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THE  
BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

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JANUARY, 1834.

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No. I.

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ART. I.—*Remarks on the Epistles of Ignatius.*

THE Epistles of Ignatius may be said to be the sheet-anchor of diocesan Episcopacy. They are implicitly relied on, continually quoted, and made the subject of unceasing boast, as decisive witnesses for prelatical bishops. Whatever testimony may be doubtful on the subject, *this* has been pronounced, for more than two centuries, altogether unquestionable. In short, so much has been said concerning these Epistles, in reference to the Episcopal controversy, that the opinion seems with many to be taken for granted, that if their authenticity can be established, the cause of Presbyterianism is, of course, defeated. On this account, we presume that a few simple statements respecting the history and character of the Epistles in question, will not be uninteresting to our readers.

Ignatius, as Eusebius tells us, was bishop or pastor of Antioch, early in the second century. Where he was born; how educated; when, or by what means, converted to the Christian faith; and at what time inducted into the pastoral charge of the church of Antioch—are all points concerning which nothing is now known. Some of the ancients alleged that he was the “child”.

whom the blessed Saviour "took in his arms," and placed before his disciples as a pattern of humility; and on this account, as some imagine, the name Theophoros, was given to him, as indicating one "carried" or "borne of God." There is no other evidence of this, however, than a very vague tradition; and in opposition to it, Chrysostom, who flourished in the fourth century, expressly says of him, "That he never saw the Lord, nor enjoyed any converse with him."

The first writer that mentions him as bishop of Antioch, is Origen, in the third century. All the succeeding Fathers, who have occasion to mention him, follow this account. When this fact is stated concerning him, there can be no doubt that the title imports, simply, that he had the pastoral charge of that church; as it is perfectly evident that the title of bishop was applied, in the apostolic age, to all Presbyters who were pastors of churches; and it is no less certain that the title was applied in the same manner by Clemens Romanus, who was contemporary with Ignatius. Indeed the very Epistles of which we are now speaking, contain, as we shall afterwards have occasion to show, inherent and abundant evidence of the same fact.

The story concerning this venerable father is, that he suffered martyrdom during the reign of the emperor Trajan; that he was carried a prisoner for this purpose, by a strong military guard, from Antioch to Rome, where he was put to death by being thrown to wild beasts; and that while he was on this last journey, and suffering all the restraint and insult which the ruffian soldiers by whom he was conducted were so brutal as to employ, he wrote a number of Epistles, which are still extant, and which have given rise to so much warm and learned controversy.

Several of the circumstances included in this account have been called in question by grave and learned writers, as altogether deficient in evidence and probability. Among others, bishop Stillingfleet, in his *Irenicum*, speaks thus: "And truly the story of Ignatius, (as much as it is defended with his Epistles) doth not seem to be any of the most probable. For wherefore should Ignatius, of all others, be brought to Rome to suffer, when the Proconsuls and the Præsides Provinciarum did every where, in time of persecution, execute their power in punishing Christians at their own tribunals, without sending them so long a journey to Rome to be martyred there? And how came Ignatius to make so many and such strange excursions as he did by the story, if the soldiers that were his guards were so cruel to him, as he complains they were? Now all these uncertain and fabulous narrations as to persons, then arising from want of sufficient re-

records made at those times, make it more evident, how incompetent a judge antiquity is to the certainty of things done in apostolical times." So that we may say, there is scarcely any thing related by the ancient writers concerning this father, which does not seem to rest on doubtful evidence, and which has not in fact been called in question. Some men of great learning have even supposed that we have no satisfactory proof of Ignatius having ever written any Epistles; while others, no less entitled to respect, believe that, although he probably did write certain Epistles, the alleged copies of them which we now possess are entirely spurious. Those who wish to examine impartially and extensively every thing that can be now known concerning this man and his works, are referred to the very able and learned treatise of John Daillé, a French Protestant divine, *De Scriptis Ignatii Antiocheni*; to bishop Pearson's *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*; to bishop Beveridge's *Annotations* on the writings of this father; to L'Arroque's *Defence of Daillé's* work; to Jameson's *Nazianzenî Querela*; and to what archbishop Usher, Vossius, archbishop Wake, and others, have said in less formal and voluminous publications.

