing you! And when God speaks, nay thunders, in his providence, are you not as deaf as adders? We tell you now on God's authority that there is destruction in that path in which you are walking; yes, in that path of gaiety and amusement, that path of supreme devotion to worldly gain, that path of forgetfulness of God, there is stationed an angel of death, who, if you are not speedily arrested, will surprise you by executing his office, and consigning you to the miseries of the lost. God reproves you for your wickedness, not indeed by supernatural means, but in the common course of his providence, and through the operations of your own conscience; and if you neglect to heed these reproofs and rush on to destruction, say whether your blood will not be upon your own head?

V. In the history of Balaam, *we behold a wicked man rendering his homage to the truth and excellence of religion.* This Balaam did in taking counsel of God on the point whether he should go at Balak's request; and in his persevering adherence to the divine command to bless and not to curse the Israelites; and more than all, in the earnest wish he expressed that in respect to his death and his posterity, his lot might be like that of the people of God. He was a bad man, but nevertheless he reverenced the good; and though he was not willing to live the life of the righteous, he was more than willing to die the death of the righteous.

In this respect also, there was nothing in the disposition which Balaam manifested, to distinguish him from other bad men. It is true of the wicked generally, it is true of them all without exception, that in some way or other, they testify to the excellence and value of religion. Even those who trifle with the gospel, and profess to regard it with contempt, do really, though most unintentionally, proclaim their secret conviction of its truth and divinity: in other words, they prove that in their professed opposition to religion, they act the part of hypocrites.

Wicked men render their homage to the excellence of religion, when they assume the appearance of it without the reality. For why is it that they are willing in this way to submit to the

drudgery of systematic deception;—of trying to support a character which they know does not belong to them? Manifestly, the only reason is that they expect hereby to commend themselves to the favour of the world; and they know that from the very constitution of human nature, virtue must always be respected, vice always detested. Every hypocrite, then, every false professor of religion, every man who tries to pass himself off in the world for something better than he really is, renders his decisive testimony to the excellence of religion. The genuine quality he has not, but he regards it as so important, that he is willing to assume the appearance of it, and support that appearance at the expense of a studied duplicity. Religion is often attempted to be traduced on the ground that there are many hypocrites in the church; but if those who prefer the charge would allow themselves to reflect, they would perceive that this very fact takes for granted the excellence and value of religion; for who would have any motive to counterfeit that which was after all good for nothing? Again; the openly vicious testify in various ways their respect for good men while they are living, and their respect for their memories after they are dead. We know, indeed, if they wish to find some one to aid them in the accomplishment of their evil designs, or to participate with them in their guilty pleasures, they will not go to the good man: they will go on such occasions to one like themselves; to one whom they know to have proved himself capable of conniving at their wickedness, if not of becoming an accomplice in it. But let them have any important trust to be executed which shall involve in a great degree their own interests, or the interests of their children, and you will find them looking out for the man of unyielding integrity and virtue; and they will be just as unwilling as you would be to trust one of their own associates. And when the good man dies, think you they will love to traduce his memory? Far from it. Even though, while he was living, they might have been disturbed by the purity of his example, and possibly by the faithfulness of his admonitions, and might have sometimes made him the undeserved object of their reproach, yet when they come to follow him to the grave, they will be heard to speak of him as a good man; and his good deeds will sometimes be the theme of their eulogy after his body has mouldered in the grave. We ask those who are observers of human conduct, is it not so?

It is moreover to be observed that the wicked render their homage to religion, even in their attempts to vilify and abuse good men. For what is it that they reproach them for? Never for that which is good; but always for something which is sup-

posed to involve error or crime. You often hear a professor of religion reproached as a hypocrite, but never as a truly religious and devoted man. You will often hear professors called bigots, and knaves, and drunkards, and these things will be dwelt upon in the way of bitter reproach; but never will you hear them reproached for charity, and honesty, or any other Christian virtue. What more decisive proof than this could be desired that bad men reverence religion? If it were not so, they would attack Christians, because they *are* Christians; and would not find it necessary to call things by wrong names; to change virtues into vices.

But there is yet another way in which the wicked do homage to religion; it is in forming resolutions to become religious before they die; as well as in the agonizing, though there is too much reason to believe, fruitless, efforts, to become so in the hour of death. There are some on every side who are neglecting religion, and some, we doubt not, who would shrink from being suspected of ever turning their thoughts towards it as a serious concern. But we should hazard little in saying that there is not one in whose breast there does not live a resolution that he will become religious before he dies. And here is the evidence that he has, after all, a secret conviction that religion is the one thing needful, and that it is essential to the salvation of his soul. We will not predict, in respect to individuals, the fate of this resolution; whether it will go into effect, or whether it will prove only a staff for them to lean upon as they go down to hell. But we may speak of what *has* occurred; of what is occurring constantly in the world; of dying scenes in which there is bitter lamentation, and hard struggling, and piercing agony, because the soul feels that it is just going, and fears that it is going without religion. We knew a man who in health seemed utterly regardless of his salvation, and was nothing better than a scoffer. We met him in a solitary walk, and pressed him with the importance of religion, and tried to avail ourselves of every circumstance to bring him to reflection, but he resisted it all; and seemed by his whole manner to say that he had no fear for the future. Shortly after we heard that sickness had shut him up in his chamber; and that his friends were apprehensive that he was nigh unto death. We went to his dwelling, and into his chamber, anxious to know whether religion was the same unimportant thing in his estimation which it had been a little while before. On approaching his bedside, we saw that he must die, and felt that we were even then in the presence of the King of Terrors. He remembered the walk; he remembered the warning; he remembered his own indifference; and the recollection was a thorn in

his soul. "Religion"—said he,—"I feel that it is every thing. Oh I would give the world for it, if it were at my command! But here I am in the valley of death, a stranger to its consolations. I am dying without hope—I am dying to be miserable forever, because I neglected religion; because I heeded not the warning voice. I always intended to be religious, even when I made light of its obligations; but I have delayed too long: here I am in the act of dying, and what can I do?" He *was* in the act of dying; for when he had spoken these words, his spirit had fled. We looked upon him, and the eye had ceased to move, the bosom had ceased to heave, the pulse had ceased to beat—every thing told that he was a corpse. In his last hour and his last moments, he was stung by remorse, he was overwhelmed with terror, he was well nigh frantic with agony; but in every word, in every groan, in every look, he testified to the excellence of religion. He preached upon his death bed more impressively than ministers can ever do, the solemn truth that the world is nothing, that religion is every thing.

Wherefore then will any of our readers neglect religion? If even the wicked render an involuntary testimony to its excellence, if it is absolutely necessary to gild with comfort and hope your last hour, if in neglecting it, you throw your immortal soul away forever, we ask whether such neglect is not something worse than madness? Is there any apology for delaying that for an hour in which your interests for eternity are all bound up? Reason answers, there is none. Conscience answers, there is none. God grant that this may be your own practical decision; and may your future conduct evince that this has been the era of your becoming wise for eternity!

ART. VI.—*The Life of William Farel, prepared from Original Authorities, by Melchior Kirchhofer, Minister at Stein on the Rhine, in the Canton Schaffhausen, &c.* Vol. II. Zurich: 1833, 8vo.*

WE have already presented our readers with a copious analysis of the first volume of this work.† It was then expected that the sequel of the animating biography would appear in a few months; but more than two years elapsed before the second part was given to the public. This delay, as there is good reason to believe, was occasioned in no small degree by the politico-religious feuds which exist in Switzerland.

To those who are acquainted with the early history of this son of thunder, no apology need be made for occupying so large a portion of our work with the details of his life. As the forerunner and friend of Calvin, and the pioneer in Swiss reform, as well as the zealous and eloquent missionary and preacher, he cannot but be an object of high regard to the great body of our readers.

Our history, it will be recollected, was broken off just at the interesting moment when Farel and Calvin were driven out of Geneva by an ordinance of the government. Undecided as to their future course, and almost tempted to relinquish the burdens of the ministry, they journeyed as far as Basle. Viret earnestly tendered them an abode, but they were unwilling to make him obnoxious to the tempest which they had scarcely escaped. They bore their trial with the utmost patience, forgiving their enemies, and recommending them to God. All at once, a call was received by Farel. The people of Neuenburg (Neufchatel) had received the Gospel from his lips; they sympathized with him in his affliction, and longed for his labours. A delegation from the Council sought him out at Basle, and pressed him with earnest entreaties to resume the care of their souls. After long hesitation, he reluctantly acquiesced, upon the condition that no obstacle should be laid in the way of his introducing a regular form of government; and after a seven weeks' retirement in Basle, he sorrowfully parted from his most beloved friend and younger brother, Calvin.

In Neufchatel he found things considerably altered. A few villages had come under the power of the Reformation. The

* Dar Leben Wilhelm Farels, aus den Quellen bearbeitet, von Melchior Kirchhofer, Pfarrer zu Stein am Rhein, Cantons Schaffhausen, Mitglied der Schweitzerischen geschichtsforschenden Gesellschaft in Bern, und korrespondirendes Mitglied der Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der Geschichtskunde zu Freyburg im Breisgau.

† See Bib. Rep. for Ap. 1833, p. 146.

popish clergy had receded, and a new form of church-order was in some degree established, upon the principle that every thing was to be rejected which is forbidden by Scripture. The Bible was circulated in the language of the country. Yet in their departures from Romish servility the people were in danger of failing to recognise even legitimate church rule. The first regular Synod was held in May 1535; at this, however, for prudential reasons, Farel had not been present. Among other ordinances, it was here determined that, without the consent of the brethren, no novel doctrines should be broached, nor any one admitted to the ministerial office, without having been regularly called. In general, the regulations of the churches at Berne were adopted. In difficult cases the Classis was to call in other churches to counsel.

Such was the condition in which Farel found ecclesiastical matters in Neufchatel. A good foundation had doubtless been laid, but there was wanting the hand of a wise master-builder, to carry up the edifice, and to thrust aside those who were officiously busied in building where they were not sent. The Governor had embraced the principles of Reformation, but still retained an ancient grudge against Farel. The latter, however, zealously pursued his labours, seeking the counsel and aid of all good men. Having gone to Lausanne to attend the marriage of Viret, he proceeded as far as Thonon, and there heard from some of the Genevese, sad accounts of the uproar and disorganization in their unhappy city. In Neufchatel he was grieved at the unworthiness of some pastors, and the sufferings of many brethren; and so much was he disheartened at the stumbling-blocks which remained, that his lamentations drew from Calvin a letter of friendly remonstrance.*

In the midst of these discouragements, what was his astonishment to hear that Neufchatel was again visited by his former enemy and calumniator, Caroli! We have already related the apostacy of Caroli from Protestantism, his retreat to Rome, and his restoration to celibacy and popish orders. It remains to be told, that not finding what he sought in the bosom of Mother Church, he returned to Switzerland, to put himself under the wing of the evangelical community which he had so basely maligned. He was received with the distrust which was natural. Farel, however, determined to heap coals of fire upon his head, by frank cordiality, as soon as tokens of his restoration appeared. In a public conference, Caroli bewailed his fall; testified to the orthodoxy of Farel, Calvin, and Viret, whom he had charged

* Oct. 1539.

with Arianism; abjured purgatory, and the invocation of saints, and declared the mass to be a denial of the only sacrifice of Christ. In a word, he recanted and lamented and entreated, in such wise, that the preachers who were present affectionately gave him the right hand of fellowship. The Classis then took the matter into consideration, and there was great diversity of sentiment. Farel himself was strongly disposed to receive the professed penitent, and to win him over by kindness. For this leniency he was afterwards reprimanded by Tossanus, who from the beginning had seen through the mask of the hypocrite. Caroli left Neufchatel without satisfaction. His subsequent attempts at Berne were equally fruitless. And when, after some time, Farel found him in some retired spot, the faithless man broke forth into renewed attacks upon the orthodoxy of the preachers. Up to the time of his departure for Strasburg, he received from Farel the most salutary counsels; but all in vain. The conduct of Farel towards this impostor was surprising to most of the community. No one had been so much injured by his slanderous tongue, and yet he continued to treat the wretched man as a friend. Calvin strongly disapproved these repeated intercessions in behalf of one so unworthy. From Switzerland Caroli passed into France, and became again a priest of the Sorbonne.

The expulsion of Calvin and Farel from Geneva, was productive of the worst consequences. All bonds were loosed, and instead of order, there arose hatred, strife, confusion, feuds, and even murder. The mass was re-established, and the Bible was laid under restrictions, and entirely withheld from the female sex. The Syndics, who had caused the exile of the two pastors, came to such an end as was thought to be a judgment of God. The people awoke from their enchantment, and began to sigh for their preachers. Before a year had elapsed after the banishment, the council was ready to seek their return. To the question, which was often put to Calvin, whether he could not be induced to return, he uniformly replied, that he had been ejected with Farel, and that he would not return without him. And when a formal call was presented to him, his first inquiry was, why they had not sent for Farel, whose presence was as needful as at the time of their Reformation. While Calvin was privately beseeching Farel to prevent the success of these overtures, the latter was as earnestly using all means to accomplish Calvin's return. With the most urgent eloquence he entreated him to yield to the desire of the people, declaring that the call was manifestly of God. "God calls you to return (said he;) He permitted your expulsion, that you might again exercise your function with greater effect." While Calvin hesitated, in doubt whether the people of Strasburg

would allow his return, Farel wrote imploringly to the Swiss churches, begging them to use all their influence to promote the restoration of this important leader. "I conjure you, brethren," said he, "as you are Christians, and as you would further the prosperity of the church, to bend all your endeavours, on every side, to bring about this great end, lest the wrath of God fall on us for our treachery to his church; for I hold it to be no less than high treason for any to hinder the return of a pastor so passionately longed for." The earnestness of Farel, as usual, prevailed, and a second time he gave Calvin to Geneva. In this we behold the providence of God. Had these entreaties proved unavailing, and had Calvin never returned, how different, in all probability, would have been the history of the Reformed churches. Yet it was not till he had received from the burning soul of Farel a number of mighty appeals that he finally re-entered the place of his future eminence.

The sufferings of the French Protestants about this time engaged much of the attention of Farel, and induced him to visit Worms, in order that he might consult with the princes and learned men there assembled, in 1540 and 1541, concerning the best means of affording relief. He was filled with joy at beholding the learning and piety which God had raised up for the restitution of his church, and which was so largely represented in that convocation. With these fathers and brethren he also conversed upon the affairs of the Swiss churches, especially those particulars of polity and discipline, in which they were still wanting. After this, he complied with a request of Viret, that he should visit Zurich, and sought in various ways to obtain aid for the persecuted Christians in France.

The leaven of malice and contention was meanwhile actively working in Neufchatel. The zeal of Farel for purity of morals led him to mourn over the ungodly walk of many who were accustomed to partake of the communion. And so great was his sorrow, that he described himself as the most wretched of men. Nothing was wanting to produce an open eruption of the evil spirit, but some odious act of discipline on the part of the pastor; and it was not long before such an occasion was presented. A woman of some rank had become alienated from her husband, and abandoned his society. They were the parents of a rising family, and the life of the woman was far from being unblemished. Farel tried, by expostulation, to bring her back to the path of duty. The only result was that she forsook the Lord's table in a rage. He then applied to the lawful authorities, but without success. With his characteristic boldness he denounced the scandal from the pulpit; and a popular commotion instantly ensued.

Two parties were drawn up, but the majority decided that the faithful minister should depart at the end of two months. The storm beat against him violently, but he withstood it with rocky firmness. The greater part of the Council and the most respectable heads of families were in his favour; but the populace, supported by the Governor, his ancient foe, demanded his dismissal.

Not Neufchatel alone, but almost all evangelical Switzerland, felt the excitement of these events. The first who hastened to Farel's support was Calvin, who turned aside from his journey to Geneva, to still the disturbance. From Neufchatel he went to Berne, to make interest for the cause of truth and order. But the Bernese commissioners looked with some allowance upon the complaints of the disaffected, at least so far as to think it right that Farel should quietly recede from a charge where his labours were no longer valued. To such advice Farel would not lend an ear, even for an instant. His uniform language was, that having been called by the church, it was the church alone which should dismiss him; and that he could not, under such circumstances, abandon his flock, without being a traitor to his Master. The Classis also perceived that however mildly the exile might be effected, the precedent was such as would tend to unsettle all ecclesiastical relations. They therefore rejected the mediation of the Bernese. In the mean time, notwithstanding the vehement challenges of Farel, no man impeached his doctrine or his life.

When it was found that the secret influence of the commissioners from Berne was altogether against them, the Classis of Neufchatel sent deputies to a number of sister churches, in order to collect their opinions. The result was, that Geneva, Montbelliard, Biel, Morsee, and Thonon, sent letters which corroborated Farel in his inflexible purpose. Of these warm and pathetic communications, ample specimens are given by our biographer. Through all this hurricane of dissension the object of popular hatred was himself unruffled. He did not even desire an appeal to the churches. "Whether God hath decreed to retain me here, or not, is not any matter of anxiety to me; for I am prepared for any event." As the peril became more imminent, his steadfastness seemed only to increase. His preaching contained no allusion to his wrongs, and his pastoral labours were uninterrupted. Just at this juncture the plague burst out in Neufchatel, and afforded an occasion for him to appear in his true character, as a good shepherd. Day after day he was at the bedside of the sick and dying, making no distinction between his enemies and his friends. Even his bitter opposers could not withhold their respect. A general solemnity was observed, with reference to these judgments, and all partook of the Lord's Supper. Under faithful

preaching the eyes of the people were opened, and a general reconciliation appeared to be at hand. The churches of Basle, Constance, Strasburgh, and Zurich, sent such replies as strengthened the hands of Farel, and moderated the wrath of his enemies. And at the end of a few months, the pastor was reinstated in his ministerial office.

Then it was, for the first time since his dismissal, that Farel conceived it to be his duty to revisit Geneva. His astonishment was excited by beholding the speedy restitution of order which Calvin had effected. About the same time the Classis of Neufchatel was labouring to draw more closely the bonds of church order. Elders and deacons were appointed, the instruction of children on the Sabbath was introduced, and methods were taken to improve the common schools. It was enjoined, that no one should lie sick three days, without a visit from some spiritual adviser; and the Governor threw open the prison cells for the same humane purpose. And various steps were taken to produce a state of ecclesiastical affairs, in which, under strict discipline, the churches should be faithfully subservient to the government in a civil point of view, but absolutely free in whatever regarded the things of God.