The history of the Epistles under consideration is undoubtedly curious. They were first, it is believed, printed at Strasburg in the year 1502. They were then eleven in number. In an edition published a few years afterwards, there appeared twelve. And not long after that a third, in which their number was increased to fifteen, together with an additional letter from the Virgin Mary to Ignatius! These Epistles have commonly been divided, by careful writers, into three classes. The first contains three Epistles which are extant only in Latin, and addressed, one of them to "the Virgin Mary," the other to "St. John." The second comprehends five Greek epistles, which are not mentioned either by Eusebius or Jerome, and of which the first is addressed to Mary Cassabolita; the second to the "inhabitants of Tarsus;" the third to the "Antiochians;" the fourth to Hero, deacon of the church at Antioch; the fifth to the Philippians. These are so full of superstition and folly, that no impartial reader can doubt a moment concerning them. They have some warm Popish advocates, but are rejected as spurious by all Protestants. The third class consists of the seven Epistles supposed to be taken notice of by several respectable early writers; the first, to the Ephesians; the second, to the Magnesians; the third, to the Trallians; the fourth, to the Romans; the fifth, to the Philadelphians; the sixth, to the Smyrnæans; and the seventh, to Polycarp. The whole of these Epistles, taken together, amount to but little in quantity.

They fill but forty-one octavo pages in the American edition of archbishop Wake's translation of the apostolic Fathers.

With regard to these seven Epistles, the only ones, as before stated, which Protestants now acknowledge, they have appeared before the public in two very different forms. The editions of them which were published prior to the year 1644, were much more voluminous than those which are now considered as genuine; and are distinguished from the latter by the title of "the Larger Epistles." Soon after these appeared, they were denounced by some of the most learned Protestant divines as grossly interpolated, and unworthy of credit. Among these, were Calvin, the Magdeburgh Centuriators, Rivet, and Scultet, of the continent of Europe, and the learned Whitaker and Perkins of the Church of England. Here were Presbyterians, learned Lutherans, and no less learned Episcopalians, all uniting in this judgment. Still, however, on account of their being considered as strong witnesses in behalf of Episcopacy, they had many zealous high-church advocates; such as archbishop Whitgift, bishop Bilson, bishop Downham, Peter Heylin, and others of similar stamp, who insisted on their genuineness; appealed to them as affording the most credible testimony; and treated with no little severity those who were not ready to give them implicit confidence. In short, let it ever be remembered, that high-church Episcopalians, when there were no other known than these "larger Epistles," contended for them as the genuine remains of Ignatius with as much confidence and zeal, as they have ever since done for the "smaller Epistles."

While things were in this situation, about the year 1644, archbishop Usher found two copies of these seven Ignatian Epistles, not in the original Greek, but in a Latin translation; one in the library of Caius College, Cambridge; the other in the library of bishop Montague, who had deceased several years before. These copies differed materially from the "larger Epistles" which had been before published. They were much shorter, leaving out much that the larger contained, and containing some things which were not found in the larger, but which were quoted by Eusebius, and other ancient writers. Not long afterwards, the learned Isaac Vossius, a native of Holland, who, in advanced life, removed to England, and enjoyed preferment there, found a copy of these epistles in Greek, in the library of the Duke of Tuscany, at Florence. This copy, which was published at Amsterdam, in 1646, very nearly agreed with the Latin copies found by archbishop Usher in the two libraries in England. When these were published, the tide immediately turned. The high-toned friends of prelacy, who had so long and so strenuously contend-



ed for the genuineness of the "larger Epistles," now gave them up; acknowledged the validity of the arguments by which they had been opposed as grossly corrupt; confessed that their title to credit could no longer be maintained; and immediately transferred all their old zeal to the new and "shorter Epistles." Accordingly, from the time of Usher and Vossius, no other than these "shorter Epistles," have ever been quoted or defended by the mass of Protestant writers. The learned, but not very judicious, William Whiston, it is believed, stands almost alone, among Protestants, in insisting that the "larger Epistles," are more genuine and worthy of credit than the "smaller."

But even with regard to the seven "smaller Epistles," the opinions of their Episcopal advocates are not uniform. Even archbishop Usher, their learned restorer, was inclined to the opinion that the seventh of this number, entitled the "Epistle to Polycarp," ought to be regarded as spurious, or, at least as "doubtful." He thought that Ignatius probably addressed no letter to Polycarp; but that his "Epistle to the Church of Smyrna," was intended and directed both to them and their bishop jointly. And he also supposed that this was the opinion of Jerome. The learned prelatist, Dr. Cave, also, after enumerating those alleged "Epistles of Ignatius," which are unquestionably spurious, sets down the seventh of the "smaller Epistles," addressed to Polycarp, as "doubtful."

The following, then, is a summary of the undoubted facts concerning the far-famed Ignatian Epistles, viz.

1. It is acknowledged on all hands, by Protestants, that *a gross and wicked forgery has been practised with regard to the writings of this father.* In other words, that out of fifteen Epistles confidently ascribed to him, eight are certainly spurious.

2. It is quite as universally and explicitly acknowledged, even by prelatists themselves, that the remaining seven of the fifteen, have been wickedly tampered with, and grossly interpolated; not merely by the addition of words and sentences in a few places, but so freely and largely, as to render them far more voluminous than there is any reason to believe that Ignatius left them.

3. It is notorious that one, even of the seven expurgated and shortened Epistles, of which so much clamorous use is now made, is considered by some of the most competent Episcopal judges, as spurious, or at least, as doubtful; and consequently, as unfit to be quoted with entire confidence.

4. And finally, it is known to all well-informed readers, that a number of the most learned Protestant writers of Europe, of

various countries, of different religious connections, and of different habits of thinking, have concurred in pronouncing even the seven "shorter Epistles," which have been so fully described, as probably spurious, or at least as so much interpolated, that there is no safety in quoting them as the genuine work of Ignatius. After all that has been said in vindication of these Epistles, by Pearson, Beveridge, Wake, Usher, Smith, &c. &c., it is a fact of no small weight in the controversy, that such men as Daillé, L'Arroque, Rivet, Blondel, and Salmasius, utterly deny that they are worthy of credit; and contend that their whole history places them under an aspect so suspicious and disreputable, that they ought never to be quoted, and above all, in support of any fact or principle connected with the Episcopal controversy.

We appeal now to every candid reader, whether it is any wonder that Presbyterians demur when the testimony of Ignatius is confidently and boastingly adduced, as it so often is, in aid of the claims of prelacy? When prelatists pronounce the testimony of this father in favour of their cause, decisive—impregnable—and even unquestionable—it is truly amazing that persons who know the statement which has been given to be correct, can allow themselves to speak thus; and still more amazing that any intelligent readers believe them! Is it not a fact too evident to be denied, that it is a testimony against which a "bill of attainder," so to speak, has gone forth, so weighty, and so widely spread, that it cannot be despised by any thinking man? It is undoubtedly without prejudice or exaggeration, a suspicious testimony; rendered suspicious, not by "false reports," trumped up by ignorance or ill-nature; but by a series of unquestionable facts, really adapted, in the view of every reflecting mind, to destroy their credibility. Certain it is, that no jury in the United States, would assign the least weight to testimony, in an important cause, which had been so strongly marked with tampering and corruption in every period of its history.

For ourselves, we are not disposed to unite with the learned men, before alluded to, who doubt whether Ignatius ever wrote *any* Epistles, and consequently consider it as probable that every thing which has appeared under his name is a total forgery. On the contrary, we are of the opinion, that Ignatius did write at least six Epistles; and that the "shorter" ones, which now bear his name, are, substantially, his real productions. At the same time, we are persuaded, with some of the ablest and wisest ecclesiastical antiquaries that ever lived, that they have all been more or less interpolated; that this interpolation was

mainly intended to favour the hierarchy; that the corrupt insertions to favour this object are numerous, fulsome and disgusting to the last degree; and that, of course, in relation to that point, no sentence from any of the Epistles, "larger" or "shorter," can be safely or wisely produced. We say this, not because we have any fear of the bearing of this testimony, as we shall presently take occasion to show; but, simply, on account of the history of the documents containing it. If this history be not highly disreputable, then we know not what can deserve to be so stigmatized.

Similar to our own is the judgment of many impartial Episcopalians, who have frankly acknowledged that in the controversy respecting prelacy, they did not dare to bring forward Ignatius as a witness. The following remarks of a member of the Church of England, evidently well-informed and candid, are a specimen of what might be produced from many pens in the same communion.

"Could six of the seven Epistles usually ascribed to Ignatius be cited in this cause, with the same undoubting confidence which, in the writer's mind, has accompanied all the foregoing quotations, the controversy concerning the early existence of Episcopacy would be at an end.\* He must be a captious adversary who, for the acquisition of a few years, would exclaim, that we had now passed the threshold of another century, and that our contemporary authorities were exhausted. This is not the misfortune; but that after travelling so long in comparative obscurity; after being compelled to close and strongly directed attention, in order to pick up three or four rays of scattered light, we are, in a moment, oppressed and confounded by the brightness of the mid-day sun. For in these Epistles we have the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, marshalled with unreasonable exactness, and repeated with importunity and anxiety. Precept is heaped upon precept, *μη αντιτασσεσθαι επισκοπω, υποταγηναι επισκοπω*, and much more to the same purpose. Besides, these charges are reiterated to so many churches, the circumstances of all which at the same time would scarcely require them alike. There appear, moreover, so many symptoms of contrivance, and such studied uniformity of expression, that these compositions will surely not be alleged by any capable and candid advocate for primitive Episcopacy, without