No sooner was this difficult enterprise in a state of forwardness, than Farel began to pant for an opportunity of making new inroads upon the kingdom of darkness. He turned his eyes to Metz, where the little flock of Christians was scarcely able to rise above the wave of persecution. With the advice of his friend Calvin, whose discretion never took the colour of fear, he determined to blow the silver trumpet in person, at Metz. He accordingly visited them in the autumn of 1542. His first sermon was in the church-yard of the Dominicans. In vain were all the bells set ringing to prevent his being heard; his voice of thunder rose above their noise. The next day he addressed three thousand hearers. These discourses and his public administration of baptism excited much wonder. Even his friends became alarmed. He was summoned before the Council, and asked by what authority he preached. "By the authority of Christ," replied he, "and at the desire of his members." The plague broke out fearfully in Metz, and Farel was incessant in his labours of mercy, though his visits were strictly prohibited. Such was the opposition of the rulers, that the gates were closed against a deputation of the Swiss churches, and some persecution began. It would be long to recount the fluctuation of feeling and the scenes of contention which took place. Similar details have been given in our former article. The upshot of all was, that Farel found it prudent, after beholding

some fruit of his labours, to retire to Gorze, a neighbouring place, under the patronage of William, Count Fürstenburg.

In Gorze, Farel was not idle. A characteristic anecdote is related. On a certain occasion, in his hearing, Fidelis, a Franciscan friar, was holding forth from the pulpit, and asserted the perpetual virginity of Mary. Farel instantly arose and denounced this as a falsehood. In a moment he was, as in former days, assaulted by the women, who dragged him to and fro by his hair and beard, and would have maltreated him still further if he had not been rescued by a certain Captain Frank. After keeping his chamber for some time, he resumed his labours, and preached indefatigably until Easter; finding time, however, to write a noble letter of exculpation to the Duke of Lorraine, in which the principles of the Reformation are stated with clearness and cogency.*

The evangelical party in Metz sought to put themselves under the shadow of the Smalcald compact; but even Luther himself found his efforts in their behalf fruitless. After many intercessions of the Protestant princes, the utmost they could obtain was freedom of preaching. But as the evangelical rites were not yet tolerated, the brethren of Metz betook themselves to Gorze to celebrate the Lord's Supper. Farel administered to them, with many exhortations to penitence and gratitude. Scarcely had they partaken of the ordinance before they were filled with consternation by the sound of the war-trumpet. At the instigation of the Cardinal of Lorraine, his brother Claudius, Duke of Guise, with consent of the French king, fell upon these innocent sheep. A promiscuous slaughter ensued. Many were slain, and others drowned in the flight. Women were seized and injured. With the greatest difficulty Count William and Farel made their escape, the latter much wounded. For a long time his friends supposed him to be slain. He was finally brought in a litter to Strasburg.

To weaken the influence of Farel in Metz, the Duke of Orleans had no better expedient than to send against him his ungrateful acquaintance, Dr. Caroli, who was glad to have such an opportunity of wreaking his vengeance. He proceeded at once to denounce Farel, as a base heretic, and as the Augsburg Confession was the standard in Metz, he enlarged upon the sacramental question. But this was not enough; in the church of St. Vincent, he solemnly cited Farel to appear before the papal throne, or the Council of Trent, or the emperor and king of France, or the theologians of the French universities, or at Salamanca, in case he could not visit France; or finally, at Lyons or Padua. He demanded an answer in eight days, and declared that if it was not

* Feb. 11, 1543.

received, he would post him throughout Europe as a coward. He afterwards challenged him to a conflict "of life or death;" and ridiculously proposed that for this purpose they should both be imprisoned, Caroli in Metz, and Farel in France. Farel's reply was full of Christian forbearance. He declared his readiness to defend the truth every where, and at all times. While he held the motion touching the prison to be laughable, he was prepared to hold a disputation in any suitable place. And he closed with stirring appeals to the conscience of his opposer.

Caroli continued his gasconade, but Farel was supported by the counsel and letters of his friends in all quarters. The meeting hence took place, and Caroli, deceived by his Romish flatterers, a few years after, poor, wretched, and forsaken, died in an hospital, and sunk into the nothing which Farel had predicted.

Farel had been a year absent from home. During this period his labours and sufferings had won him golden opinions from all good men. But his heart bled for the poor Christians of Metz, who received no relief, and whom he could not personally visit. His letters to them breathe a spirit of the most tender and fatherly affection; and even some years after this, we find him labouring with Viret for an alleviation of their ills. On his return to Neufchatel, he found himself speedily involved in new difficulties. Part of these arose from the perverseness of Chaponneau, one of his colleagues, an aged and testy man, who seemed almost ready to act over again the part of Caroli, by impugning the orthodoxy of Farel and Calvin. Another source of difficulty was the maladministration of pecuniary affairs in the church; for the ecclesiastical funds were diverted from their original intention, and sometimes even hypothecated for individual debts. In the midst of these troubles, an attempt was made, in 1545, to recal Farel to Geneva. This had long been a favorite project of Calvin, who was convinced that his former colleague could be far more useful in Geneva, than any where else; and even the Classis of Neufchatel were willing to make the sacrifice. But Farel would on no account leave his flock, without first providing a suitable successor, and as this was found impracticable, he remained.

While these transactions were in progress, Chaponneau died. He had been for some time reconciled, and on his death-bed assembled his brethren, retracted his slanders, asked their forgiveness, and sent messages of kindness to Calvin, whom he had greatly injured. The next event of general interest, is the attempt of Calvin and Viret to attract Farel once more to their vicinity. The Bernese had resolved to have a second chair of theology at Lausanne, and Viret desired a like-minded colleague. In Calvin's judgment, no man was so fit for the place as Farel. He was well

versed in the Scriptures, familiar with the Hebrew, and promised well as an interpreter. The government of Berne however frowned upon the proposal. This was no doubt in some degree owing to a jealous apprehension of the ecclesiastical influence which three such men would have, if their forces were thus united. For such was their inviolable friendship and unanimity, that whether separate or together, a single spirit seemed to actuate them all. The profound knowledge and penetrating intellect of Calvin, the zeal, resignation, and irresistible eloquence of Farel, and the innumerable captivating graces of Viret, formed, when combined, a power which was suspected. And the consequence was, that this second attempt to remove the pastor of Neufchatel, was as fruitless as the first.* This is the less to be regretted, as the light of Theodore Beza began soon after to shine in Lausanne.

The attention of Farel was now very strongly invited to the subject of education, by a letter from the good people of Berne. Though he needed no solicitation of this kind, it seems to have hastened his endeavours. He clearly saw that darkness would again overspread the church, if young men were not trained up for the defence of the Gospel. He was therefore instant with the Council that they should educate some candidates for the ministry, and succeeded in engaging them to provide for four. Farel's chief anxiety was for the religious instruction of children, and the full qualification of such as were to be ministers. He endeavoured to erect new schools, and to improve those which were already existing. In a word, he went much in advance of his contempories in the promotion of intellectual culture.

The persecutions which were endured by French Christians awakened the sympathy of Farel, especially as his own brothers, Daniel and Gauthier, were in prison; the latter in peril of life. In company with Viret, he travelled to Berne and Basle, to gain some assistance for them. The next year they went also to Basle and Strasburg, in behalf of the persecuted Waldenses. At the same time there were distressing circumstances within his own more immediate bounds. The writings of the Anabaptists were circulated, and produced injury. Farel urged upon Calvin the duty of confuting these licentious fanatics. The latter, in return, sought the advice of his friend with regard to the evils wrought by the same contentious people in Geneva. Farel again went with Viret to Geneva. With touching eloquence he pleaded the cause of Calvin before those who were disaffected. He reminded

* Suspicantur itaque protinus aliquam inter nos esse conspirationem et nos aliquid magnum moliri. Seis enim quam male jampridem audiat. *Triumviratus*, cui accedat Classis, paulo post Conventus. Calvin Vircto 15 May 1548. V. etiam Calvini Comment. in Titum. Ep. dedicat. ad Farel et Viret. 3 Kal Dec. 1549.

them of his former services, and the preeminence of his labours against Antichrist. And whereas, they were offended with the poignant rebukes of their pastor, Farel reminded them that Calvin had, in a manner equally unsparing, animadverted upon no less men than Luther, Melanchthon and their associates.

In 1545 Farel published a small book of devotions, which are characterized by Christian tenderness and unction. He wrote many letters of advice and comfort to churches and individuals. From time to time, he perused the successive works of Calvin, with great delight; and once, in a time of sorrow, found his work on the Council of Trent so cheering, that he spent the whole night in reading it.

The debates concerning the Sacrament were becoming fierce and injurious, and this was especially the case in Berne, where some who were disposed to be zealots, went so far as to denounce Viret for his opinions on this subject. Farel and Calvin acted the part of mediators, and succeeded to a certain extent in assuaging the unholy excitement. Their maxim was thus expressed by the latter: "By moderation and love, we shall conquer." The *interim* with its accompanying evils, filled the mind of Farel with apprehension, and he spake and wrote upon the subject with even unwonted animation. It was under these feelings that he penned his "Letter to all the lords and societies to whom the Lord hath given me access, and who have aided me in the work of the Lord."

Still more was he alarmed, in common with all good men, at the progress made by the *Libertines*, a disorganizing and licentious swarm of Antinomians, regularly descended from the Anabaptists of Munster. They aimed their blows at the very basis of religion. Their specious addresses, fraught with earnestness and suavity, and flattering to the carnal heart, misled multitudes, especially of the female sex. Their books and sermons were inflated by the ravings of a sickened imagination. As a lure to the friends of the Reformation, they used the Evangelical language, but only to turn the grace of God into lasciviousness. Thus a certain Franciscan imitated Calvin, and taught predestination; but he made it an apology for sin. Against this man, Farel wrote his *Sword of the Veritable Word of God.** These men held that God had made men wicked in order to be a contrast to his own loveliness, and that sin is merely an accomplishment of the Divine will. They maintained the pantheistical notion that the soul, at dissolution, is merged in the Divine essence, thus annulling all the moral influence of the doctrine of immortality.

* Geneva 1550, pp. 488.

Farel defended the mysteries of grace against these horrible perversions. The whole was subjected to the revision of his two faithful friends, before it was made public. They found nothing to censure but the style, which was all his own. He was neither easy nor correct, and the ardency of his feelings obscured his conceptions, and sometimes enveloped his meaning in a mist of figurative diction. In addition to these tokens of friendship, we may remind the reader that Calvin dedicated his commentary on Titus, to Viret and Farel.

In 1550 a new Synod was convened, at the instance of Farel. Calvin, Viret, and Haller were invited. The first two were present; the last sent a friendly letter, excusing himself for being absent, on the ground that he could not appear without special permission from the Council. The presence of Calvin made a great impression. The Synod was employed chiefly upon questions relating to marriage, and ecclesiastical and consistorial regulations. Twenty-eight articles were agreed to, with much concord and fraternal unity.

In the autumn of the same year we find Farel at Geneva, where much contention was beginning upon the predestinarian controversy, in consequence of an attack made upon Calvin, by Jerome Bolsec, a quondam Carmelite. It happened on a certain occasion that Farel was one of his audience, when a certain preacher said, that all who were not born of water and of the Spirit were contrary to God, inasmuch as obedience was God's special gift to the elect. Bolsec started up and contradicted this. Calvin, who had come in unobserved, made an immediate reply, in a discourse of an hour's length. He was followed by Farel, who commended with zeal and eloquence what they had heard from his friend. Bolsec was chagrined and disconcerted. This occurrence embittered the latter very much against his two respondents.

The perils of the church cast upon Farel an increasing weight of care, and a burdensome correspondence. For it became his duty to direct the doubtful and confirm the weak, throughout the Reformed churches. Tossanus, in his difficulties, applied to him; and his old friend Bucer made him the depository of his griefs. The latter wrote to him frequently from England, and derived encouragement from his replies. When Bucer, soon after, died, Farel wrote to Calvin in language of the sincerest affection. But nothing so heavily pressed upon his spirit as the difficulty of enforcing discipline in communities where people were so prone to oscillate from the extreme of servility to that of fanatical insubordination. The contempt also in which he saw that true learning was held by many, grieved him sorely. To this was

added an humble sense of his own insufficiency and unworthiness, which is by no means the least admirable trait in this good man's character. To his friend Ambrosius Blaarer, of Biel, he writes (1552), as he had previously done to Calvin: "I conjure you, remind me frankly of what you see amiss, and make me the subject of your prayers. Thus shall you help both me and the church, more than by your commendations, which spring from an immoderate love." Burdened himself, he sought to relieve the burdens of others. His eye glanced with sympathy towards France, and Magdeburg, where the friends of truth were enduring persecution.

Farel had now passed his grand climacteric. In labours he had been abundant, and no less abundant in griefs; it is not therefore surprising that he should have been a valetudinarian. In 1553 he was more violently seized with disease, and a pleurisy laid him on a bed of pain, from which his physician Sarazin entertained no hope of his ever rising. Under these distressing circumstances he received a visit from the famous French jurist, Charles Du Moulin, who was anxious to become acquainted with so eminent a champion of evangelical reform. During his stay, Farel made his last will. It was characteristic. He first thanked God for the mercy which he had shown him, notwithstanding all his ill desert; especially that by the death of his Son he had redeemed him from the curse; that he had rescued him from the darkness of Popery, and made him a minister of the truth. He then committed his soul to the mercy of God through Jesus Christ, and yielded his body up till the day of resurrection. He avowed his conviction of the truth he had preached, and prayed for the steadfastness of all who had received it from his lips. The little worldly property which he possessed, he left to his brothers, Gauthier and Claudius. He bequeathed the fourth part of his books to the library of the Classis, and the residue to the sons of Gauthier Farel, and a nephew. A third part of his ready money and personal estate was to be given to the poor, under the direction of the Classis. The name of John Calvin is subscribed as the first witness. Farel was ready to depart, but the wish of Calvin, that his friend might survive him, was accomplished.

The synod convened about the time of his recovery. As the former governor was no more, an important obstruction was now removed. The synod passed many grave ecclesiastical acts, concerning the Lord's Supper, baptism, the religious education of children, the further removal of Popish ceremonies; also against divers scandals and immoralities; against lasciviousness, revelling, dancing, and superstition. Some difference existed with regard to the question whether public penance should be connected with

excommunication, and Farel was led to some temporary estrangement from his young brother Fabri. With the latter also there arose a difference upon a nice question respecting baptism. A child was offered for baptism by a pious grandmother, while its parents were Papists. Farel hesitated to administer the rite, as the father and mother did not belong to the church of the faithful, and were therefore without God's covenant. Fabri was in favour of baptizing the child, because the grandmother was its sponsor, and promised to bring it up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. The Classis was divided. Some were against denying baptism in any case. Haller and Musculus declined giving any answer, and referred the case to Calvin; who held it to be absurd to baptize such as one could not reckon among the members of his church.*

The situation of Calvin, with respect to his own city, was such, about this time, as to fill his friends with solicitude. The delicacy of his friendship led him to conceal the extent of his troubles from his bosom friend. But Farel, of his own accord, hastened to Lausanne, to counsel with Viret for the relief of their brother. He also wrote to Calvin, in such terms as these: "The origin and aim of our friendship is Christ and the edification of the church. Riches, honour, power, worldly pleasure, are not what we seek, but only how we may serve our Master." He conjures him also, by the love of Christ—"If you believe it to be for the glory of Christ, constrain me, command me, beseech me to come." But Calvin was unwilling to introduce his aged friend into the labyrinth.

While the Libertines were bringing disorder into the church, Michael Servetus arrived at Geneva. One of his own scholars accused him, and after a few days the *Procureur général* instituted further process. The proceeding was generally acceptable.† The doctrine of Servetus (we are here giving a faithful summary of the biographer's statements) was a medley of extravagancies and impieties, which excited universal horror. He had borrowed from the Libertines, and from the Anabaptists, but had originated most himself. An impartial investigation took place. Among those present were some of Calvin's deadly enemies. Supported by these, Servetus rejected all instruction, and was seduced to bring capital charges against Calvin himself, which no other had ever ventured to do. On both sides there was high excitement of passion; and Calvin lamented the loss of public confidence. He believed the church, the truth, and himself to be in jeopardy. There were many who regarded Servetus more as a blasphemer

* Ep. Farello, 16 Cal. Aug. 1553.

† Magno assensu piorum. Beza ad Bull. 27 Aug. 1553.

than a heretic, and blasphemy was then, as it has been long since, a capital crime. Against Servetus were united the law, the general opinion, the vote of the leaders in the Swiss churches, the severe letter of the council of Berne, the voice of Calvin, who was no less a jurist than a divine, and most of all, the outrageous deportment of the accused himself. He was without opposition condemned.

Farel voluntarily offered to accompany the wretched man to execution. In company with other ministers, he exhorted him to consider his errors, but found him incorrigible. Farel then said to him: "Since such is your demeanour, I must leave you to the judgment of God; I can go with you no farther, though it was my determination to stand by you, and not forsake you until your last breath." Farel had endeavoured to procure for him an easier mode of execution, but this was denied by the Council.

Trouble was not yet at an end in Geneva. The syndic Perrin admitted to the communion one Philibert Berthelier, who had been excommunicated; the consistory stood upon their rights. For the support of his friends, Farel came anew to Geneva, where he used his influence with the friends of order, and in his characteristic way, animadverted upon the Libertines from the pulpit. These were not present, but the report of the discourse so inflamed their choler, that soon after his departure a criminal prosecution was instituted against him, as having attacked the honour of the whole community. Summoned to answer for himself, he repaired to Geneva on foot, and during inclement weather. Calvin was forbidden to let him preach; and on his arrival, his enemies threatened to cast him into the Rhone. He found however a body-guard of stout young friends, who would not see any insult offered to Father Farel. And so triumphant was the eloquence of his defence, that even his accusers gave him the hand.

When he returned to Neufchatel, he was involved in some perplexity by the necessity he was under of defending himself against the slanders of Pierre, the pastor of Cressier, who declared that Farel was "a savage man, a perverter of the truth, and possessed with two devils." After a public trial, Pierre was convicted of slander, and ordered to beg pardon of Farel, the governor, and the inhabitants. In the great majority of instances, however, Farel pursued the wiser course of leaving calumnies to refute themselves. He even declared that he chose to be the butt of the malicious Bolsec, rather than that Christian doctrine should be assailed by him in the person of Calvin. Against the latter the storm still raged, at Geneva, and also at Berne, where he was stigmatized as a heretic. "I must be made of wood and stone," writes Farel, "if I do not cling to thee with the most tender

love." And his whole language to his persecuted friend was in a tone of sympathy and encouragement.

In the midst of these drawbacks, he gloried in seeing that the truth advanced. And very soon, even in Geneva, he was witness to the power of light and love, in surmounting obstacles. "I was lately in Geneva (so he writes in 1557 to Blaarer) and never have I been so much delighted: scarcely could I tear myself away. Not that I wished indeed to teach a church so great and so desirous of the word, but rather to be a hearer and learner, as one of the humblest in the flock. Very different is my feeling from that of the man who said he would rather be first in the mountains than the second in Rome: for my part, I would rather be the least in Geneva, than the first any where else. And if I were not withheld by the Lord and by love of my flock, nothing should restrain me from dwelling in person among that people, with whom I have ever been united in spirit." A bitter drop mingled in his cup of satisfaction was the alienation of certain friends at Montbelliard, and especially his former partner in labours, Tossanus.