\* We totally differ from this writer as to this point, as will afterwards appear. If every word and syllable could be proved to be authentic, the cause of Episcopacy could gain nothing in the view of impartial interpreters. We merely quote the passage to show that some well-informed Episcopalians do not believe in the integrity of these Epistles.

great hesitation: by many they will be totally rejected. I do not mean to insinuate that the whole of these six Epistles is a forgery; on the contrary, many parts of them afford strong internal evidence of their own genuineness; but with respect to the particular passages which affect the present dispute (Episcopacy) *there is not a sentence which I would venture to allege; the language, at the earliest, is that of the third century.*"\*

In like manner, the learned Professor Neander, of Berlin, probably the most profoundly accomplished ecclesiastical historian now living, while he pronounces with confidence that the Epistles of Ignatius have been "corrupted in favour of the hierarchy," freely quotes them on other subjects, and evidently considers them as entitled to some degree of confidence; as containing much that was really written by the father whose name they bear.

Indeed the language of archbishop Wake, in reference to the absolute integrity of these "Shorter Epistles," is such as ought to put every candid reader on his guard. Though a warm advocate of their general authenticity, he, nevertheless, speaks thus: "As for what we find a late learned writer advancing in opposition to the authority of these Epistles, that our copies, though exceedingly more perfect than any that were ever extant before those great men, Bishop Usher, and Isaac Vossius set out, the one the old Latin versions, the other, the original Greek, from the manuscript which he found of it in the Florentine library; yet there may be reason still to suspect that they are not so free from all corruptions as were to be wished: I reply, that if he means that the same has happened to these Epistles, as has happened to all other ancient writings, that letters, or words have been mistaken, and perhaps even the pieces of some sentences corrupted either by carelessness or ignorance of the transcribers; I see no reason why we should deny that to have befallen these Epistles, which have been the misfortune of all other pieces of the like antiquity. This, therefore, it has been often declared that neither do we contend about; nor can any one who reads the best copies we have of them, with any care or judgment, make any doubt of it."†

Nor can we resist the belief that such is the impression which the slightest perusal of the Epistles themselves is adapted to produce on a candid unsophisticated mind. The following anecdote will at once illustrate and confirm our remark. A candidate for the ministry in the Presbyterian Church, was, not long since, earnestly solicited by a theological student of the

\* Christian Observer. Vol. II. p 723, 724.

† Preliminary Discourse to the Genuine Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers, chap. 4, sect. 19.



Protestant Episcopal Church, to form a plan for reading together the Epistles of Ignatius; the latter at the same time expressing a confident opinion, that the perusal, if candidly conducted, would convert his Presbyterian friend to Episcopacy. They formed the plan, and forthwith entered with zeal on its execution. But before the proposed perusal was completed, the young Episcopalian was himself so revolted and disgusted by the studied, unseasonable and fulsome repetition of the precepts about bishops, and felt that it bore so strongly the stamp of either miserable interpolation, or an unworthy spirit in the writer, that he was not disposed to pursue the task; and, instead of winning over his Presbyterian brother to Episcopacy, was almost tempted to transfer his own allegiance to the Presbyterian Church; or, at any rate, entirely to abandon Ignatius as a witness in favour of his denomination.

We could wish that these far-famed Epistles were in every Presbyterian habitation in the United States, and could be carefully and dispassionately read over by every individual of that communion. They would soon see what a perfect ecclesiastical imposture the whole argument in favour of prelacy, drawn from these Epistles, is; and that in two respects.

1. They would perceive at once, that the language of these Epistles in reference to the bishop's office, is so urgent, so unseasonably introduced, and so incessantly repetitious, as to be perfectly disgusting; and to satisfy them that a grave writer, at the beginning of the second century, could not possibly have penned it.

The following specimen of this language, if we mistake not, will be sufficient to manifest and to justify our meaning in the view of every intelligent reader.