For more than thirty years the contention between the Lutherans and the Reformed upon the sacramental question, had afflicted the heart of Farel. The forbearance of good men on both sides postponed the crisis; but at length the flame was caused to break forth anew by the intemperate attack made upon Calvin by Joachim Westphal, of Hamburg. The polemic attitude into which the two churches were thus thrown, showed Farel that immediate union was not to be hoped for. Much of the twenty-third chapter is taken up with interesting details of the differences between the Lutherans, the Zuinglians, and the Calvinists; which however cannot be condensed. We also read of new persecutions to which the Waldenses were subjected, and from which they had some escape through the active mediation of Farel and Beza, who travelled extensively in Switzerland and Germany.

We next find Farel engaged, as during his youthful days, in a missionary expedition. His new attack was upon the bishopric of Basle. In St. Leonard, Serrieres, and Pruntrut, he preached the word, in defiance of threats, and with happy consequences. Neither the bishop of Basle nor the archbishop of Besançon could deter him. For the Gospel, he declared that he was willing at any time to lay down his hoary head. All Burgundy seemed to be struck with alarm, as he advanced. The archbishop and council of Besançon, the parliament of Dole, and the baron of Vergy, sent messengers to forbid the introduction of these dangerous itinerants. The care of many churches at the same time came upon the aged minister daily; the rather as he had survived

so many brethren. And when he heard of the death of Pellican, the images of his departed friends, Œcolampadius, Bucer, Gryndeus, Capito, and Zwingle passed before his mind. The gentle, peaceful temper of Pellican especially delighted him. "O that all (said he) who are endowed with eminent talents, were even so minded, as was this godly man, till his last hour."*

At the age of sixty-nine, Farel married, and several years after his only son was born, (June 22, 1564,) but survived his father only three years. This step was much condemned, but he desired a help-mate in his old age; and, like many other reformers, he wished to show his belief that a state of celibacy is neither meritorious nor satisfactory, as the church of Rome asserts. Soon after we read of new storms raised in Lausanne and Payerne, by the question of excommunication; whether it is an essential part of the ministerial office.

The zeal of Farel for the propagation of the Gospel was known far and near, and his services were often demanded. In order to assist his friends at Metz he made a visit to Strasburg. The juncture was hopeful; for never had so great a number of the evangelical party united to pray for liberty of worship, and never had they received so favourable an audience. He hoped that Viret would yield to the general desire, and go to Metz as a preacher. The necessities of the Waldenses led him to revisit Neustadt, Biel, Basel, and Muellhausen. On his return, he received letters from France, informing him that the Gospel had free course, and that many hundreds of congregations, having abandoned the Mass, were sighing for pastors. Messengers from Gap (his native place) and Vienne, came to Neufchatel, praying that he and Fabri would repair thither to aid in the good work.

Remembering their ministerial oath, by which they were bound to offer up substance, body, and life for the Gospel, they could not hesitate to obey the summons. In his native region, Farel preached with the eloquence excited by the occasion. Notwithstanding the threats of the municipal authorities, he addressed immense audiences without interruption. He left Fabri when he returned to Neufchatel. The latter soon experienced dreadful persecution.

Calvin was now approaching his end. He wrote to Farel (May 2, 1564): "Fare thee well, my best and dearest brother! As it is the will of God that you should survive me, be mindful of our friendship, which as it has been serviceable to the church of God, will bring forth fruit for us in heaven. I am painfully awaiting every moment my last breath. My consolation is, to live and to

* Unice delector ingeniis promtis ad pacem. Ad. Bull. 27 May, 1556.

die unto Christ, who in life and in death bestows gain upon his people. Farewell, once more to you and all the brethren!" Farel hastened to see him, but left him still alive. "Oh, that I could die in his stead!" cried he, "and God grant that we also may end our career even as he has done."

The Reformation still made progress in Lorraine, and Farel determined to revisit Metz, in company with Jonas Favargier, one of his colleagues. He was received with the greatest consideration by the presbyters and the whole church. On the day after his arrival, he preached with so much power, that all were revived and comforted. He was himself edified at the sight of a church so well ordered. But the exertion did him harm, and he retired to his lodgings greatly exhausted. He was soon confined to his bed. During his illness people of every rank visited him, and each of these he exhorted, according to their respective stations, to maintain the truth, and labour for the propagation of evangelical reform. With all the dignity of a veteran soldier of Christ, he counselled his fellow-labourers to live answerably to their high vocation. His submission and patience were wonderful to all who saw him; and his courage and animation appeared as great as in his years of strength. The bystanders said to one another with admiration: "See, he is the same man, in every situation. Never was he discomposed by danger, and when we were cast down and gave up all for lost, his trust in God was unshaken, and his heroic soul led the way." He witnessed a good confession of the truth he had so long preached, and after lingering some weeks, sweetly slept in Jesus, on the thirteenth of September, 1565, just fifteen months and fourteen days after the decease of Calvin, and at the age of seventy-six years. He was succeeded in the pastoral office by Christopher Libertel Fabri, of Lyons; Viret having been previously called without effect.

The character of Wilhelm Farel is best illustrated by the history of his life. During his labours, and for years afterwards, he was justly regarded as the principal Swiss reformer. Without him, Calvin might have been a far less important man. He was distinguished by the more masculine traits of character. Yet bold, independent, and even tempestuous as he was, he possessed, like Luther, a heart which throbbed in unison with every tender palpitation of humanity. It was his glory to be a preacher of the word; and his contemporaries truly said, that he rather thundered than spoke. His confidence in the preached Gospel was extraordinary, and he was constantly repeating the divine promise, *I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist.* He was a man of prayer, and often besought the prayers of the brethren for himself.

Such was his transparency of character, that Œcolampadius wrote to Luther, "You will thoroughly know him in an hour."

Farel was made for action, and though not unlearned, he was less disciplined than his coadjutors. This he felt, and was the more urgent in beseeching and adjuring Calvin to write commentary after commentary. With this great reformer he enjoyed a friendship like that of David and Jonathan. But though passionate in his attachments, he was frank and unsparing in his rebukes, and could not suffer sin upon his brother. His faults were the faults of daring, candour, and indignant zeal. If he did not always weigh his words, or take counsel of timid prudence, he was among the first to weep over his rashness.

We close this protracted review, with a feeling of gratitude to the biographer for a work so admirable in every respect, and with the earnest wish that it may be given to the public in an English dress.

Art. VII.—*A Brief Account of the Chaldee Targums. From the Latin of Leusden.*

PREFATORY REMARKS.

The Jewish Targums are so often mentioned in all works upon scriptural interpretation, that we have thought a brief and popular sketch of their history and contents might not be out of place in our miscellany. For this purpose we have found nothing more appropriate than the following treatise of the celebrated Leusden. The article is substantially a version of his Latin chapters upon this subject, divested of the scholastic divisions in which the original abounds, and in other respects, rendered more conformable to the supposed taste of our readers. Those who look for ampler details, may be gratified even to satiety by the elaborate productions of *Buxtorf*, *Bartolocci*, *Wolff*, and *Eichhorn*.

The Chaldee Paraphrases are regarded by the Jews as having great authority, and almost as an ultimate rule of faith. We shall treat of them in a brief manner, with reference only to the more important branches of the subject.

The Jewish name for these versions is Targum, from the verb תרגם *interpretatus est, explicuit.* The word means, in general, any translation of the Scriptures into another language; but

as there was no version among the Hebrews at the time of their liberation from captivity, but the Chaldee, the latter was by way of pre-eminence denominated the Targum, and has retained to this day the same appellation. Wherever, therefore, we find the Targum mentioned in Rabbinical writings, we are to understand the Chaldee translation or paraphrase.

The version owes its origin to the popular ignorance. Until the time of the Babylonian exile, the Jews used the Hebrew as their vernacular language; but during their long residence in Babylonia, among the Chaldeans, they fell into the use of the Chaldee tongue, and in a great measure lost their own. In process of time the sacred language became more and more obliterated, while, according to the divine precept, they were still bound to read the sacred Scriptures. Hence there were certain persons who thought it necessary to transfer the Old Testament into Chaldee, in order that by this means the illiterate multitude might peruse the word of God, and regulate their lives by its precepts. When the Israelites dwelt in Egypt, in the time of Moses, they did not change their language, but held it fast, and returned with it to the land of Canaan; and they are accustomed to attribute their liberation to their merit in certain things during bondage; as for instance, the retention of their garb, names, and language. But in Babylonia, though their residence was for a much shorter time, they altered their language without difficulty; perhaps in consequence of the close affinity between their own dialect and the Chaldee, while in Egypt this could not so easily take place, by reason of the difference between the tongues. It is true that the most learned of the Jews did not forget their own language while they lived in Babylonia: indeed, after the captivity, some of the prophets wrote with facility and purity in the diction of their predecessors. But the untaught populace, daily hearing the Chaldee language, forgot their own, and therefore, in compliance with the necessities of the rude multitude, the Scriptures were translated into Chaldee.

If the question should be asked, whether the paraphrases now extant are the same which were composed immediately after the exile, we must reply in the negative. Those ancient works have long since perished. The authors of the paraphrases which are now in our hands, lived, at farthest, about the time of Christ, as will appear when we come to enumerate the works. The Jews had, some centuries before, lost the Hebrew as a vernacular tongue, and it was in consequence of this that the paraphrases were composed; so that the later paraphrases are different productions. Those which we now have, are undoubtedly ancient, but the precise date of each cannot now be determined. Some are of earlier,

some of later origin. The common opinion is that the paraphrase of Onkelos upon the Pentateuch, and that of Jonathan upon all the prophets, were written about the time of Christ. Another paraphrase upon the Pentateuch, which is commonly, but without reason, attributed to Jonathan, was composed some centuries later, and published about a hundred years since. When the others were framed, cannot certainly be determined. However these things may be, there were undoubtedly some paraphrases at the time of Christ and the apostles; although we are unable to determine whether any of those which we now possess were then in existence. The supposition has probability in its favour. Our argument has been deduced from the fact, that when our Lord cited from the twenty-second Psalm the words, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" he substituted for the Hebrew word, the Chaldee *sabachtani*, which is now found in the extant paraphrase of Jonathan. (Matt. xxvii. 46.)

It may perhaps, be objected, that in the times of the Fathers, as for instance of Jerome and Origen, there were no Chaldee paraphrases; as none of the Fathers mention them, nor even use the word Targum; and as we cannot but think that they would, if extant, have been adduced by Jerome, who was involved in so many controversies respecting his version. But this negative argument is inconclusive. There are other things which the Fathers never mention, such as the Keri and Cetib. Must we therefore suppose that the marginal notes which are so denominated were not then in existence? It must be remembered, that before the invention of printing, copies of the Chaldee paraphrases were very rare. It is possible that neither Jerome nor Origen ever possessed or even beheld such a copy. The time has been, as we are informed, when all Germany could furnish but a single copy of the Greek Testament. The paraphrases might, to say the least, have been equally scarce; especially as, in consequence of the want of grammars and lexicons, the knowledge of the Oriental tongues, and of the Chaldee in particular, was very uncommon. It may be supposed, moreover, that the paramount authority of the Greek version may have prevented any allusion by Jerome or Origen to the paraphrases. Augustin testifies that the Greek was even preferred to the Hebrew text. *Ep.* 10. There was therefore no inducement to cite the Chaldee. To this we may add, in direct proof, that paraphrases existed at the time of Christ, the passage, Luke iv. 17, 18, where our Lord is said to have read from the prophecy of Isaiah, chap. lxi. 1, 2. The words there cited are accordant neither with the Hebrew text nor with the Greek version, whence it is probable that Christ at that time rehearsed them from some paraphrase. The Hebrew Jews

do not appear to have used any version but the Chaldee in their synagogues; for all understood the Chaldee language, while the Greek, and even the Hebrew, were known by few. That our extant paraphrases were not all composed at the same time and by the same authors, admits of proof from the difference of style, and from their various characters as it regards prolixity and conciseness. One paraphrase renders word for word; another substitutes ten or more words for a single phrase.

All the books of the Old Testament have been paraphrased, except those of Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles; of which the first two books are written partly in Chaldee. Some books likewise have a double, and even a triple paraphrase. The book of Esther has a double paraphrase, and the Pentateuch has no less than three; namely, that of Onkelos, that of the so called Jonathan, and the Jerusalem paraphrase. A number of these paraphrases may be found in the folio Bibles of Buxtorf; the Chaldee paraphrase being put in a separate column opposite to the Hebrew text; and the Jerusalem paraphrase on the Pentateuch at the end of the Bible, after the books of Chronicles. The other two, namely, that of Jonathan on the Pentateuch, and the second on Esther, may be found in a work published at Hanover; in which, besides the Hebrew text and the commentaries of Shelomo Jarchi, the three paraphrases on the Pentateuch may be seen at a glance; the two paraphrases on Esther are similarly printed towards the close of the book. It is thought that there is no paraphrase upon the book of Nehemiah. A paraphrase on the Chronicles is said to exist in England, but we have looked in vain for its discovery. In the year 1680, Theophilus Goebelius published at Augsburg a Chaldee paraphrase upon the first book of Chronicles, which, though much desired, had never been published before. It was printed from an ancient manuscript in the library of the Ministerium of Erfurt, and was given to the public by the care of Dr. Matthias Frederic Beekius, who added in another column a Latin version, and accompanied it with learned notes. But upon Nehemiah, Daniel, Ezra, and second Chronicles, no paraphrases have as yet been printed.*

The estimation in which the paraphrases are held is various. The Jews set the highest value on those of Onkelos and Jonathan. These they regard as authoritative, and we may therefore use them with advantage in the Jewish controversy. This estimation is owing both to the eminence of their authors, and to the miracles which are reported to have occurred at the times when the paraphrasts were engaged in their work. The origin of the para-

* Megilla, cap. 1. p. 3. facie a. lin. 6.

phrases is referred to the prophets themselves. Jonathan is said to have received his paraphrastic exposition from Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; Onkelos in like manner from R. Elieser, and R. Jehoshua. For thus we read in the Talmud; "The Targum on the Law was spoken by Onkelos the proselyte, from the mouth of R. Elieser, and R. Jehoshua. The Targum on the Prophets was spoken by Jonathan, the son of Uziel, from the mouth of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi."*

The Jews also value these works very highly on account of the miracles, which happened while the Targumists were at work. Thus, (1) the land of Israel is reported to have been shaken by an earthquake throughout an extent of four hundred *leucae*. (2) A voice was heard from heaven, which said, "Who is he, who hath revealed my mysteries to the sons of men?" In the abovementioned place of the Talmud, these words immediately follow: "And the land of Israel was shaken for four hundred leucae, and for a distance of four hundred leucae proceeded the Bath Kol, (daughter of the voice) saying, who is he that hath revealed my mysteries to the sons of men?" Then stood up Jonathan, the son of Uziel, upon his feet, and said, "I am he who has manifested thy secrets to the sons of men. It is manifest and known unto thee, that I have done it, not for my honour, nor the honour of my father, but for thy honour, and lest disputes should be multiplied in Israel." (3) That Jonathan might be free from hinderance of any kind in this work, all impediments are said to have been removed. If a fly, or any other insect, settled on the body or the paper of the said Jonathan, it was instantly burnt up, without any injury to the writer or his paper. This is affirmed in the Talmud: "They say of this Jonathan, the son of Uziel, that whenever he sat and studied in the law, every bird which flew over him was burnt up."† (4) They relate, that angels descended from heaven, to listen, when Jonathan was busied in forming his paraphrase. (5) And finally, when the same Jonathan had formed the intention of translating the Hagiographa, he was divinely forbidden, lest he should reveal all mysteries. The text of the Talmud just cited proceeds to say: "And he yet sought to reveal the Targum of the Hagiographa. Then the daughter of the voice went forth and said to him, It is enough for thee. For what cause? Because in it is the end of Messiah." This is doubtless to be understood of the cutting off of the Messiah, predicted in Daniel.‡ These are the tales of the frivolous Jews, yet they serve to evince the value which is set upon the paraphrases, and therefore it is lawful for us to deduce arguments hence against their errors.

* Megilla, cap. 1. p. 3. facie a. lin. 6.
† Baba Bathra, c. 8. p. 134.
‡ See Schickard in Bechin happeruschim.

To those Christians who propose to institute any controversy with the Jews, an acquaintance with these paraphrases is highly useful and even necessary. The reason is evident. They are the authorities of the Jews, from which they may be refuted. For the three sources of argument against the Jews, are the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, the Talmud, and the Chaldee Paraphrases. No one therefore who is unacquainted with these last, can expect to reason legitimately or conclusively with them. For the faith of the Jews, and their absurd exceptions, are often more triumphantly refuted out of these paraphrases, than by the Hebrew text itself. A single example will here answer for many. In Genesis xlix. 10. Jacob says: *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come.* From this text we prove that the Messiah promised in the Old Testament has long since come; because the sceptre has long since been removed from Judah. But many Jews, wishing to break the force of this argument, maintain that the word translated sceptre, should be rendered *rod* or *stroke;* and therefore suppose that Messiah has not yet come, because they are still under the rod, and still in exile, subject to a foreign yoke. They may be refuted out of all the three paraphrases upon this verse, which agree in expounding the Hebrew text as we do. Jonathan explains the words thus: *Kings and Rulers shall not cease.* The Jerusalem paraphrase has it: *Kings shall not cease.* And Onkelos explains it: *He that hath the principality shall not depart from the house of Judah.* Moreover, in the same text occurs the world *Shiloh,* which we interpret a Messiah. Here again the Jews deny; but are again refuted by the same three paraphrases; of which the first renders the word by *Messiah,* and the last two by *King Messiah.* From this instance we see that the Jews may sometimes be convinced more clearly and effectively by the paraphrases, than by the Hebrew text itself. Such persons therefore as have to dispute with the Jews concerning articles of faith, as is often the case with pastors or learned men living among these people, should in some way possess some knowledge of the paraphrases.

It is to be lamented, however, that there are so few Christians who enterprise any thing against the Jews, that is, with a view to their conversion, although it is the sentiment of most theologians that they must be converted to Christ before the end of the world. Many Christians, alas! assail and persecute one another, with exceeding virulence, to the great injury and scandal of the church, scarcely thinking of the conversion of the Jews. In regard to this, Papists exercise a laudable zeal.

It is true that Maimonides once expressly says: *Onkelos here*

*recedes from the true and genuine interpretation.** But we are not to conclude hence that they are of no use in reasoning with the Jews. Sometimes, indeed, but very rarely, the Jews depart from the Chaldee paraphrases. But this takes place because they think they have been corrupted in those places during the lapse of ages. This is said by Maimonides, where he speaks of the paraphrase of Onkelos: "Beyond question, this interpretation is corrupted and depraved in our copies."† It is therefore only when such error is suspected, that they recede from the paraphrases, in certain cases.

It is by no means probable that the Jews have ever intentionally corrupted the text of the Targums. This would be prevented by their superstition respecting the Scripture. Rather would they die a hundred deaths than change a tittle of the sacred volume; and since they recognise these paraphrases as the Word of God, it cannot be thought that they would venture to alter them in the slightest particular. Besides, if they had ever wished to corrupt them, it would doubtless have been in those passages which oppose their present faith, and confirm that of the Christians. We have given an instance above, in Gen. xlix. 10. If they had been willing to alter any thing, they would surely have felt the need of doing so here: inasmuch as all three of the paraphrases on it evince that Messiah has already come. There are many other places, which though adverse to Judaism, are still incorrupt.

But while we acquit the Jews of any intentional alteration, we shall state some reasons for thinking that many passages have suffered injury from the hand of time. As no books, with the exception of the sacred Scriptures, have come down to us in their original purity, after so many conflagrations of libraries, and downfal of empires, it is reasonable to suppose that the same lot has befallen the Chaldee paraphrases; especially as the Jews have so often been expelled from their country, and consequently unable to preserve their manuscripts unblemished. This is rendered more probable by what Galatinus says, namely, that in an ancient paraphrase on the sixth of Isaiah, he had found the words, *Holy Father, Holy Son, and Holy Spirit.* (Galat. ii. 1.) These words are not now found in the paraphrase of Jonathan. It must be acknowledged that Galatinus sometimes supports his doctrines by falsehoods, and sometimes alleges works which are supposed to have never existed. The corruption of the paraphrases would seem also to be established by the frequent diversity of reading in the various editions even of the same Targums. The Royal edition often differs from the Venetian, and that of Basil

* More Nevochim, P. 1. c. 66. † 1 cap. 28 p.

from both. This variety of reading is to be attributed to the want of a Masora. Thus Elias says: "If the Masorets had not come, the law would long since have been as it were two laws, nor would there have been any two accordant copies, as it has happened to other works, and even to the Targum of Onkelos."* Hence we see, from the confession of Elias himself, that the Targums have suffered corruption in certain places. And if that of Onkelos was thus impaired, much more might the same evil have been incurred by the others, which were not so repeatedly perused. The same thing might be inferred from the numerous citations of places from the paraphrases which are no longer found in them. Some paraphrases were lost before Christ, and in the ages immediately succeeding, but since the invention of printing the danger of this has been greatly diminished.

The paraphrases were all originally written without vowels and accents. This is evident from the presence of the *matres lectionis*, or letters Aleph, Vau, and Jodh, which are every where inserted in the Chaldee paraphrases. If they had been at first furnished with vowels, the *matres lectionis* would not have been added; for these letters denote the absent vowels. This is confirmed by Elias, *in præf. Methurg.* "The Targumists undoubtedly wrote their paraphrases without the vowels." In later times indeed they were furnished with vowels, but not according to the genuine punctuation used in Daniel and Ezra. They also retained all the *matres lectionis*, which in connexion with the vowels are superfluous. But Buxtorf has rejected most of the *matres lectionis* from the Basil edition, and has added points according to the method of punctuation which prevails in Daniel and Ezra. All the paraphrases indeed are supplied with some punctuation, good or bad, but not all alike with accents; except that of Onkelos alone, in which the accents are every where inserted. It is probable that they were here added, to render more easy and agreeable the perusal of this paraphrase, in which the Jews are obliged to read some section of the law every week.

The paraphrasts have not followed an uniform method in their interpretation. The ancient paraphrasts have followed the Hebrew text more strictly than those of later times. The latter seem in some cases to have composed a just commentary rather than a version; they have sometimes three or four Hebrew, by thirty or more Chaldee words; and have sometimes indulged too much in Talmudical legends. The Hebrews say of the Targumists, that they often *follow the sense, and not the words.* Yet they are not on this account to be undervalued, for where the Hebrews

* In Masor.

have said any thing well concerning the text, none can be better; where ill, none can be worse. Very often the paraphrasts, (especially Jonathan on the Prophets), expound very abstruse subjects in an excellent and even Christian manner; and so clearly give the sense, that the Talmudists with reason break forth into the exclamation: "Unless there were a Targum on this text, we should not know what the text says," or we should be ignorant of the true sense. Hence, as the paraphrasts frequently give excellent interpretations of the text, their expositions may with advantage be consulted on difficult places, by Christians. Buxtorf has done this in his Hebrew lexicon, where he has explained and illustrated difficult words by the aid of the Targums. This has likewise often been done by Hebrew commentators, who frequently confirm their explications by quoting the very words of the paraphrases; as may be seen throughout the commentaries of R. David Kimchi.*

There are in all, six paraphrases, of which no one extends to the entire Old Testament. The first is of *Onkelos* upon the Pentateuch. The second is called *Targum Jerushalmi*, also upon the Pentateuch. The third is on the Pentateuch, and is commonly ascribed to *Jonathan*. The fourth is of *Jonathan*, upon the former and latter Prophets. The fifth is upon the five smaller books, viz. Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther. The sixth is upon the Psalms, Proverbs and Job. Of these we shall speak more particularly, in the order just stated.

I. THE TARGUM OF ONKELOS.

Concerning the author of this Targum there are four opinions, of which the first is derived from a nominal resemblance, and is maintained by such as suppose Onkelos to be the same with *Aquila Ponticus*. But this opinion is rejected, for the following reasons. The difference is great between the two names. The celebrity of Aquila is entirely owing to a Greek, and not a Chaldee version. Aquila was called a Christian; but our Onkelos was more ancient than this appellation, for he flourished before the time of Christ. Onkelos lived at Jerusalem before the Christian era, under Hillel; Aquila flourished under the Emperors Adrian and Antoninus Pius.

The second opinion is that of those who confound Onkelos with *Akilas*. This man indeed was a proselyte, and wrote a certain Targum which is frequently cited in *Bereshit Rabba*, but which has perished. But he is not to be confounded with Onkelos. The names are different both as written and pronounced. The

* See Rosenmueller's Scholia, passim.

writings of the Rabbins contain distinct mention of both. Akilas interpreted the Prophets and Hagiographa, as appears from the passages cited, Isaiah iii. and Proverbs xii. The work of Onkelos, on the other hand, is upon the Pentateuch.

The third opinion, which is commonly embraced by the Jews, is that Onkelos was the son of the sister of Titus Vespasian, who after the fall of Jerusalem, renounced Gentilism, and became a Jewish proselyte. This opinion was long since chosen by Elias Levita, who says (in præf. Methurgeman): "Onkelos was the son of the sister of Titus, who demolished the house." But this opinion is no less unsatisfactory on account of the anachronism. The Onkelos of whom we speak was made a proselyte under Hyrcanus, about forty years before Christ, whereas the nephew of Titus, who may have had the same name, lived after the destruction of the temple, and was then made a proselyte. And it can be in no way supposed that Onkelos, however great we may imagine his longevity, survived until the destruction of the city and temple. Onkelos therefore is no one of these three.

The fourth opinion is that of Schickard, who supposes the author of the Targum to have been born before Christ, but to have been contemporary with him, and to have been the person who performed the funeral obsequies of Rabban Gamaliel the Elder (at whose feet Paul sat), who died eighteen years before the burning of the temple, by burning seventy pounds of frankincense on his tomb. It is to be observed that throughout the Talmud, Onkelos is called a proselyte.

He seems to have written only upon the Pentateuch, and no other exposition is ascribed to him. Galatinus says indeed: "Hic Ankelos [for Onkelos] totam Bibliam [a blunder for *tota Biblia*] in Chaldæum vertit atque exposuit." B. 1. c. 3. But we should be slow in yielding credit to Galatinus, a man always too credulous, and fond of stating many things without testimony. This paraphrase alone is furnished with accents, and these are generally the same which are used in the Hebrew Bible, so that it may be cantillated with the same modulation as the authentic text; except that in certain instances a number of words of the liberal paraphrase, united by Maccaph, must be uttered with a greater extent of melody, with variations on the same chord, as Schickard expresses it.

This is one of the most ancient Targums, as well as one of the most excellent: and except in a few passages, such as Gen. xlix., it follows the original very closely, and seldom adds more words than are contained in the Hebrew text: as may be observed by consulting the Basil, Venetian, Hanoverian and English Bibles, in which it is placed in parallel columns with the Hebrew text.

In the royal copies, however, it is placed below. This paraphrase excels also in this respect, that Onkelos was very cautious in his exposition of such passages as attribute human accidents to God, which are of frequent occurrence, and give occasion to gross errors. It is also very clear, and well adapted to the understanding of the people, because it follows the text in a literal manner. The several editions differ in many points from one another; that is most facile which has been furnished with vowels by Buxtorf, according to the punctuation in Ezra and Daniel. None of the paraphrases was more read among the Jews, as none has been oftener published. Elias Levita says: "Before the invention of printing, there were extant no paraphrases on the Prophets and Hagiographa, except perhaps a single copy in a province, or two in a whole region. Therefore there was no one who gave any attention to them. But the Targum of Onkelos was found abundantly. And for this reason, that we are obliged to read two sections every week; once in the text, and once in the Targum." *(præf. in Methurg.)* (2.)

II. THE JERUSALEM TARGUM.

The Jerusalem Targum is so called, either from the city in which it was constructed, or from the language or dialect in which it was written. There is a Jerusalem Talmud in the same dialect. For although all the paraphrases are in Chaldee, yet the writers employed a variety of idioms, according to the times and countries in which they flourished. There were three dialects of the ancient Chaldee. The first was the *Babylonian*, which was most pure while the kingdom of Babylon was prosperous. It is this which is used by Daniel, by Ezra, and by Jeremiah, in a single verse, *chap.* x. *v.* 11. The same, in a less pure form, was employed by Onkelos, Jonathan, and the author or authors of the Talmud of Babylon. The second dialect is that of *Jerusalem*, which was vernacular among the Jews in and about that city, and the adjacent country. It is used by the authors of the Targum commonly ascribed to Jonathan Ben Uziel, the Jerusalem on the law, and Jonathan on the Hagiographa; and it prevails in the Jerusalem Talmud, the book Zahar, and certain Medrashim. The third dialect is the *Syra Comagena*, or *Antiochena*, which was propagated from the region of Antioch into other parts of Syria. In this dialect the Syriac New Testament is written.*

The author of this Targum is entirely unknown, as is acknowledged even by the Jews. Thus Elias (as above cited) says, "we

*See Hoffman's Gram. Syriac, and Wahl's Gesch. d. Morg. Sprach.

do not know who this interpreter of the law was." Some suppose this Targum to have been the work of a single hand; Schickard thinks there was a plurality of authors, but a single collector. The date of its composition is equally unknown. That it was written some ages after Onkelos and Jonathan, is conjectured from the very impure style in which it is composed. There is a mixture of many foreign words, Greek, Latin, and even Persian. "There is a great difference (says Elias Levita,) between the Jerusalem and the Babylon Targum; the former abounds in Babylonian, Greek, Latin, and Persian words." And we hence conclude that it is more recent, for the dialect of Chaldee, which the Jews used after their liberation, was purer, but in later times, when the Jews became conversant with the Romans and other Gentiles, they adopted many foreign words from the languages of these people; and this adulteration becomes greater and greater as we advance from the time above mentioned. The comparative recency of this Targum is moreover inferred from the mention of events which occurred since the Christian era. Thus upon Leviticus xxvi. 29. it alludes to the famine at Jerusalem, when the Jews ate the flesh of their own children; an event which took place in the noted siege, about A. D. 64, in which eleven hundred thousand perished by the famine or the sword. Elias supposes this Targum to have been written a little before, or a little after the Talmud.

The Jerusalem Targum is not composed, like the rest, in regular series, but in an interrupted method. It sometimes passes over many verses without any translation, and sometimes dwells at great length upon particular passages. Hence some suppose that many parts have perished, and that those which we possess are only fragments from the wreck. Others think that it is a compilation by a single hand from the works of various authors. However this may be, it is certainly interrupted in a very remarkable manner; after beginning or ending in the middle of a sentence, and thus leaving the sense incomplete. A latin version of this Targum appeared at London, in 1649. (3).

III. THE THIRD TARGUM UPON THE PENTATEUCH.

This paraphrase is commonly ascribed to Jonathan, the son of Uziel, who composed the paraphrases upon the Prophets. Hence it is called by the Jews, *Targum Jonathan Ben Uziel;* yet it will appear that they are here in error. Scarcely any one doubts that Jonathan Ben Uziel wrote a paraphrase on the Pentateuch; for this seems to be plainly indicated by the Talmudists in

a passage already cited,* and where he is said to have heard a voice dissuading him from proceeding to interpret the Hagiographa, it seems to be implied that he had previously interpreted the Pentateuch: for the latter is much more highly valued than the former, so that the Jews are obliged to read every week some portion of the Pentateuch. But this by no means proves that the paraphrase circulated in our days under this specious title, is the one which Jonathan composed.

There is a manifest difference between the style of the Targum on the Prophets, which is on all hands acknowledged to be Jonathan's, and that of this paraphrase. The Targum on the Prophets is succinct and closely adapted to the original terms; the latter is prolix, and written with the diffuseness of a proper commentary. The Jews indeed allege, that we need not be surprised that more should be added in a paraphrase on the Law, than in one on the Prophets, since the Pentateuch contains histories and precepts, to which additions can very easily be made, whereas the Prophets utter predictions of future events, the uncertainty of which precludes such additions. But we reply that the earlier Prophets, such as the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings, are merely historical books; yet in these the style of paraphrase is not so diffuse as in the Law. While the prophecy of Jacob concerning his sons has many additions. Now why should Jonathan be more diffuse upon this very obscure prediction, than in his commentary upon the latter Prophets?

We argue further that this paraphrase was not written by Jonathan, from its containing fables which savour of the Jewish superstition, such as we cannot attribute to so wise a man, always so celebrated among the Israelites. Thus in Genesis i. 16, occurs a fable concerning the sun and moon, which are said to have been equal for twenty-one years; but the moon was diminished, because it was impossible that two kings of equal dignity could reign together. The words of the Targum are: "And Jehovah made two great lights, and they were equal in excellence, twenty and one years;—but afterwards the moon was lessened," &c. See a full account of this story in the seventeenth chapter of Buxtorfs' *Synagoga*. Again, this Targum mentions events which happened long after the time of Jonathan. For instance, on Exodus xxvi. 9., it speaks of the six parts into which the Mishna is divided; now it is certain that the Mishna was not collected by R. Jehuda until about the year 150 of our era; whereas, Jonathan the paraphrast lived before, or, at the latest, about the time of Christ. On Numbers xxiv. 19, the same paraphrase names Con-

* Tract. Bava batra. p. 134.

stantinople, thus: "And there shall arise a prince of the house of David, and shall destroy and exterminate the remains of Constantinople; the city being renewed, he shall also lay waste and destroy the rebellious citadel, and the strong Cæsarea, the cities of the people." These things appear to have happened long after the time of Jonathan Ben Uziel. Schickard indeed excepts to the former of these arguments, that the Talmudical traditions are more ancient than this Jonathan, and are even sometimes reprehended by our Saviour, and that we therefore need not be surprised that Jonathan sometimes mentions them. But the paraphrast does not simply mention the traditions which are contained in the Mishna or the Gemara, but of those portions into which the Mishna was divided, a century and a half after Christ.

This Targum affords great help in contending with the Jewish commentators, whom it often contradicts expressly; justly applying to Christ certain prophecies which the Jews wrest, so as to apply them to David, Solomon, or other mortals. It was always rare, and almost unknown to the ancients. Elias Levita, though a most inquisitive antiquary, had no knowledge of it further than that he had somewhere seen it mentioned. Fagius and Mercerus are silent with respect to it, except that the latter upon Genesis iii. 21. repeats a notice of this Targum from R. Menahem Recanathensis, at the same time declaring it to be no longer extant. Galatinus (lib. 1. cap. 3.) mentions it, and cites its introductory words; but says that it was very rare, and that he had never seen it. Yet Galatinus lived in the last century.

When and by whom it was written we know not. The examples we have given prove that it was not from the pen of Jonathan Ben Uziel, nor of the highest antiquity. The crudity of the diction alone is sufficient to evince this. For an instance of this, the reader may consult Genesis xxxv. 8., in Hottinger, *lib.* 1. *c.* 3. §. 1. And though it was written some centuries ago, it was not until about the beginning of the sixteenth century that it was first printed, at Venice, from a manuscript copy; then at Basil; and finally at Hanover, in 1614. In this very year (1682) it is in the press at Amsterdam, in connexion with the Targum of Onkelos, the Jerusalem Targum, and the commentaries of Rabbi S. Jarchi. (4)

IV. THE TARGUM OF JONATHAN BEN UZIEL UPON THE FORMER AND THE LATTER PROPHETS.

The author of the Targum on the Prophets is called Jonathan Ben Uziel. He is frequently mentioned in the Talmud, as has been hinted above. He was one of the disciples of the great and

famous Hillel, as is said by the Talmudists. "The tradition of our masters is that the elder Hillel had eighty disciples. Of these, thirty were worthy that the Holy Spirit should abide upon them as upon Moses our teacher (on whom is peace!) And thirty were worthy that the sun should stand still for them, as for Joshua the son of Nun. Twenty were intermediate. The greatest of them all was Jonathan the son of Uziel. The least of them all was Rabban Jochanan the son of Zaccai."* We may hence judge of the estimation in which he is held by the Jews. The Zaccai, with whom he is compared, was a man profoundly learned. The Jews with one voice, declare that it was he who interpreted the Prophets. This is corroborated by Elias Levita, who says: "Jonathan, the son of Uziel, interpreted the eight Prophets—he was of the disciples of Hillel; who flourished a hundred years before the destruction of the Temple." According to this, Jonathan lived before Christ, and his forerunner John the Baptist. Some have erroneously confounded him with Theodotion, the Greek translator, simply from the coincidence of the names; for Jonathan and Theodotion have the same meaning.

This is unquestionably one of the most valuable Targums; for it interprets many places which speak obscurely of the Messiah, in a Christian and perspicuous manner. The Jews themselves acknowledge it as an excellent paraphrase, on account of the excellent evidence of its author, and the miracles wrought while he was at work, and because they believe that he derived his expositions from the Prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. (5)

V. THE TARGUM UPON THE FIVE SMALLER BOOKS, VIZ. CANTICLES, RUTH, LAMENTATIONS, ECCLESIASTES AND ESTHER.

This paraphrase on the smaller books, is by an unknown author, and in many places is rather a commentary; sometimes putting twenty or thirty Chaldee words, where there are only three or four in the Hebrew. It is written in the Jerusalem dialect, or that which the Jews of Judea employed. It contains some Talmudical fables. Thus in Esther ii. 9. it is said, that seven maids were given to Esther, to minister to her. Upon this, the first paraphrase on this book relates that Esther, living among the Gentiles who did not observe the Sabbath, found it difficult to distinguish the Sabbath from other days, and therefore had seven virgins, whom she denoted by certain names to aid her memory. These waited on Esther, each upon the day after which she was named, so that by the name of her attendant she could always discover the day of the week.†

* Tract. Bava batra. cap. 8. p. 134. † See Buxt. Lex. Talm.