In the Epistle to the Ephesians, the following passages occur: "I received, therefore, in the name of God, your whole multitude in Onesimus; who by inexpressible love is ours, but according to the flesh is your bishop; whom I beseech you by Jesus Christ to love; and that you would all strive to be like unto him. And blessed be God, who hath granted unto you, who are so worthy of him, to enjoy such an excellent bishop." "For what concerns my fellow servant Burrhus, and your most blessed deacon in all things pertaining to God; I entreat you that he may tarry longer, both for yours and your bishop's honour. It is therefore fitting that you should by all means glorify Jesus Christ, who hath glorified you; that by a uniform obedience ye may be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment; and may all speak the same things concerning every thing; and that being subject to your bishop, and the

presbytery, ye may be wholly and thoroughly sanctified.” “But forasmuch as charity suffers me not to be silent towards you, I have first taken upon me to exhort you that ye would all run together according to the will of God. For even Jesus Christ, our inseparable life, is sent by the will of the Father; as the bishops appointed unto the utmost ends of the earth, are by the will of Jesus Christ.” “Wherefore it will become you to run together according to the will of your bishop, as also ye do. For your famous presbytery, worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the bishop, as the strings are to the harp.” “For if I, in this little time, have had such a familiarity with your bishop—I mean not a carnal but spiritual acquaintance with him—how much more must I think you happy, who are so joined to him, as the church is to Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ to the Father; that so all things may agree in the same unity.” “For if the prayer of one or two be of such force, as we are told, how much more powerful shall that of the bishop, and the whole church be!” “Let us take good heed, therefore, that we do not set ourselves against the bishop, that we may be subject to God.” “It is evident, therefore, that we ought to look upon the bishop even as we would look upon the Lord himself.” “Obeying your bishop and the presbytery with an entire affection.”

In the Epistle to the Magnesians, such passages as these occur: “Seeing, then, I have been judged worthy to see you, by Damas, your most excellent bishop; and by your worthy presbyters, Bassus and Apollonius; and by my fellow servant Sotio, the deacon in whom I rejoice; forasmuch as he is subject unto his bishop as to the grace of God.” “Wherefore it will become you also not to use your bishop too familiarly upon the account of his youth; but to yield all reverence to him, according to the power of God the Father.” “It will, therefore, become you with all sincerity to obey your bishop, in honour of Him whose pleasure it is that ye should do so.” “I exhort you that ye study to do all things in divine concord; your bishop presiding in the place of God; your presbyters in the place of the councils of the apostles; and your deacons most dear to me, being entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ, who was with the Father before all ages.” “Let there be nothing that may be able to make a division among you; but be ye united to your bishop, and those that preside over you, to be your pattern and direction in the way to immortality.” “As, therefore, the Lord did nothing without the Father; so neither do ye do any thing without your bishop and presbyters.” “Wherefore come ye all together as unto one temple of God; as to one altar; as to one

Jesus Christ; who proceeded from one Father, and exists in one, and is returned to one." "Be subject to your bishop, and to one another, as Jesus Christ to the Father according to the flesh."

In the Epistle to the Trallians, he speaks as follows: "Whereas ye are subject to your bishop as to Jesus Christ, ye appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ." "It is therefore necessary, that as ye do, so without your bishop, you should do nothing." "In like manner, let all reverence the deacons as Jesus Christ; and the bishop as the Father; and the presbyters as the sanhedrim of God, and college of the apostles. Without these there is no church." "Continue inseparable from Jesus Christ, our God, and from your bishop, and from the command of the apostles. He that is within the altar is pure; but he that is without, that is, that does any thing without the bishop and presbyters, and deacons, is not pure in his conscience." "It becomes every one of you, especially the presbyters, to refresh the bishop, to the honour of the Father, of Jesus Christ, and of the apostles." "Fare ye well in Jesus Christ; being subject to your bishop as to the command of God, and so likewise to the presbytery."

In the Epistle to the Philadelphians, he speaks thus: "Ignatius, who is also called Theophoros, to the church of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, which is at Philadelphia in Asia; which has obtained mercy, being fixed in the concord of God, and rejoicing evermore in the passion of our Lord; which I salute in the blood of Jesus Christ, which is our eternal and undefiled joy; especially if they are at unity with the bishop and presbyters who are with him, and the deacons appointed according to the mind of Jesus Christ." "As many as are of God, and of Jesus, are also with their bishop." "Wherefore, let it be your endeavour to partake all of the same eucharist. For there is but one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ; and one cup in the unity of his blood; one altar; as there is also one bishop, together with his presbytery." "I cried whilst I was among you, I spake with a loud voice—Attend to the bishop and to the presbytery, and to the deacons. Now some supposed that I spake this as foreseeing the divisions that should come among you. But he is my witness, for whose sake I am in bonds, that I knew nothing from any man. But the Spirit spake, saying on this wise; do nothing without the bishop; keep your bodies as the temples of God; love unity, &c." "The Lord forgives all that repent, if they return to the unity of God, and the council of the bishop."

The following passages are found in the Epistle to the Smyrnæans:

"See that ye all follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ, the

Father; and the presbytery as the apostles. Let no man do any thing of what belongs to the church separately from the bishop. Let that eucharist be looked upon as well established, which is either offered by the bishop, or by him to whom the bishop has given his consent. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people also be; as where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic church. It is not lawful without the bishop, either to baptize, or to celebrate the holy communion; but whatever he shall approve of, that is also pleasing to God; that so whatever is done, may be sure and well done." "It is a good thing to have a due regard both to God and the bishop. He that honours the bishop shall be honoured of God; but he that does any thing without his knowledge, ministers unto the devil."

In the Epistle to Polycarp, we find the following language; and in order to understand the language of this epistle, let it be remembered that Polycarp was at this time the bishop or pastor of the church of Smyrna; and that this letter purports to have been addressed to him for the purpose of exciting him to diligence and fidelity in his official character.

"Let not the widows be neglected. Be thou, after God, their guardian. Let nothing be done without thy knowledge and consent; neither do thou any thing but according to the will of God; as also thou dost with all constancy. Let your assemblies be more full. Inquire into all by name.\* Overlook not the men nor maid-servants; neither let them be puffed up; but rather let them be more subject to the glory of God; that they may obtain from him a better liberty." "If any man can remain in a virgin state, to the honour of the flesh of Christ, let him remain without boasting: but if he boast, he is undone. And if he desire to be more taken notice of than the bishop, he is corrupted. But it becomes all such as are married, whether men or women, to come together with the consent of the bishop, that so their marriage may be according to godliness, and not in lust. Let all things be done to the honour of God." "Hearken unto the bishop, that God may also hearken unto you. *My soul be security for them that submit to their bishop*, with their presbyters and deacons. And may my portion be, together with theirs, in God!"†

Such is the language ascribed to a man who lived toward the close, and a little after, the apostolic age; who, at the time he is alleged to have written thus, was a prisoner of the Roman government, on his way to Rome, with a full expectation, which the event speedily justified, of suffering martyrdom for the cause of Christ! That, in these circumstances, with a violent and awful

\* In the original, "Inquire after, or seek out, all by name."

† See archbishop Wake's *Apostolical Fathers*.



death fully and immediately in view, and when other thoughts might be expected to occupy his mind than those which related to official dignity and pre-eminence; that, in these circumstances, he should be so incessantly harping on the claims of the bishop; begging the people to honour their bishop, to submit to the bishop, to adhere to their bishop, to do nothing without their bishop, assuring them that if they honour their bishop, God will honour them; and declaring, "My soul be security for them that submit to their bishop," &c. is truly one of the most incredible of all allegations! The general character of Ignatius is a guaranty that such unceasing incense to the dignity and the pride of office cannot be his. Nor is this all. The utter discrepance between this language and that of all the other writers who wrote about the same time, must strike every attentive reader. It is, undoubtedly, language foisted in by some presumptuous interpolator, at least two hundred years after Ignatius had gone to his reward.

This supposition is confirmed by the notorious fact, that in the earlier ages of the church, large numbers of spurious writings were attempted to be palmed on the religious public, and actually obtained no small currency; and that the practice of interpolating the genuine writings of popular and highly venerated men, for the purpose of accommodating them more to the taste of an age becoming more corrupt, both in doctrine and order—had a wide prevalence, is too well known to render formal proof necessary. It was so much the standing trade of the day, that one-tenth part of the testimony which we actually possess, that the *Epistles of Ignatius* have been tampered with, would be sufficient to render the charge an exceedingly probable one.

The charge of interpolation, which, for more than two centuries, has been constantly brought against these *Epistles*, has a particular respect to "the hierarchy," as Neander expresses it; that is, mainly to the exaltation of the bishop's office. They have never been specifically charged, so far as is now recollected, with having been altered to favour the scriptural doctrine of the Trinity, or any of the leading articles of Christian orthodoxy. The learned and indefatigable Lardner, who was himself a Unitarian, in speaking of the integrity of the *Epistles* in question, expresses himself thus: "Whether the small *Epistles* are the genuine writings of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, is a question that has been much disputed, and has employed the pens of the ablest critics. And whatever positiveness some may have shown on either side, I must own, I have found it a very difficult question. I shall, however, deliver my opinion, formed upon the inquiry I have made into this controversy. Consider-

ing the testimonies I have alleged, and also from the internal characters of great simplicity and piety, which are in these Epistles (I mean the smaller) it appears to me probable that they are, for the main, the genuine Epistles of Ignatius. If there be only some few sentiments and expressions, which seem inconsistent with the true age of Ignatius, 'tis more reasonable to suppose them to be additions, than to reject the Epistles themselves entirely; especially in the scarcity of copies, which we now labour under. As the interpolations of the "larger Epistles" are plainly the work of some Arian; so even the "smaller Epistles" may have been tampered with by the Arians or the Orthodox, or both; though I do not affirm there are in them any considerable corruptions or alterations."\*