There is also another Targum on Esther, which begins thus: "And it came to pass in the days of Ahasuerus; this Ahasuerus was one of ten kings who reigned, and were rich in the world. And these are those ten kings. The first kingdom is that of the King of kings, and Lord of Hosts, whose kingdom shall speedily be magnified," &c. This last paraphrase is almost twice as large as the foregoing, and thrice as large, at the least, as the Hebrew text; so that it is more strictly a commentary than a version. By whom or at what time it was composed, we know not. Francis Taylor, an Englishman, published a Latin version of both the Targums upon Esther, at London, in 1655.

VI. THE TARGUM UPON THE PSALMS, PROVERBS, AND JOB.

This is commonly called the *Targum Rab Jose;* and its author is said to have been blind, or at any rate deprived of one eye. Some, it is true, ascribe it to Jonathan, but in contradiction to the Talmudists, who relate, as we have said above, that he intended to translate the Hagiographa, but was forbidden by the "Daughter of the Voice." Some also say that the "Targum on the Hagiographa which is now extant is by an author unknown."* Whatever may be the truth respecting its author, it is certainly dissimilar to the other paraphrases; for it is written in an unequal style, with an intermixture of many Syriac, Greek, and Latin words. Hence it is so difficult that even the most learned Jews, if ignorant of these languages, cannot rightly understand it. Elias Levita complains that there were some words, which, being Syriac, he did not understand. This Targum is of less value than those of Jonathan and Onkelos. (6) For further particulars the reader may consult Schickard in Bechinat Happerushim, and Hottinger's Thesaurus Philologicus, and the preface to the second dissertation prefixed to Leusden's *Jona Illustratus.* (7.)

NOTES.

(1.) The origin of the Targums, as stated by the Jews, has been variously received among Christian writers. *Hottinger* (Thesaurus Philologicus lib. 1. c. 3. p. 279.) accedes to the representation that the Chaldee version became needful immediately

* In Meor. En. p. 148.

after the captivity. So also *Walton* (in Prolegomeno iii.) *Thomas Smith*, (de Paraphras, Chaldaic, p. 12. sq.) *P. Allix*, (Testimony Jewish Church.) *J. Pearson*, (Ex. Ap. Creed.) *H. Wharton. H. Prideaux. R. Bellarmine*, (De verbo Dei, lib. ii. c. 15.) *Sixtus Senensis*, (Bibl. Sancta. lib. iv. p. 393.) *R. Simon*, (Hist. Crit. v. I. lib. ii. c. i. p. i.) *W. Schickard*, (in Bechinath Happerushim, p. 19. And *J. Reuchlin*, goes so far as to make the Chaldee versions coeval with Isaiah, (lib. iii. de Verbo Mirifico, c. 13.) On the other hand, there are many learned men who think it by no means probable that the vernacular tongue of the Hebrews could have been lost in a seventy years' exile. *Wolfius* cites in favour of this, *Pfeifer Bart. Mayer*, (Philol. Sac. p. 137.) *S. Morinus*, (de ling. primaev. p. 77.) *J. Alting*, (Heptad. Tom. V. p. 198.) *Wolfius* (Biblothec, ii. p. 1141.) supposes that they were gradually framed, from glosses in the margin, which grew into scholia, and from scholia into paraphrases.

It is worthy of note that the word Drogeman or Dragoman, *Interpreter*, so much used in the Levant, is derived from the same root with *Targum*. The opinion that all the extant Targums were written since the Christian era, is advocated by *Morinus*, (Exercitt. bibl. p. 321.) *Havemann*, (Wegeleuchte wider die judische Finsterniss. append., p. 595.)

(2.) A full discussion of the questions respecting Onkelos, copious citations of authorities, and catalogues of editions may be found in the elaborate treatises of *Wolfius*. Bibliotheca Hebraea, vol. iii., and we here once for all, observe, that this ponderous work continues to be a treasury from which later writers have drawn their stores. *Bauer* and *Eichhorn*, give but a meager syllabus of what their great predecessor has poured forth. Eichhorn has hazarded the conjecture, that Onkelos was a Babylonian; because the Babylon Talmud mentions his Targum only; because its diction is not the Chaldee of Palestine, but approaches the pure idiom of Daniel and Ezra, and because it is exempt from the frivolities which might have been expected from an inhabitant of Judea. (*Bauer*. Crit. Sac. vol. iii. p. 294., Lips. 1755.) An account of all the editions may be found in *Eichhorn's* Einleitung vol. ii. §. 224. See also *Winer*, (de Onkeloso, Lips. 1820.)

Eichhorn observes that the Samaritan dialect coincides with the Chaldee, in so many respects, that we have reason to think the Samaritans made great use of it, in the construction of their Pentateuch. Even in the printed edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch this is observable, but still more strikingly in the Triglott of Barberini.

(3.) Eichhorn considers this a mere patch-work of different textures. It would seem to be mutilated, as Kimchi cites passages which are no longer contained in it. And the strong probability is, that it owes its origin to mere marginal Scholia. (3 Eichhorn, 95.) *Dr. Owen* describes it as a mere "wagon of lies," a "liber stercoreus;" a judgment which *Wolfius* regards as much too harsh. *Owen*, Theologumena, p. 407. 3 Wolff. 1170.

(4.) Besides the cogent reasons which Leusden gives for considering the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan, as of later origin than even the sixth century, we may add the following from Eichhorn. Upon Deut. xxiv. 24, mention is made of *Lombardy*, whereas the Lombards invaded Italy first in 570. Upon Gen. x. 2, the Targumist makes a remark about the Turks, who were not known until a much later time. Of the fables which are intermixed, the reader will find some amusing specimens in Eichhorn's Introduction, vol. ii. §. 232, 233.

(5.) The judgment of Eichhorn upon the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uziel, must commend itself to the judicious student. After reciting the opinion which we have given in the text, he adds: "But it is certain that he lived at a later period. So far as we can judge from the style, his translation is the work of a Palestine Jew, and the Jerusalem Gemara is quite as silent about it as Origen or Jerome. How could it have escaped the notice of the Gemarits, if, as is alleged it was then extant? Moreover, it is full of such fables as first became rife in later times in Palestine. And finally, it attempts to explain away the Messiah from those passages which are applied to him by Christians, such as Isa. liii. and lxiii. an evident proof that the translator flourished at a time when Polemics were waged with the Christians—not to mention that at so early a date, Chaldee versions were not used in the Synagogues." §. 226. Eichhorn and Bauer represent the dialect as inferior in purity to that of Onkelos, but preferable to all the rest: and the former writer perceives manifest traces of a plurality of authors in the work.

(6.) It becomes necessary for us to supply from other sources the account of the Targum upon Chronicles, which is mentioned by Leusden in the text, but which had not in his day fully come to light. See the Bibliotheca of *Wolff*, iii. 1179. *Bauer*, Crit. Sacr. §. 81. *Eichhorn*, Einleit. ii. §. 244. From the last of these, we adopt the following account. "The Targum upon the books of Chronicles remained so long unknown, that it began at

length to be doubted whether any such work could have been furnished. In 1680, a learned preacher, Matthias Frederick Beck, published one, (as stated in the text,) from an Erfurt Manuscript. The mere perusal is sufficient to make one feel that Jonathan could not be the author, and *Beck* has evinced the same from some characteristics of the style. Beck, and the second editor, *Wilkins*, refer it rather to Joseph the Blind, inasmuch as tradition ascribes to him the other Hagiographa. But even supposing that he translated Job, the Psalms, and the Proverbs, it is impossible that he who flourished in the beginning of the fourth century could have written the Targum on the Chronicles which we now have printed. It has marks of a more modern origin. In 1 Chron. v. 10, the name of Hungary occurs, which was first known in the fourth century. In 1 Chron. v. 26, there is a reference to the later Jewish fall concerning *the mountains of darkness.* In a word, the paraphrase is modern. Besides the above mentioned traces, there are marks of the use which has been made of the paraphrases of pseudo-Jonathan, and Jerusalem, which are both unquestionably modern. These are followed closely in the Genealogies.

"It has moreover the faults which prevail in other Targums, and where it undertakes comment instead of translation, it offends against the truth of the history. It was first printed with very learned annotations, from an Erfurt manuscript, which however had some chasms: the title was *Paraphrasis Chaldaica libri Chronicorum*—cura *Matthaei Friderici Beckii*. T. i. Augustæ Vindelic, 1680, T. ii., 1683, quarto. After this *Wilkins* gave the public an edition from a Cambridge manuscript, of which the text was more pure and more complete: *Paraphrasis Chaldaica in librum priorem et posteriorem Chronicorum, ed.* David Wilkins. Amstelodami, 1715. quarto. The critic should unite both these editions, the former for the value of its learned notes, and the latter for its full and accurate text."

(7.) In addition to the information given above, we would refer the reader to the following works: *Wolff's* Bibliotheca Hebraea, four volumes, quarto.

G. B. Winer, Chald. Lesebuch. Leipz. 1825, 8vo.

Riggs' Manual of the Chaldee Language, Andover, 1832.

G. L. Bauer. Chrestomathia e Paraphrasibus Chaldaicis et Talmude. Nurimberg, 1782.

De Wette. Lehrbuch der histor. kritisch. Einleitung in A. T. Berlin, 1833.

N. O. Gilliland

ART. VIII.—*The Sinner's Ability to obey God, if he will.—Two Sermons by* Rev. Mr. Perkins, *Montreal, Canada. National Preacher, September,* 1833: J. & J. Harper, New York.

THE apology is sometimes made for the Reformers and those that followed in the same school, that while their *theology* was right, their *philosophy* was wrong. This indeed appears to be a favourite topic with the author of the Introductory Essay to the late edition of the Analogy. "We feel," says he, "that their *philosophy* was often wrong, while the doctrines which they attempted to defend by it were still correct. Had modern ways of thinking been applied to their works; had the results of a deeper investigation into the laws of the mind and the principles of biblical criticism, been in their possession," &c. Again: speaking of the Calvinistic theologians that lived in Butler's time, or perhaps a little before it, he says: "Hence they took the rough-cast system, wielded in its defence the ponderous weapons which Augustine, and even the Jansenists had furnished them, and prevailed in the conflict; not, however, by the force of their philosophy, but of those decisive declarations of the Word of God with which unhappily, that philosophy had become identified."

Now, what there was in the philosophy of these men of 'the olden time' that could be called remarkable, we know not,—but we have always supposed that their system, if they had any, was in its leading features, agreeable at least to the dictates of common sense. A more important inquiry has suggested itself to our minds, Whether the doctrines which they taught are in accordance with the oracles of God? The affirmative of this question is what (with very few exceptions, and those not connected with philosophy) we have ever been accustomed to believe. Thus, when they say that mankind are condemned on account of the sin of Adam; that they have in their lapsed state no power to originate holy exercises; no power, in the proper sense of that word, to obey the law of God; when they teach that Christ died for his people, and that the special benefits of the atonement were intended for them alone; when they make these and similar statements, we see nothing in such language that savours of philosophy of *any* kind: on the contrary, it appears to be only an expression, in the most simple form, of some of the most obvious truths of the Bible.

We should really be glad to know what are some of the results of the "modern ways of thinking," and of the "deeper investigation into the laws of the mind," referred to by the author of the Introductory Essay. If it be granted that the Aristotelian metaphysics are not as much in vogue as they were in the days of Thomas Aquinas, does it therefore follow that the things which the church has always held as truths are no longer truths, but falsehoods? Some four or five years ago, indeed, we heard from our brethren of New-Haven, that a new era was to be expected in the theological world; that the old notion of "passivity," in particular, was to be identified with the dogmas of the dark ages, and that a mode of exhibiting truth was to be adopted that should be more in accordance with the Scriptures and the nature of moral agents. We have heard the same sentiments from various other quarters—have seen them acted out in different sections of the country, and have yet to learn wherein theology has been really improved. The theories that have been started in order, as one expresses it, "to build bridges over the bogs of Calvinism," although they may have been sufficiently the product of 'modern ways of thinking,' are, in our view, equally at variance with the doctrines of the Geneva reformer and with those of Paul: they appear rather to savour of a philosophy 'falsely so called,' than to have a foundation either in the nature of things or in the declarations of the Word of God.

By some who claim to be not a little in advance of the age, it seems to be taken for granted that every thing in the Scriptures must of course be explained; an impression that is based upon the necessity which one is supposed to be under, of answering every cavil that may be raised by "wicked and unreasonable men." And it is worthy of remark, that in regard perhaps to no one point in theology have the attempts at explanation been more numerous, and we are constrained to add, more unfortunate, than in regard to human ability. Here is the spot where the new philosophy, while it exults at the recollection of errors exploded, and wonders that men could have been duped so long, does in fact appear to fail the most. "Hic labor, hoc opus est." We had hoped indeed that the advocates of the new scheme would at length have been satisfied with enjoying their opinions among themselves, especially as their opponents may have appeared to be growing more and more untractable,—but in this we have, as it seems, judged somewhat prematurely.

In the two discourses which we have placed at the head of this article, and which are founded on Isaiah xxx. 10, the preacher has thought it necessary to answer the objection which the sinner is supposed to urge against the doctrine of future punishment, on

the ground of his alleged inability to obey the commands of God: "Thus it is," he remarks in the introduction, "that the smooth and easy doctrine that there is no *eternal punishment*, rests on the other smooth doctrine that *man is unable to do his duty*, and therefore cannot deserve eternal punishment." "And to my own mind," he adds, "this objection appears perfectly unanswerable, if you allow it to be true that men *cannot* obey God." While we propose to examine the author's positions somewhat in detail, it may be proper, in the first place, to make a remark or two upon the discourses *as such*.

Our first remark is, that according to the author's own plan (to say nothing of the principles of rhetoric) the sermons are somewhat deficient in unity. It would have been decidedly better, in our opinion, had the *two* been blended into *one*. The first and third arguments appear to be identified,—at least, they run so essentially into each other, that the latter, though expressed in somewhat different words, is little else than a mere repetition of the former. The same may be said of some of the *objections*,—not to mention under this head the general course of remark in the applications, nor the apparent episode of the disobedient child on the fifth page of the first discourse.

Another remark is, that the discourses appear to us to abound too much in interrogatives, and especially in what some have called the *objurgatory* manner. And the writer will not, we would hope, consider it unkind—for we are not conscious that it is so—when we suggest, that the use of the first person singular is more frequent than we could wish to see it in any discourse from the pulpit. The preacher says too much about himself. We know indeed, that the *magisterial* mode of addressing the impenitent has of late been adopted by not a few, but we have never been convinced either that such a mode is agreeable to that of the primitive preachers of the Gospel, or that it is likely to be productive of any permanent good. Men are not to be *scolded* into religion; and whatever may be thought in certain circumstances to be gained in this way, will be more than lost when those circumstances change. While the sinner is thrown off, as it were, from his balance, his mouth may indeed be shut; but the re-action that ensues not only leaves him as hardened as he was before, but it also begets dislikes and prejudices that have not a little influence in preventing his conversion altogether. The evil in the present case appears the greater from the fact, that although the sermons are sufficiently short, the preacher occupies some three pages in the way of direct application.

Our third remark is, that as these discourses—although they certainly possess some excellencies, of which their perspicuity

and directness are evidently not among the least—do not, at the same time, exhibit any thing *particularly* interesting or new, we should have hardly thought it necessary to notice them in the way of a review, were it not for the medium through which they have been presented to the public. And here we must be allowed to express our surprise, that sermons like the one of which we are speaking, and the one also that appeared some months ago on what might be called the *philosophy of regeneration*, should be published in a *National* Preacher. It had always been our impression—and we have heard the same sentiment from several individuals—that the original design of this periodical was, not to discuss controverted points in mental philosophy, nor to enter into the metaphysical subtleties of the schools, but to exhibit the great truths of the Bible in a manner that should be intelligible to the mass of the people; and for ourselves we sincerely deprecate the introduction into its pages of topics, whose legitimate tendency must be either to "gender strifes," or to bewilder those who ought to be instructed. The influence of this valuable work will, we would hope, be employed rather in checking than even *remotely* increasing the propensity to speculation at present so characteristic of many of the readers and hearers of sermons; a propensity which threatens, if we may judge from the mournful history of the past, to bring evils upon the church that shall be felt to distant generations.

We come now briefly to examine some of Mr. Perkins' statements in regard to doctrine. The proposition, the truth of which he proposes to establish is, "That man is able to obey God, if he will;" and the inference is, that "he therefore deserves the penalty God has threatened against trangression." In order however to prevent misapprehension, he remarks that "the terms *can* and *cannot*, *able* and *unable*, are used in two senses, entirely diverse from one another."

"These two senses may be illustrated thus:—I come to a sick man and ask him to rise and take a walk with me: he says, 'I cannot.' I then perhaps come to you, indolently reposing on your couch, and ask you to rise and walk with me; but you also reply, 'I cannot.' Now in these two cases the reply *in words* is the same: each says, I cannot. But I know, without the least doubt whatever, that the *meaning* is entirely different. When the sick man says he cannot walk with me, he means that he is physically unable to do it; that let him desire to do it ever so much, it is utterly impossible. But when the indolent man says, I cannot, he means that he does not choose to do it," &c. p. 2.

The distinction of ability into natural and moral, was made by English theologians as early at least as the time of William Twisse, the prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly; it was

also used by Mr. Howe, and many years afterwards by Dr. Watts.* In respect to writers of our own country, the distinction was recognised by Dr. Witherspoon, and it holds a prominent place in the works of Drs. Bellamy, Hopkins, Smalley, Strong and Dwight, and especially in those of President Edwards,† who has, as one justly remarks, "done more to give complexion to the theological system of Calvinists in America, than all other persons together." Now whatever may be thought as to the propriety of the terms "natural and moral ability and inability," the *idea* which those terms are intended to convey is sufficiently plain,—for the distinction implied is not only recognised in courts of justice and in the ordinary affairs of life, but it is understood even by children. There is a wide difference between the inability of one to travel who has no limbs, and the unwillingness of one who has—between the inability of a person to fly, and the unwillingness of a servant to perform his daily labour,—although both might say, according to the ordinary use of language, that they *could not* do what was required. Still, we think it better to call things by their proper names. It may perhaps be attributed to an incurable dulness on our part, or to what is not much better, our being behind the spirit of the age, but we really cannot see the analogy which some appear to have discovered between cases like those just mentioned and that of the impenitent sinner. It is, in our opinion, this proneness to seek analogies where none are to be found, this confounding of things that ought ever to be kept separate, that has done more to prevent the discovery of truth, and in particular to bring discredit upon theological discussions, than almost all causes combined. Here is the enchanted ground on which our friends at New-Haven have fallen—the ground, we suspect, on which Pelagius and others of heretical memory fell before them. Man, it is said, has *natural ability* to obey the commands of God; which means, we are told, that he has all the requisite *natural faculties*, such as understanding, will, affections, &c. But is this saying any thing more than that man is a complete moral agent; in other words, that *man is man*, and not an irrational animal? a truism which none, we suppose, not even the most extravagantly orthodox, ever pretended to call in question. We recollect, indeed, the far-famed theory of the lapsed powers; but we doubt whether even Dr. Clarke, in all his vagaries, ever really supposed that the fall metamorphosed our race into such inferior beings as apes and idiots, although some supposition of the kind may have been

* See Biblical Repertory for July 1831.
† See particularly his Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will. Part 1. Section 4.

necessary in order to establish the doctrines of common grace,—one of the strongest figments, by the way, in the "frame-work" of the Arminian system. What then, we must be permitted to ask, (with due deference to those whom we shall ever venerate) what is gained by asserting that man has *natural ability* to do his duty—what but the using of words which either have no meaning, or which if they have, are calculated rather to bewilder and mislead, than to edify? Is it a new discovery that men are moral agents, and that the Bible addresses them *as men*, and not as brutes; and is it necessary that those who claim the honour, if not of making this discovery, yet certainly of acting upon it, should set themselves up as the reformers of the age? Who ever doubted whether those who hear the Gospel are the very beings to whom it is proper that it should be addressed, whatever the faculties might be called by which they should be supposed to differ from beings either of a higher or a lower order? The question is not, whether men have the faculties necessary to constitute them moral agents, whether they have understanding, will, &c., for this nobody pretends to doubt,—but whether they have power to obey the commands of God. Should one still be disposed to contend about words, and to say that they have *natural* power—a kind of logomachy which carries with it, in the view of some, a peculiar charm—we would make the question still more definite: Have they *the kind* of power and *all* the power that is requisite? for the mere fact that they are moral agents, (which is all that is supposed to be intended by natural power), does not by any means meet the real difficulty of the case. If the negative of this question be true—and that it is, we shall presently attempt to show—why, in the name of all that is consistent, should that be called *power*, which not only in fact, but even as we have seen in theory, is no power at all?