The foregoing remarks are intended to give such of our readers as may not have had an opportunity of being acquainted with these Epistles, and with the controversy respecting them, as correct a view of the leading facts in the case, as we are able to present in a few pages. Such is the history, and such the character of these far-famed remains of antiquity. That they are all an entire forgery, we do not believe. That they exhibit the substance of what was written by the venerable martyr whose name they bear, we admit as highly probable, and as sustained by a majority of impartial judges. That they have been tampered with by corrupters and interpolators, is acknowledged on all hands. No Protestant has the hardihood to deny it. That even the seven shorter and purer Epistles are not wholly free from this dishonest dealing, is contended, as we have seen, by a great number—it is believed by far the greater number of learned men, of various denominations, and in all parts of the Christian Church. And that this wicked management has been applied with a particular view to make them speak a language more favourable to ecclesiastical pre-eminence than they originally did, will be manifest to any one who impartially compares them with contemporary writings, and has been confessed by some learned Episcopalsians themselves.

2. But the second beneficial effect likely to result from a more familiar acquaintance with the Epistles of Ignatius is, that, even assuming their perfect integrity, they are by no means such witnesses in favour of prelacy, as is commonly imagined. The truth is, the foregoing statements have been drawn from us more as a tribute to the truth of history, than by any apprehension that the testimony of Ignatius, intelligently and candidly interpreted, will establish, or even favour the claims of diocesan

\* Lardner's *Credibility*, Part II. vol. I. p. 153, 154.

Episcopacy. We have no doubt that the interpolations referred to were intended chiefly to exalt the character of the bishop; but that it was not a diocesan, but a parochial bishop whom they really describe and honour, we think can be made out to the satisfaction of every enlightened and impartial reader.

It seems to be entirely forgotten by our Episcopal brethren; that in the Presbyterian Church there are three orders or classes of Church officers, all of whom Presbyterians believe to be of divine appointment. They seem not to keep in mind that our doctrine is, that in the apostolic age, and in the age immediately following, comprehending that of Ignatius, the title of bishop was applied to every pastor of a church, that is, to every presbyter who had a pastoral charge committed to him; in other words, to every one who was appointed a spiritual "overseer" of a Christian congregation. That the term bishop is so applied in the New Testament, the highest authorities of the Episcopal denomination themselves freely acknowledge; and there is sufficient evidence that the title continued to be applied in the same manner for more than a hundred years after the apostolic age. With respect to the second order of ecclesiastical officers in the Presbyterian Church, we commonly call them elders, and not presbyters. Yet every scholar knows that elder and presbyter are terms of exactly the same import; the one being of Saxon, and the other of Greek derivation: and, accordingly, the Greek word, *πρεσβυτερος* is never translated *presbyter*, but always *elder*, in our English version of the Bible. The language of our public formularies, in enumerating our ecclesiastical officers, is "bishops (or pastors) elders and deacons." But if we had written in Greek as Ignatius did, if we were now to write about our church in that language, we could not avoid saying, as he did, that our officers are *επισκοποι, πρεσβυτεροι και διακονοι*. And if an individual or body of ministers, among us, were to address a particular church, with its appropriate officers, they would naturally, and indeed almost necessarily, speak of their bishop or pastor, together with their presbytery, or eldership, and their worthy deacons, and exhort them to honour and obey these officers in their appropriate exercise of authority. When, therefore, we say, that the style in which Ignatius designates the three classes of church officers of whom he speaks, decides nothing at all in favour of the claims of prelacy, but is quite as favourable to Presbyterianism, we state a simple, unqualified fact, which no man, who really understands the subject, can deny. In other words, the enumeration, bishops, presbyters and deacons, which so frequently occurs in the pages of Ignatius, agrees just as perfectly, both in number, order, title and descrip-

tion with the array of officers found in the Presbyterian Church, as it can be imagined to do with the Episcopal form of government. We are aware that the contrary is alleged, with the highest confidence, by many of the friends of prelacy; but we will venture to say, without a shadow of support from the facts in the case.