Mr. Perkins' proposition, though sufficiently imposing, appears to us both ambiguous and sophistical. When he asserts that man is able to obey God if he will, does he mean—what would be expressed more intelligibly in other words—that man is able to obey God *if he is able?* If this be his meaning, he certainly has no controversy with us, or with the readers of the National Preacher, or even, we suspect, with the most troublesome cavillers that may form a part of the American Presbyterian congregation at Montreal. We marvel, however, that such a proposition should be brought forward as particularly striking; much more, that some twelve or fifteen pages should be occupied by way of illustration and proof. We know not how the position, that a certain individual is able to walk fifty miles in a day if he is able to travel that distance, could be rendered plainer or more

credible by multiplying arguments and illustrations even to an indefinite extent. Should the author demur at this mode of interpreting his proposition, we would suggest another: 'Man is able to do his duty if he is really so inclined, if he has the disposition;' in which latter word we would include a right state, both of the understanding and the affections. But this too is what nobody ever thought of calling in question; it being just as plain as that men are moral agents, or that they are the beings to whom it was proper that commands, invitations and threatenings should be addressed. The inquiry still occurs, why it should be necessary formally to *prove* a statement of this kind, a statement whose truth is recognised on the very face of the Bible, and admitted by the common sense of the world? If, however, Mr. Perkins should insist on having his proposition remain in its original form, we do not see that any thing is gained; for either the truism will be repeated, that man can do his duty if he has the disposition, as stated above, or the assertion will be made that he can do it simply by *putting forth a volition* to that effect, if indeed it be proper to speak of volition in this manner. The phraseology employed, not only in the proposition and title, but throughout the discourses generally, would convey the impression to the minds probably of nine-tenths of his readers, that the latter is intended; for he speaks abundantly of the sinner's "going on in sin *with full purpose of heart;*" of his "*being determined* in his course;" of a "*deliberateness, wilfulness, determination* in his guilt, for which no vengeance could be too great;" not to mention that his illustrations seem to have reference particularly to volition. Does Mr. Perkins then wish to revive the old dogma of the self-determining power, and is it a part of his system that the sinner can, merely by *willing* it, change a heart that is "fully set in him to do evil?" That he can, merely by *willing* it, arrest the whole current of his feelings and affections, and cause them to flow in a different channel? And if not, why should he employ language which is not only calculated to deceive, but which does in fact deceive those who may not be able at once to distinguish between the announcement of an important truth, and a mere play upon words? Mr. Perkins, and those who adopt the expressions of which he appears so fond—expressions which, in their view, cut as if by magic the gordian-knot of every cavil, and wrest from his hands the weapons of the stoutest transgessor—happen, most unfortunately for their logic and their cause, to confound mental operations with the movements, &c. of the body. Here is the rock on which Dr. Griffin has split in the tenth of his Park-street Lectures. "You tell the drunkard," he remarks, "that he *can* abandon his cups;

and if he denies, you have only to drop a little poison into his glass, and it may stand by him untouched for half a century." True; but what has this case to do with that of the impenitent sinner? Because the intemperate person may be prevailed upon to abandon his glass, merely through the influence of motives, merely through moral suasion, (and we doubt not that numerous instances of the kind have occurred), does it *therefore* follow that the same principle will apply to the conversion of men from sin to holiness? In order that the cases should be parallel, we must suppose an immediate change, not only in the drunkard's outward conduct, which is in fact merely mechanical, but also in his *appetite;* and the question will then occur, if indeed it be necessary to ask such a question, whether the drunkard can, through the influence of any motives, or through the exertion of any power short of that which is miraculous, *immediately* annihilate his desire for strong drink? The case of the obstinate child proposed by Mr. Perkins, is equally irrevelant, since the act specified is, as in the other instance, merely mechanical. A supposition more in point would be that of a child who had conceived a *dislike* for a parent—a dislike which, however unreasonable, has at length from various causes and long continuance, increased into a deeply settled hatred. Would it be possible for this child, even if a kingdom were proposed as a motive, *at once* to change his feelings, and to *love* the parent whom he had hitherto so bitterly hated? He might indeed be induced to perform a particular act of obedience which he had previously refused to perform, and to which his feelings were even then opposed—an act of course that would be merely external,—but could he immediately change his disposition? And what is gained by speaking of the sinner's being *willing* to love God, while his character is the object of aversion? We can indeed, and we certainly should distinguish between *mere volition* and *will* or *desire*, in the more general acceptation of these terms,—since it is not only a supposable case, but one perhaps not of unfrequent occurrence, for an individual to *will* a thing to which his heart is opposed. Such a case is presented in the history of many awakened sinners. Still, it cannot be said that a person really wills or desires a thing, in the proper sense of those words, when he does not desire it; and of how little avail mere volition is, not only such instances as that of the drunkard and the child just referred to—instances, possibly that might never occur—but especially, the facts connected with revivals of religion, serve abundantly to show. When told that he must either love God or perish forever, the sinner may, from a lively apprehension of future punishment, make an effort to withdraw his affections from the world

and fasten them on his Maker; and if he has mistaken the process for a merely mechanical one—a thing which is at least supposable—or if he has been taught to believe that the effect will certainly follow, (a point to which we shall refer hereafter), he may flatter himself that the work is accomplished: but if he looks at the matter as it really is, he will find that his efforts, though repeated day after day, and week after week, and though sometimes so violent as even to convulse his frame, are utterly unavailing; and he will at length abandon the struggle with the conviction, that whatever power others may possess, *he* might as well attempt to calm the heaving ocean, or to arrest the course of nature by a word, as to soften into love a hard and rebellious heart.

It is remarkable that even the author of the Park-street Lectures, after a laboured attempt to establish the doctrine of the sinner's *natural ability*, informs us in a note, that the term "ability when applied to this subject, expresses only that capacity which is the basis of obligation." He then adds: "To raise the question whether men can change their own hearts, meaning, not whether they have capacity to *exercise*, but whether they have ability to *originate* right affections, (A WORK WHICH BELONGS TO GOD EVEN IN THE HEARTS OF THE HOLY ANGELS), is only turning away," &c. And President Edwards speaks abundantly to the same purpose. When examining some assertions in Dr. Whitby's Discourse on the Five Points, and when showing this writer's inconsistency, he remarks: "And yet the same Dr. Whitby asserts that fallen man is not able to perform perfect obedience." Again: "But if we have not power to continue innocent and without sin, then sin is consistent with necessity," &c. And again: "If we have it not in our power to perform perfect obedience to all the commands of God, then we are under a necessity of breaking some commands in some degree; having NO POWER to perform so much as is commanded."* That these conclusions, though derived from admissions made by his opponent, are in fact, (as far as they extend) Edwards' own sentiments, his distinction of ability into natural and moral notwithstanding, is plain not only from this and the following section, but from declarations in his works too numerous to be specified. Now this is precisely our doctrine. We believe with Dr. Griffin, that men have no power to change their own hearts, no power to originate holy affections; but that 'this work belongs to God, even in the hearts of the holy angels.' We believe, that until the Holy Spirit renews the soul, it is just as impossible for

* Treatise on the Will. Part 3, sect. 3.

the sinner to love his Maker, as it would be to create a world. What men want is not moral agency, for they are moral agents already—but a *disposition* to do their duty. This disposition they cannot have merely by willing it, and of course they have no power in the proper sense of that word, to do what is required; for all the power that is wanted is a right state of heart, or a disposition. So that Mr. Perkins' position will at length return to the precise form in which we stated it at the outset, viz. That man is able to his duty if he has the disposition. But the disposition is, as we have seen, all the power he wants: therefore he is able to do his duty IF HE IS ABLE—a wonderful result, surely, of "the deeper investigation into the laws of the mind!"

The three arguments by which Mr. Perkins attempts to establish his proposition are—'its perfect harmony with the Scriptures, man's own consciousness,—and the *plain declaration* of Scripture'. If the proposition mean what has just been stated, no arguments are *necessary* to show its truth, for it is already self-evident: if it mean any thing different; if it mean that man can do his duty simply by willing it, then the writer has failed to accomplish what he appears so complacently to have supposed. In the latter case the *second* argument would exist only in his own imagination; for as we have seen it is *not* true that man is conscious of his ability to obey God if he will: on the contrary, the history of every anxious sinner who has not been misled by sophistical teaching and a heart that is 'deceitful above all things',—the history certainly of every believer, is but a confirmation of the sentiment uttered by one who well understood this subject, "It is NOT of him that WILLETH, nor of him that RUNNETH, but of God that showeth mercy." And yet Mr. Perkins tells us that 'every one from simple self-inspection knows, without any other proof, that he can do, if he will, what God commands him to do!' The first and third arguments, which might well, as has been remarked, have been blended into one, (since they present, when standing in juxta-position, a tautology that is sufficiently strange), appear to be equally unfortunate with the second; that is, they are directly contrary to matter of fact. It is *not* in 'harmony' either with the Scriptures generally or with any declarations in particular, that man can do his duty simply by willing it; it is *not* a doctrine of the Bible that he can, without any other power than his own, "make to himself a new heart:" on the other hand, the whole scope of the inspired volume teaches a sentiment directly the opposite. To adduce texts would be to transcribe almost all the doctrinal portions of the Old and New Testaments;—for in a great majority of these, man's entire inability is either expressly asserted or necessarily implied. The Scriptures every where ascribe the great

moral change of which believers have been the subjects, to the immediate power of God; while they speak of the change itself as an 'enlightening of the mind,' as the giving of 'a new heart,' as 'a new birth,' 'a new creation,' 'a resurrection from the dead,' &c. "For *God* who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts," &c. "A new heart will *I* give you, and a new spirit will *I* put within you." "Except a man be born of—the *Spirit*, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." "The wind bloweth where it listeth, so is every one that is born of the *Spirit*." "We are *his* workmanship, created in *Christ Jesus* unto good works." "As the *Father* raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them, even so the *Son* quickeneth whom *he* will." To the same purpose is Ezekiel's vision. "Again he said unto me, prophesy upon these bones and say unto them, O ye dry bones, hear the *word of the Lord.* Thus saith the *Lord God* unto these bones, Behold *I* will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live." "The natural man," says the apostle, "receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God—neither CAN he know them, because they are spiritually discerned:" that is, *so long* as he is a natural man, the apprehension referred to is absolutely impossible. So in the passage, "The carnal mind—is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed CAN be." And to refer to only two passages more; the Saviour said to the Jews, "No man CAN come to me except the *Father draw* him,"—repeating the sentiment in the same chapter—"No man CAN come unto me *except it were given him of my Father.*"* Should it be said of the two latter passages that they are explained by another, 'Ye *will* not come to me that ye might have life,' we reply, that we have no objection to this interpretation provided the expression '*will not*,' be understood to signify what in fact it does signify, a want of *disposition*, for this is the doctrine to which we have all along subscribed. We would only remark that an attempt to make the expression mean any thing else, *mere volition*, for instance, would betray a lamentable ignorance of the most obvious principles of exegesis, but especially a strange forgetfulness of the sentiment uttered by Paul, and referred to above, "It is *not* of him that *willeth*, nor of him that runneth." Thus we see that Mr. Perkins' arguments have no foundation either in men's consciousness or in the Bible, but that they are diametrically opposed to both. We had expected that he would cite some passages in which the truth of his proposition might be supposed to be proved; but in this we have been disappointed. He does indeed inform us that God has given his creatures certain *com-*

*Ezek. xxxvi, 26. xxxvii, 4, 5. John iii, 5, 8. v. 21, vi. 44, 65. 2. Cor. iv. 6. Eph. ii. 1, 4, 5, 10.

mands, and he *supposes* it necessary to the 'harmony' of the Scriptures that men should be able, with no other power than their own, to *obey* these commands; but he does not, unfortunately, attempt to prove his doctrine from the Scriptures themselves. Would it not have been more candid if he had, instead of expatiating so largely upon the imaginary fitness of things, instead of seeking for 'wheels' to suit a machinery of man's invention, yielded his own judgment to the simple declarations of the oracles of God? But on this part of the subject we shall speak more particularly hereafter.

Mr. Perkins has thought it necessary to answer the objection which some might be supposed to urge against his proposition, that it is inconsistent with the doctrine of original sin. But this surely was gratuitous; for if it be true that sinners have power to change their own hearts, it matters not how they became sinners, whether by their own act, or by the act of another, or both. All that Mr. Perkins had to do was, to establish the simple point of their ability, and then, any objections that might be proposed would lie, not against his proposition, but against the Scriptures themselves. His account of original sin, is indeed sufficiently remarkable, and it may for this reason require a cursory examination. Whether he intended to make any distinction between original sin and total depravity, is not very clear; for although the latter is referred to a separate objection, yet the course of remark is in both cases essentially the same. The "true doctrine" in regard to this subject is, as Mr. Perkins has been pleased to inform us, "*that men become sinners in consequence of Adam's sin:* not that God creates sin in them as a punishment of Adam's sin, but that while they do *voluntarily* become sinners, it is in consequence of Adam's sin that they become such." Now why the sin of which the writer speaks should be called *original* sin, we, who have no particular sympathy with the 'modern ways of thinking,' and who are supposed by some to be orthodox even to a fault, are wholly unable to conceive. It would be a strange account surely, of an *original* fondness for intoxicating liquors, if one could imagine such a thing, to say that a certain individual had, in consequence of having an intemperate father, become a drunkard *by his own voluntary act!* What Mr. Perkins means by the expression, 'in consequence of Adam's sin;" whether 'a constitution of things,' or 'a mysterious dispensation in the Divine government,' we are not informed: on the other hand, so far as his mere statement is concerned, there would seem to be as little connexion between our sin and that of Adam, (except the bare fact that one is subsequent to the other), as there is between the former and the occurrence some

six thousand years ago of an earthquake or an eclipse. But in whatever obscurity he may have left the connexion between our first parent and his posterity, one thing is sufficiently plain, that he restricts all sin to that which consists in the voluntary exercises of the heart; a view of the subject to which we feel constrained to object, not merely because the sentiment involved was broached, and as we believe refuted, some fourteen hundred years ago, but because we conceive it to be really and utterly at variance with the Scriptures. Mr. Perkins will not, we would hope, now that we have noticed his definition of original sin, set it to the account of the *argumentum ad invidiam* if we transcribe the definition proposed by Turretine. 'Peccatum originale modo *latius* sumitur, prout complectitur peccatum imputatum et inhaerens, quibus tanquam duabus partibus absolvi dicitur.... modo *strictius*, ut solum inhaerens connotet,—non excluso, sed supposito imputato, tanquam causa et fundamento....et hoc sensu hic a nobis nunc usurpatur.' This definition does not indeed accord with the dialectics of the new philosophy, but it is, in our view, no less in its favour that it agrees with the language of prophets and apostles; and it is on the latter account that we decidedly prefer it to the one proposed by Mr. Perkins. The doctrine of *inherent* sin, or that which is *anterior to action*, is, as we believe, taught in numerous passages of Scripture, particularly in Gen. v. 3. viii. 21. Job, xiv. 4, xv. 14; xxv. 4. Psalm li. 5. John, iii. 6. Eph. ii. 3. The passage in Psalm li., is so unequivocal that even a German neologist, confessedly, by the way, one of the most eminent critics of the age, has been as it were compelled, in spite of his principles, (a thing by no means uncommon with this class of men), to interpret it as teaching the very doctrine for which we contend. The *inference* which he draws from the psalmist's declaration is indeed singular enough, but he does not attempt, with all his skill at neutralizing, to pervert the declaration itself.* 'But,' perhaps Mr. Perkins may ask, 'do you believe that God creates sin in the soul?' No, respected sir, we believe no such thing; nor do we believe that all men are born with the same complexion;—and yet we do, notwithstanding, believe that beings may be 'conceived in sin and shapen in iniquity' anterior to any act of their own.

* 'En, ego cum iniquitate genitus sum' . . . hæret in naturâ totâ meâ, jam inde ab ortu meo, est innata mihi pravitas . . . Dicit itaque vates, se tunc etiam quum a matre conciperetur, uteroque gestaretur, peccato fuisse infectum; hinc autem aequum esse ut non summo jure sed clementer, secum Deus judex agat, iniquitatemque suam non tam admissi sceleris, quam infirmitatis innatae habitâ ratione, relaxet.—*E. F. C. Rosenmüller in loc.*————Somewhat to the same purpose speaks De Wette: 'Der Dichter konnte nicht anders als sunceligen, da er aus sundigem Samen gezeugt ist.... Alle Menschen sind Sünder; ich stamme von einer Suuderin.

But unfortunate as Mr. Perkins is in his definitions, in his exercises he happens, if possible, to be still more so. After stating what he calls the "true doctrine" of original sin, that is, of original sin which consists in 'voluntary acts,' and after informing us that this doctrine is taught in Romans v. 12, he remarks upon this passage as follows: "Wherefore as by one man," etc. 'that is, he committed the first sin, and of course it was then and in that manner that sin entered into the world;'—"and death by sin" i. e. 'death was the consequence of sin'; and so death passed upon all men"—that is, as we are told, 'men are the authors of their own sin;' or, 'death passed upon all for this explicit and sufficient reason—*all have sinned*' [personally]. Now Mr. Perkins will bear with us when we say, that we hardly know whether to attribute this interpretation, or rather as we are constrained to call it, perversion of the words of the apostle, to ignorance, or to a desperate adherence to a system which has, in our opinion, almost as little to do with the Scriptures, as the latter have with the koran; a system as one justly remarks, which is both "false in theology and shallow in philosophy." Mr. Perkins should be informed, that in the verse which he has quoted the apostle is not treating of our *personal sins*, but of the representative character of Adam. He does not say that sin began with Adam, and that as he died for his sin, so his posterity die for theirs; but that, *on account of Adam's sin mankind are regarded and treated as sinners.* Having spoken in the foregoing verses of the manner in which believers are reconciled to God, he proceeds from the twelfth verse, and onward, to show the analogy between this, and the way in which men came under condemnation; or rather, he proceeds to illustrate the former by the latter. The one was effected by Adam, the other by Christ. The verses from the twelfth to the eighteenth, or if it be preferred, to the fifteenth, are evidently a parenthesis,—for in verse the eighteenth the apostle states particularly what he had begun to state in verse twelfth; that is, he shows wherein the main point of the analogy between the two cases consists. 'Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world',—as, on account of the disobedience of Adam men became sinners, that is, are regarded as such;—'and death by sin',—as a consequence; 'and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned',—and as men are subject to death or to the penalty of the law (death temporal and eternal) because they have sinned, that is, because they are, on Adam's account regarded and treated as sinners; (v. 12,) 'even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men', (upon all believers) 'to justification of life',—so on account of

the obedience of Christ, are all [believers] regarded and treated as righteous, (v. 18). Or, to express the sentiment more briefly; 'As by the offence of Adam all are condemned, so by the obedience of Christ are all who are united to him justified and saved.' In verses 13, and 14, the apostle *proves* the assertion made in verse 12. 'All are treated as sinners—which is evident from the fact, that all die. Men have without exception been subject to death in all ages, even before the giving of the Mosaic law.' The interpretation which makes the expression, 'all have sinned,' refer to *personal* offences, not only does the utmost violence to the whole scope of the apostle's reasoning, and to every particular declaration from the twelfth verse to the nineteenth, but it is abandoned even by those who seem determined, at all hazards, to adhere to it—by Professor Stuart in his late commentary, for instance.*

But as our limits do not permit us to go into a formal exegesis of the passage, we proceed to another part of our subject.

The principal design of the discourse under consideration is, as has already been remarked, to vindicate the justice of God in the condemnation of the sinner. 'Men can obey God if they will, and therefore they deserve eternal punishment if they do not obey.' Until 'this matter is cleared up,' until 'the smooth and easy doctrine' of inability is completely 'nullified,' 'the mouth of the preacher is,' according to Mr. Perkins, 'effectually stopped:' nothing can be done either with the hardened caviller or with 'lazy and inconsistent Christians.' Let us present motives and urge to repentance as much as we choose, the former will ever meet us with the plea that he *cannot* do his duty; while the latter (strange *Christians* to be sure!) 'will live in the actual indulgence of sin, and yet keep their hopes firm and bright, and think they are in the path to heaven.' It was therefore Mr. Perkins' object, as he tells, us 'to throw himself at once into the strong hold of sin; to demolish, if possible, this refuge of the sin-

* It is worthy of notice that the view which refers, Rom. v. 12, to personal transgression, is rejected not only by most Arminian commentators, but even by the German critics themselves. It is true indeed that Koppe expresses himself in regard to this passage with some degree of hesitation; but he admits, plainly enough, that it teaches, what it has always been supposed to teach, the doctrine of imputation. Not satisfied with the interpretation, 'omnes *peccant*, peccatis sunt obnoxii,' (the one, if we mistake not, which is adopted by the author of these discourses), he says. 'omnes *peccarunt*',—without deciding whether it was '*ipso actu* quo peccavit Adamus', or, 'propter imputatum aliâ forte de causâ, ipsis Adami peccatum.' He quotes Chrysostom and Cyril as teaching the same doctrine. And even Rosenmüller, when translating verse 16, (which, it is acknowledged, merely carries out the sentiment suggested in verse 12), remarks, 'Sententia judicis PROPTER unum peccatum in omnes lata est'—'the sentence of the judge was pronounced upon all ON ACCOUNT OF one sin.'

ner; to clear away from the character of God the foul imputation of commanding impossibilities; and, to show sinners of every kind' (he includes 'the lazy Christians,' of course), 'that they had [have] no such excuse, that here is no such smooth doctrine for them; that each act and feeling of sin is their own guilty, voluntary choice,' &c. Mr. Perkins might have informed us that his design was, in other words, according to the genuine spirit of the new philosophy, to explain things that never have been explained, and to bring down one of the high mysteries of revelation to a level with the understanding of mortals. So it is—

'Men rush in where angels fear to tread.'

How totally unsuccessful such an attempt would prove, one might well conjecture without formally showing that the doctrine of ability is a mere figment of the imagination, having no existence either in the Scriptures or in the experience of mankind.

'But if sinners have no ability, of themselves, to do what is required, they cannot *deserve* eternal punishment.' Precisely in the same manner speaks Dr. Whitby. 'Who,' says he, 'can blame a person for doing what he could not help?' Again; 'It being sensibly unjust to punish any man for doing that which it was never in his power to avoid.' Again, to confirm his opinion, he cites one of the Fathers, as saying, 'Why doth God command, if man hath not free will and power to obey?' Is Mr. Perkins aware that these very statements were examined nearly a century ago by the author of the Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will?* Mr. P. speaks of *eternal* punishment: but this was hardly necessary,---since the principle which his doctrine involves is, that if men are really unable to do their duty, they would in fact deserve no punishment at all. If it is unjust, in the case supposed, to inflict *endless* punishment upon the sinner, it would for the same reason be unjust to punish him a single hour; so that whatever force there might be in the objection of the Universalist on the ground of inability, that objection would relate, in the present case, not to the *duration* of punishment, but to the justice of punishment itself. We refer to this circumstance, not because it is particularly important, but merely to show how vaguely an individual may write without being sensible of it. As to the sentiment itself, that ability must always be co-extensive with obligation, we admit that this is true in respect to acts which are consequent on volition; but not in relation to our dispositions, and affections. We utterly deny, 'that in order to the sinner's being to blame for hating God, he should be able to change his hatred into love.' Nor has Mr. Perkins given us the least par-

*Part. 3, Sect. 3.

ticle of proof in regard to this subject, unless indeed, that can be called proof which consists in plausible speculations upon *à priori* principles of justice and the imaginary fitness of things; a method of reasoning which, while it is always of doubtful propriety, is in discussions of this nature altogether inadmissible. Mr. Perkins should be reminded that it is this kind of logic which has been resorted to by almost every errorist from the days of Pelagius down to the present time. It is by the *à priori* argument that the Universalist proves, not that sinners ought not to be punished for failing to perform impossibilities, as Mr. Perkins has gratuitously supposed, but that setting the point of ability wholly aside, they ought not to be punished at all: it is by the same argument that the neologist resolves the mosaic account of the creation into a μυθος, that he shuts out Jesus Christ from the Old Testament, and identifies the truths of revelation with the maxims of Seneca and Confucius. Who that has ever heard of Tholuck does not know, that it was on this very ground that he stood for whole years,—hesitating whether to reject a part of the Bible as containing sentiments abhorrent to the 'first principles of justice,'—or, to believe with the apostle that '*all* scripture is given by inspiration of God'? Instead of laying down propositions in order to harmonize the divine attributes, instead of attempting, as it appears to us, to be 'wise above what is written,' why did not Mr. Perkins confine himself to plain matter of fact? Was it necessary, in order to prove that God is just, to occupy two whole sermons in discussing a theory to which this truth should be appended as an inference—a theory which is so entirely the result of man's invention that not a single text of Scripture can be urged in its support? Where does Mr. P. find it stated in the Bible, that because God has given his creatures certain commands, they are *therefore* able of themselves to obey them? or that, if they have no proper power to do what is required, they would be unjustly punished for their disobedience? The question is one of fact, not of speculation. That men have of themselves *no ability* to do their duty, we have already proved: we might also prove not only that they will be punished for not doing it, but that their punishment will be infinitely just. 'Is God unrighteous who taketh vengeance?' and yet, the same lips that said, 'Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish,' said also, 'Without me ye can do nothing;' and, 'No man can come to me except the Father draw him.' If there are two doctrines in the word of God which stand out with peculiar prominence, they are the *utter inability* and the *guilt* of the sinner. Should one still be disposed to ring changes upon the injustice of commanding men to perform impossibilities, we

would refer them to matter of fact; we would appeal from plausible assertion to the unequivocal declarations of Scripture. If it be taught in the Bible that men are commanded to do that which they have of themselves no power to perform, as we have seen that it is, we would meet the individual who either denies or attempts to explain away this truth with the question proposed eighteen hundred years ago, 'Who art thou, O man, that repliest against God?' It ought to be remarked or rather repeated, that the inability under which the sinner labours, though a real inability, is so far from exonerating him from blame, that it constitutes in fact the very essence of his crime. No one would say in the case of the child who hates his parent, that because he might be unable at once to change his hatred into love, he would therefore be excusable; on the contrary, the common feeling of mankind would be, the more he hates, the more he is to blame —THE GREATER THE INABILITY, THE GREATER THE GUILT. Just so in the case of impenitent sinners: if they hate their Maker so much that they *cannot* love him, the more inexcusable they are. For their inability they feel condemned even in this world; and at the judgment they will be so far from offering it as an apology for their conduct, that every mouth will be stopped under the deep conviction, that those whose hatred to God and to holiness was so great that no power short of Omnipotence itself could subdue it, deserve if any beings in the universe can deserve, wrath to the very utmost. To use one more topic of illustration; is Satan excusable? and yet who would say that this fallen angel has any more ability to exercise right affections, than he has to burst his chains of darkness, or even to annihilate his being?

Mr. Perkins then, in advancing or rather advocating a theory which is at variance with matter of fact, has utterly failed of accomplishing the object proposed. So it happened with Arminius and Whitby, and so it has always been with those who have left the Bible, and 'taught for doctrines the commands of men.' After all the author's attempts at explanation, and after the strange account which he has given us of a part of the 5th chapter of the epistle to the Romans, (a portion of Scripture which, as it does not relate to inherent depravity, much less, to 'original sin which consists in voluntary acts,' has no immediate connexion with the subject), the character of God and the total, though guilty inability of the sinner remain precisely where they were before. We would now suggest a few thoughts in regard to the practical bearing of the subject.

Did statements like those contained in these discourses end merely in speculation, they might indeed be left to take their

own course; this is however so far from being the case, that their effects are deplorable in the extreme. When men are told in seasons of religious excitement that they can obey God if they will, a part, perhaps the larger part, always suspect the preacher of some mental reservation, or some latent quibble; and the immediate consequence is, that whatever they may think of his piety, their confidence in his candour is, to say the least, greatly diminished. They feel conscious that they do not possess the ability which is ascribed to them. They may in some instances have made an effort to subject the affections to the dictates of the will; but if they have not—which is perhaps with persons of this class more usually the fact,—it is because they have had evidence we might almost say, the very strongest possible, that such an effort would be utterly fruitless. Another class, including the more superficial and careless portion of the congregation, as they receive the impression that the work of conversion is so easy a matter, conclude that it can be performed at any time, and therefore they think it unnecessary to give themselves any particular anxiety in regard to the subject. We once heard a remark that was made by a worldling at the close of a sermon in which the speaker attempted to show how easy it was to come to Christ, that 'he was better pleased with such preaching than with any he had ever heard before; it rendered every thing so easy and so plain.' A third class, ignorant of the true nature of the work to be done, and ignorant most of all, of themselves, are given up to the delusion, that because they have *willed* its performance, the effect has certainly followed. Thus they indulge false hopes, and thus our churches are filled with self-conceited, noisy, and unsanctified professors. We wish to speak with due regard to the feelings of Christian brethren, but we cannot refrain from expressing it as our decided opinion, that, such language as that employed by the author of these discourses, however well intended, has done more to produce spurious conversions, and thus to destroy the souls of men, than almost all other causes combined. But would you tell sinners that they can do nothing, and that therefore they must sit still until God is pleased to convert them? We answer; it does not follow because some may embrace one error, that we should therefore teach another. Our object would be, setting aside human inventions, to pursue in regard to this whole subject the course prescribed in the word of God. So far from encouraging the impenitent to remain as they are, we would exhort them by all that is binding in the commands of their Maker, by all that is moving in the compassion of a dying Saviour, by all that is valuable in an immortal soul—by all these motives we would exhort them to the imme-

diate exercise of repentance of sin and faith in Christ. We would tell them at the same time, what we believe the Bible tells them, not only that they have, of themselves, no power to perform these duties, but that their inability is, as has been said, THE VERY ESSENCE OF THEIR GUILT. We would tell them, that their hearts are so wicked that none but God himself can change them, and that they are therefore cast wholly dependent on his sovereign will. We would add, that whatever hope we might have of success should be grounded not upon any appeals that *we* might make, but upon the efficiency of Him who is 'exalted TO GIVE repentance unto Isreal and forgiveness of sins.' The truth is, God never sends forth his servants with the expectation that THEY can convert their hearers. It is their duty to go, and like Ezekiel, to prophesy over the slain; to cause their 'bones to live,' is the office of the same Spirit that created the world. O! if ministers acted more upon the sentiment, 'Neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase;' if, feeling their own weakness, they would gird themselves, by prayer, and faith, and holy living, in the strength of their Master, how would he honour their instrumentality in the salvation of souls! Then would the gospel become what it was in apostolic days; then would this rebellious world soon bow in holy allegiance to Israel's Redeemer and Israel's King.

Hodge

ART. IX.—*Lachmann's New Testament.*

AFTER the discovery of the art of printing, almost the first efforts of the press were devoted to sacred subjects. The most extended and uniform demand in the Christian Church, was naturally for the Word of God. As the Scriptures existed, at this period, only in manuscript copies, and as these manuscripts, as was unavoidable, were more or less inaccurate, it became a matter of great interest and responsibility to know which MSS. were to be followed, or how the mistakes of one might be corrected from the better readings of the others. When any one reflects on the great difficulty of transcribing accurately a book so large as the New Testament, he must be sensible that, without a constant miracle, every new transcript must be attended with more or less blunders. And as the mistakes of the MS. copied would be included in the transcript in addition to its own, it is easy to see

that, in the course of ages, the departures from the original text must become both numerous and serious. As, however, the number of independent transcriptions in all parts of the church, would not be marred by the same errors, it is clear that, by an extensive comparison of different copies, a much nearer approach to the true text might be attained, than by following exclusively any one copy. And it must be further apparent, that just in proportion to the number of these independent transcripts, no matter how great their individual errors, is the chance of the true original reading being preserved, and the opportunity of clearly identifying it. Accordingly, the text of the New Testament is much more certainly fixed than that of the great majority of the Greek and Latin classics, as the number of MSS. still extant of the former, is much greater than of those of the latter. And precisely those portions of the Scriptures, which were the least frequently transcribed, are those about the true reading of which there is the greatest doubt. Thus, for example, the Apocalypse exists now in fewer MS. copies, than any other portion of the New Testament, and it is of all others the most incorrect and doubtful. So far, therefore, from being alarmed for the certainty of the Scriptures, when informed that the number of various readings, or discrepancies between the copies, amount to upwards of a hundred thousand, we may be sure that as this great number implies the great extent of the independent sources of information as to the true text, the opportunity of ascertaining that text is proportionably increased. When we find the best MSS. of the western, eastern and southern sections of the church—the ancient versions of these several divisions—and the ancient fathers all conspiring to represent a passage in the same words, there can be no doubt as to its correctness, no matter how variously it may be presented in later or inferior copies. That it is, however, a work of great labour, great difficulty, and great responsibility, to ascertain and weigh all the evidence for and against any particular reading, and to decide finally what must be received as the true Word of God, is sufficiently evident from what has been said. There are few subjects, therefore, of greater interest, although few are so little regarded, as the history of the labours of critics and editors in fixing the text of the New Testament. No man knows on what ground he stands, until he knows on what evidence the reading which he finds in his Greek Testament, is regarded as part of the genuine Scriptures. It becomes every student therefore to look at this subject; to ascertain how the various editors have proceeded in the formation of the text which they exhibit; what materials they used, on what critical principles, and with what accuracy, skill and integrity, they employed

them. These are matters of grave import, when the Word of God is concerned.

The first, and on some accounts, one of the most important editions of the New Testament, was that contained in the Complutensian Polyglott, published under the auspices of Cardinal Ximenes. It was commenced in 1502, and finished 1514—but not actually published until 1522. Unfortunately, with regard both to the materials employed for this edition, and the manner in which they were used, there is much uncertainty, and of course much diversity of opinion. As to the first point, we have nothing but the assertion of the editors, and the internal character of the text from which to form an opinion. The editors assert that their MSS. were *vetustissima simul et emenditissima*, but as they have been since destroyed, this point cannot be ascertained from actual inspection. From the fact that the Complutensian text agrees generally with the modern MSS. and rarely has readings characteristic of the more ancient ones, many critics disregard the assertion of the editors, and maintain that the text is founded exclusively on MSS. of recent date. There is the same doubt as to the skill and fidelity of the editors. From the fact of their being Catholics, and from the manner in which they speak of the Latin Vulgate, Wetstein accuses them of having formed their text rather on the authority of that version, than of the Greek MSS. Of this charge, however, Bishop Marsh, who on other grounds depreciates this edition, acquits them. And, on inspection, the Complutensian text is found to differ too frequently from the Latin Vulgate, to justify the assertion of its editors being unduly influenced by its authority. As this edition is one of the principal grounds on which rest the claims of some important passages in the New Testament to be considered genuine, it is one of great interest. Mill expresses his regret, that subsequent editors did not content themselves with marking their corrections in the margin, and adopting this text as their standard, as he thinks no other, on the whole, so good. And Wetstein, its great impugner, pays it the silent, though effective tribute, of scarcely ever approving a reading which has not the testimony of the Complutensian text in its favour.*

The edition of Erasmus, though not completed until after that of the Cardinal Ximenes, was published before it, owing to the delay which waiting for the Pope's permission occasioned in the publication of the latter. The qualifications of Erasmus, as a

* As the Complutensian Polyglott is very scarce and costly, some of our readers may be glad to know that the Greek Text of that edition, with the Latin Vulgate of the edition of Clement VIII., has been published separately in 2 vols. 8vo.

critical editor, were of the highest order; but his materials were very scanty, and his attention was so much distracted, that it was impossible for him to do justice to the importance of the work. He was engaged by a bookseller at Basle, and was obliged to furnish a sheet for the press daily—while he had on hand several other literary enterprises, any one of which was sufficient to occupy his whole time. He had five MSS. those numbered 1, 2, 3, 61 and 69, in Wetstein's catalogue. Three of these made one complete copy—the fourth contained the whole of the New Testament except the book of Revelation. Besides these MSS. he used the works of Theophylact, containing the text of the New Testament, and the commentary of that father, and the Latin Vulgate. Such were the materials which Erasmus possessed for his first edition, published in 1515. His second was published in 1519—differing in upwards of four hundred places from the former. In 1522 he published his third edition, in which, for the first time, he inserted the controverted passage, 1 John, v, 7. The fourth appeared in 1527, and the fifth in 1535, both still farther corrected and improved by a comparison with the Complutensian, published 1522.

During the interval between the publication of the first and fifth editions of Erasmus, several others were printed, but these were in general merely reprints of one or other of those of Erasmus. That of Colinæus, 1534, was indeed of a different character, but it had little influence on the formation of the received text. The next editions therefore of importance, in the history of that text, were those of Robert Stephens. Of these there were four; the most important was the third, 1550, in folio; one of the most elegant specimens of typography which that age produced. The materials employed by Robert Stephens were—1st, the several editions which had preceded his own; and 2d, fifteen MSS. eight of which were from the Royal Library at Paris. Of the age or value of these MSS. little can now be certainly ascertained, as it is doubtful whether they are now extant—Travis and many others maintaining they were lost with the library of Beza—while others suppose that those belonging to the Royal Library were returned, and are now preserved in that collection. Those which critics think they can identify as the same used by Robert Stephens, are comparatively modern. As to the skill and fidelity exercised in the use of these materials, although Griesbach brings many complaints against the editor, there seems to be no ground for suspecting any thing more than what may be readily admitted, viz. that the criticism of the New Testament was not then in the advanced state at which it arrived two or three centuries afterwards.

The apparatus employed by Theodore Beza, was more extensive than that of any of his predecessors. He had not only the materials collected by Robert Stephens, but also the results of a more extensive collation of MSS. made by Henry Stephens, and on the Gospels, the Codex Bezae, the oldest MS. extant, and on the Epistles, the Codex Claromontanus, with the Syriac version. As to the use which he made of these materials, there is a difference of opinion. Mill says he employed them rather for the purpose of interpretation than to fix the text; and Wetstein, with his characteristic bitterness, accuses him of negligence, levity, and fraud. His main ground of complaint, however, seems to have been that he wrote in favour of the punishment of heretics. Beza's piety, learning, and sense of responsibility to God, are pledges that there was no ground for this charge of unfaithfulness. The result of his labours was the formation of a text which differed in sixty places from that of Robert Stephens. One hundred and fifty other readings he indicates in his notes as preferable to those which he retained in the text; and nearly six hundred others as of equal authority. This work was completed in 1598.

The next edition was the *Textus Receptus*. The Elzevirs, learned and successful printers of Holland, were the publishers of this edition, but its editors are unknown. Their object was merely to form a text by a comparison of the previous editions. Hence it bears the title, "*Novum Testamentum ex Regiis aliisque optimis Editionibus cum cura expressum.*" It was not therefore, on account of any peculiar confidence reposed in its editors, nor on account of the value of the critical materials employed in its formation, that this text attained to such general acceptance and authority; but simply because of its beauty and typographical accuracy. By innumerable reprints it was widely disseminated, and came into common use; and thus obtained an ascendancy which it has never lost. This edition was printed in 1624. On examination, it is found that the unknown editors followed principally the third edition of Robert Stephens and that of Beza. It differs, in fact, only in twelve places from the former. This edition of Robert Stephens, into which the received text resolves itself, rests on the Complutensian as its basis, on the fifth of Erasmus, which it very frequently follows, and the editor's sixteen MSS.

It appears from this brief statement, that it would be little less than miraculous, if an edition resting on the authority of comparatively few MSS. of whose age or value no certainty can now be attained, should in every point be found correct. There was cause, therefore, for the extended and laborious efforts of subsequent editors, that by the comparison and just appreciation of

the hundreds of MSS. of the New Testament still extant, of the various ancient versions, and the quotations of the ancient writers, the sacred text might be more firmly settled, and more nearly assimilated to that of the sacred penman. The three most important critical editions, subsequent to the formation of the received text, are those of Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach. There is nothing peculiar in the critical principles of either of the two former. Their effort seems to have been, merely to examine more extensively all the various sources of knowledge of the ancient text, and to form a more critical estimate of their relative value. With regard to Griesbach, however, the case was different. He first undertook to construct a text, not on the testimony of MSS., fathers, and versions, considered as separate and independent witnesses; but having arranged these witnesses into distinct classes and families, on the testimony of these classes, as such. Having divided all the MSS. into the Western, Alexandrian, and Byzantine classes, should any two of these concur, (no matter how few the separate MSS. included under each,) in favour of a particular reading, he would adopt it as genuine. Hence to two or three MSS. belonging to one class, was often assigned the same weight as to a hundred belonging to another. The principle on which this classification is founded is evidently just and natural, because it is plain, if one particular MS. had been transcribed a hundred times, each transcript could not be entitled to a separate voice in deciding on the genuine text. We might as well take the testimony of every copy of a printed edition. But as in this latter case, the Complutensian, the Erasmian, the Stephanian editions, can alone be considered independent witnesses, and not the several copies of each, so, if it were possible to divide and arrange the MS. authorities into really distinct classes, a great point would be gained. But here is the difficulty, and it seems nearly insurmountable. Griesbach admits he did not know whether to make three classes, or five, or seven. Michaelis is for making four; other critics two. Should this difficulty be gotten over, then comes another equally great, viz. to decide to which class each particular MS. belongs. Griesbach says: "In some cases, a MS. follows one class in the Gospels, and another in the Epistles; and in others, the readings are so mixed up, it is impossible to tell to which the reading is to be referred." Whatever may be the theoretical correctness of this system, it is plain that it has not been so carried out as to afford a safe basis for the formation of the text of the sacred volume. Griesbach's edition on this, and other accounts, has lost all authority even among the German critics. The recent edition of Scholze, though the result of long and laborious preparation, is con-

sidered in a great measure a failure. The only work which is regarded as making a real advance since the time of Griesbach, is that of Lachmann, which, we are informed, has won almost all suffrages, and is becoming an authority. As his edition is not attended by any Prolegomena, he refers his readers for an account of his critical principles, to an article published by himself in the "*Studien und Kritiken*," for 1830. From this source we propose to give a brief statement of his plan, that our readers may know what to expect in this new attempt to fix the sacred text.

1. The first position assumed by Lachmann is that his object should not be merely to correct the text of Griesbach. Without evincing any disposition to question the merits of that distinguished critic, he felt from the beginning that he was not to be regarded as a leader. The principal ground of objection to his system is that be assumed the received text as the basis of his edition; feeling called upon only to justify himself when he altered that text without reflecting that he was as much responsible for what he allowed to remain, as for what he changed. Instead of inquiring, in the first instance, what readings were to be regarded as resting on historical evidence, he, and all the critics of that period, with the solitary exception of Bentley, assumed that all they met with were of this character, and began at once on internal grounds, to decide upon their respective claims. Griesbach, indeed, paid great attention to the sources of these readings, and in this respect greatly excelled the majority of contemporary philologists, but still he was led only to investigate what, from internal evidence, or his critical rules, he thought himself able to decide upon; other matters he generally passed over. But to a critic it matters nothing whether a reading be important or not.

Lachmann, therefore, thought it best at once to reject the text which for three hundred years the church has generally received, in favour of that which is at least fourteen hundred old; and to assume the responsibility of what he allows to remain unchanged as well as what he alters. In answer to the obvious question, Why aim at re-establishing the text of the fourth century, and not that of the apostolic age itself? he says, his principles would of course lead him to endeavour to ascertain the apostolic text, but of this he despairs. That text can only be made out by availing ourselves at times of internal evidence, where external fails; and especially by a careful observance of the peculiar *usus loquendi* of the several sacred writers. This means, though acknowledged to be excellent, he thinks ought only to be applied after we have a text formed on the exclusive basis of historical tradition or external evidence. To form such text is the object of his labours.

This is a mere historical problem, and one which may be finally solved and settled; whereas the formation of a text on critical principles which appeal to other than historical evidence, is an endless work; because the means constantly increase as our knowledge increases. That there is nothing either popish or merely mechanical in this historical method of proceeding, he thinks is evident enough, from its being the method adopted by Richard Bentley, whom he pronounces the greatest critic of modern times. A more plausible objection is, that this method must lead at times to the adoption of readings less intelligible than others, and even certainly false—contrary to what we have been long accustomed to, and offensive perhaps to pious persons. All these things are of little concern to him, as his office and object are not to form a text which can offend no one, but to state what was the reading at a given time.

2. The second point is presented by the question, How is the oldest text to be ascertained? It is clear that some limit must be fixed, when we speak of the oldest text. It is, however, not necessary to adopt any reading in a more modern state than that in which it existed in the fourth century, and as authenticated by the Latin version corrected by Jerome. As far at least as the original text of Jerome can be ascertained, and the Greek can be inferred from the Latin, we may be certain that we have either the readings of good Latin MSS., or that of the Greek copies from which Jerome's corrections were made. It is true, as he admits, that, through the slothfulness of the Vatican critics, the text of Jerome has not been restored: yet it is not lost, and if we look at the MSS. written before the tenth century, we shall find them much more coincident with the ancient Greek MSS. than with those modern ones on which the received text is founded. This, as he remarks, was also Bentley's plan, who wished to form his text mainly on the agreement of the ancient MSS. with the Vulgate. It would seem to be an obvious objection to this feature of Lachmann's plan, that there is quite as much difficulty in restoring the true text of the Vulgate, as that of the Greek, and that before the Vulgate can be made a basis on which to rest the formation of the Greek text, this restoration should be effected. He states in a note that he proposes publishing a critical edition of the Vulgate with various readings &c., as an essay towards this restoration. Considering the great and universally acknowledged importance of the Latin version, as a critical authority, he expresses great surprise that the recent catholic editor of the New Testament, Dr. Scholz, did not form his text mainly on the Vulgate, by which he would, at once, have approached nearer to the reading approved by his own church, and to the ancient text, than

by his mere correction of Griesbach. But he adopted the strange idea that the oldest MSS. and fathers do not exhibit so old a text as that contained in the more common modern manuscripts.

Lachmann, however, does not propose to rest satisfied with the Vulgate, and he thinks Bentley, had he prosecuted his labours, would have looked beyond it also. Indeed, Jerome himself marks out a free, and more correct course, as is clear from the excellent critical principles which he lays down. His object was to exhibit the Latin *codicum Graecorum emendata conlatione sed veterum.* He rejected readings supported by only a few MSS., relying on the testimony of the versions where the MSS. differed.

There is another principle of importance to be here noticed, viz. that a reading should not only be old, but widely extended. On this account it will not do to rely exclusively on the Vulgate, for Jerome, though he deferred to the authority of the Greek MSS., yet says expressly that he departed as little as possible from the common Latin readings. Instead therefore, of trusting to the testimony of one individual, the editor urges the propriety of endeavouring to ascertain the most widely diffused readings from the coincidence of the Greek MSS., the versions and the ecclesiastical writers.

3. Another critical principle which Lachmann adopts, is the division of the MSS. into two distinct families. The pervading characteristic difference between these families, he is persuaded, could not have escaped the sagacity of Bentley, had he continued his critical labours. He would doubtless, as he supposes, have anticipated Griesbach's results, and prevented his errors. This diversity manifests itself between Irenaeus and Origen, and is the more important, because it is continued; the versions before Jerome agreeing with the western fathers; while with the eastern, we find the most ancient Greek MSS. and a Coptic Greek MS. coinciding. The pointing out clearly of these facts is a great part of the merit of Griesbach. As both of these families necessarily rest upon a common original text, it is only from a great number of readings any one can determine to which any particular witness (MS. or version) is to be referred. And when a reading decidedly western is found in the oldest copies of the eastern or Alexandrian class, it is to be considered thereby as doubly guarantied. When Origen presents in any passage two readings, one of which is western, it is to be supposed that he has availed himself of a MS. true to the original text, and not of one derived from the west, or corrected from western authorities; since either of these suppositions has little plausibility. Any reading therefore common to both classes is to be considered as widely spread and ancient; and therefore worthy of a place in the text. The authority

of one class is with this editor no greater than the other. All readings which have only a part of either family in their favour he rejects—even though from internal or other grounds he is persuaded they are correct. For his object is not to give the true text, but that which can be historically shown to be the oldest and the most disseminated.

Another statement of the editor, with regard to his plan, is, that his object is to give only the oriental text. He says, he found that within the limits prescribed, he could not exhibit fully the characteristic varieties of both classes of MSS. The western readings are in fact but imperfectly known, and in part they are extant only in a Latin form. He would therefore either have to mix the Latin with the Greek under the text, or to translate the former into the latter. On this account he determines to confine himself to the exhibition of the text of the oriental class. Diversities, therefore, confined to the western class, he passes unnoticed; but when there was a difference among the MSS. of the oriental class themselves, the western class would fix his choice. A word or sentence which was in every part of Christendom, at once read and not read, stands between brackets as uncertain; what every where seems to have been variously read, is given, one reading in the text, the other in the lower margin, and when necessary, with the sign of equality before it.

With regard to those matters which do not depend on the authority of MSS. but on the interpretation of the text, he of course follows his own judgment. To this class belong interpunction, the *iota subscriptum*, the division of words and the accents. As the transcribers generally neglected those differences in orthography which made no difference in the pronunciation of the words, the editor with regard to such points, does not follow his MSS. but the rules of grammar. With respect however to other orthographical diversities, he pursues the opposite course, and writes as he finds written.

4. As the text of this edition is founded exclusively on historical authorities, it becomes peculiarly interesting to know on what sources the editor has mainly relied. He informs us that in respect to the Greek MSS. he has conformed to Bentley's plan, and confined himself to those written in uncial or capital letters, because of these only can the antiquity be confidently relied upon. Of the Oriental class of these MSS., the Alexandrian Codex (A.), of which a fac simile has been printed, is the first and the most available. The Vatican Codex (B) though it has been twice or even more frequently collated, is far less accurately known, and therefore can be but imperfectly used in the formation of the text.

The Codex Ephraemi (C) (one of the rescripti) was twice examined by Wetstein, but not in a satisfactory manner. The fragments of Paul's Epistles in the Codex Coislinianus 202 (H) printed by Montfaucon, are convenient for use, but of little value. The Rescripti of the Gospels among the Wolfenbüttel MSS. (PQ) are much more important. Besides these there are the fragments of the Gospel of John (T) printed by Borgias and a copperplate of the Dublin MS. of Matthew marked Z by Schulz and Scholz in their lists.

It will be observed that these MSS. enable the editor, in the greater part of the New Testament at least, to compare A and B, but not in all parts. In a considerable portion of Matthew, and 2. Corinthians iv. 13, xii. 6, his only oriental authority is B.; and from Heb. ix. 14, through the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse, his only witness is A., except the few places in which the testimony of C is available. Of course, in these portions the diversity of readings prevalent in the east, cannot be exhibited fully. Some help indeed is to be obtained from the quotations of the fathers; but, for reasons which he assigns, Lachmann has confined himself to the testimony of Origen. The careful examination of the genuine works of Athanasius, should, he thinks, be one of the first objects of attention to his successor in his department of critical labour. Aid also, to some extent, he obtained from the version of Jerome, where it differs from the western reading, for then it gives that of the Greek MSS. In some cases, he says, when the vulgate failed him, he has gone counter to a single oriental manuscript, on the authority of the more modern and common copies. As this however, is a departure from his principles and plan, it occurs but seldom.

As regards the western class of authorities, he remarks, that as far as Paul's epistles are concerned, the best witnesses are the Codex Claromontanus (Δ), and the Codex Boernerianus (G).* Matthäi's printed edition of the latter, he says, is invaluable. The Latin versions which he considers pure, are for the Gospels, those in the MSS. of Vercelli (a) and Verona (b), to which he adds the Colbertian, by Sebatier, (c). The one at Cambridge (d) is trustworthy as to the Acts of the Apostles. For Paul's Epistles nothing better can be wished than that of Clermont, (f) which Sabatier has completed by the one from St. Germain (ff) and the Boernerian. In the Revelations, Primasius, he says, is of some use, though the translation is free and inaccurate. Of the western fathers, Irenaeus, Cyprian, and Hilary, are particularly

* The Greek MSS. which this editor uses, he makes A. B. C. D. E. Δ G. H. P. Q. T. Z., the Latin a b c d e f ff g h.

important. Of the version of Ulfilas, and the Syriac, he makes no use. Of those sources or authorities which are of a mixed character, the only one, besides the vulgate, from which he derived much advantage, is the famous Cambridge MS. (D). Little attention he thinks, is requisite to discover that this is a transcript of a western manuscript, in various ways and from various causes altered and corrupted. When this codex coincides with the pure oriental authorities, and the pure western are silent, or deficient, he considers the coincidence as decisive.

It seems then, that in the epistles of Paul, and in a great measure also, in the gospels, the western authorities are complete. But in the Acts and Revelations we have only one western witness, and even this fails towards the close of the Acts; consequently where the testimony of some father is not of avail, the diversity of the west must be unknown. In the last sections of Acts where the western witnesses fail, and the fathers are silent, the editor finds himself confined to A, and B, often C, and the vulgate.

In this exhibition of the principles and sources of his work, Lachmann has not failed to point out its weaknesses—which at least proves his sincerity and honesty. He does not hesitate to admit, that his edition has incorrect readings, in common with the received text, which might without difficulty be corrected. He even allows that his text has errors where the common text is correct. Cases of this kind he points out himself. His determination to exclude from his present work the western readings, he admits has in certain instances injured his text, but not often; for although the two classes are in a multitude of cases of equal authority, yet the cases are few, that a reading peculiar to the west is the true one; and there is even a preference due, when internal evidence is taken into view, to the eastern authorities, on the principle of Jerome: *multo purior fontis unda quam rivi.*

He apprehends that his text will give the least satisfaction in those places, where instead of its reading, others, though having but little external authority in their favour, are obviously genuine. But, true to his principle to give only the historically supported, and the widely disseminated, he adopts the erroneous, in preference to the true reading. First, because, he says, very frequently mere external authority has little to do with the evident truth of a reading: and secondly, because at times mere conjecture (which no one would allow to influence the text) outweighs all external evidence.

He thinks there is no doubt, the shorter form of the Lord's prayer in Luke, as it is given by Origen, Jerome, and the Vatican Codex, is the genuine reading, yet he is obliged, from the co-

incidence of A C P, with all the western authorities, to adopt the longer. Thus in Luke. xxiv. 36, he adopts, without even marking as doubtful the words, "*and he said to them, Peace be with you*"—though he believes them spurious. The latter part of Mark, he thinks, on internal grounds, evidently unworthy of a place in the text, and yet as all his authorities, except B, have the passage, it is retained. The passage in Mark, xv. 28, "*and the Scripture was fulfilled, which said, and he was counted with transgressors,*" is without doubt spurious, though here the external authorities are more divided. The west is unanimously in its favour; the east is divided, Eusebius is for, P for, A B C against: of the mixed authorities, D is against, the Vulgate for. According to his principle the passage must be adopted.

This edition viewed then not as an attempt to restore the true text, but to exhibit that which was prevalent in the east, at as early a period as the author's authorities would allow, is one of great interest. Though we have much abridged the account the author gives of his plan, we believe we have omitted none of its essential features.