But we go one step further. Not only is it certain that the ecclesiastical nomenclature of Ignatius perfectly agrees with both the nomenclature and the arrangements of the Presbyterian Church; so that if Presbyterians were to speak *of* or *to* their own church officers, and to discuss the same subjects which this venerable father did, they could scarcely, without circumlocution, employ any other terms; but we will be bold to say, that the facts and duties which he ascribes to these officers, *can be predicated of no other than parochial or Presbyterian bishops*. Of this we have no doubt that every candid reader may be easily satisfied.

Let it be distinctly borne in mind, then, that Presbyterians do not deny that there were bishops in the apostolic Church; that there were bishops in the days of Ignatius; and that there ought to be bishops now. They believe, as before stated, that this title was appropriated, in the apostles' days, and for a considerable time afterwards, to all men in sacred orders who had pastoral charges. Episcopalians themselves acknowledge that in the New Testament, common presbyters, who had been constituted pastors, were called bishops. We suppose that in the days of Paul, and Peter, and John, and also in the days in which Ignatius wrote, every church—that is, every Christian assembly—had its bishop or pastor, its bench of presbyters, or elders, and its deacons. We suppose also on the faith of Scripture, that in large churches, such as Ephesus, Philippi, &c. there were then, as in similar circumstances there often are now, more than one bishop, that is, colleague pastors; and that this character of the bishop's office remained for more than a hundred years after the death of the last apostle. Let us now apply this Presbyterian doctrine to the Epistles of Ignatius, and see whether they do not agree much better with this than with any other system: nay, whether it is not manifest that they cannot, without doing violence to their obvious sense, be reconciled with any other.

For, in the first place, what do his statements imply as to the situation, and the duties of the bishop of whom he speaks? We find the church of which this bishop has the care, represented, throughout these Epistles, as coming together to one place; as worshipping in one assembly; as having one altar, or communion table; as eating of one loaf; having one prayer; and in a



word, uniting in all the acts of Christian worship. Surely all this can apply only to a single congregation! Further; the bishop here spoken of, is represented as present with his flock whenever they came together; as conducting their prayers, and presiding in all their public services; as the only person in the parish who was authorized, in ordinary cases, to administer baptism and the Lord's Supper; as the person by whom all marriages were celebrated; and whose duty it was to be personally acquainted with all his flock; to take notice with his own eye of those who were absent from public worship; to attend to all the widows and poor of his congregation; to inquire after all by name, and not to overlook even the men and maid servants belonging to his flock. Can any man of common sense believe that these minute and personal duties could be enjoined or expected in any other case than that of the pastor of a single church?

In the next place, it is equally evident that the presbyters and presbytery so frequently mentioned by Ignatius, together with the deacons, refer to officers which belonged, at the date of these Epistles, like the bishop, to each particular parish. Almost all the Epistles of this father are directed to particular churches; and in every case we find each church furnished with a bishop, a presbytery or bench of elders, and deacons. But what kind of officers were these presbyters or elders? The advocates of prelacy tell us, with the utmost confidence, that they were the inferior clergy, who ministered to the several congregations belonging to the bishop's diocese; an order of clergy subject to the bishop, empowered to preach, baptize, and administer the Lord's Supper, but having no power to ordain and confirm. But all this is boldly asserted without the smallest proof. On the contrary, there is much proof that the assumption cannot be true. The presbyters or presbytery here spoken of, are represented as always present with the bishop and his congregation when assembled; as bearing the same close and inseparable relation to the flock with its pastor; and as being equally necessary to a regular and valid transaction of its affairs. To every altar, or communion table, there was one presbytery, as well as one bishop. To suppose, then, that these presbyters were the parish priests, as our Episcopal brethren are fond of expressing it, in other words, the rectors of so many churches, within the diocese of a prelate, is to disregard every part of the representation which is given respecting them. The probability is, that the greater part, if not all, of the presbyters of whom Ignatius speaks, were ruling elders, who assisted the pastor in the inspection and government of the church. The whole strain of these Epistles, then, may be

considered as descriptive of Presbyterian Church government. They exhibit a number of particular churches, each furnished with a bishop, or pastor, and also with elders and deacons, to whose respective ministrations every private member is exhorted, as long as they are regular, implicitly to submit.

But even supposing the suggestion, that the most or all of these elders were ruling, and not preaching elders, to be unfounded; still the supposition derogates nothing from our mode of interpreting the Epistles in question. Sometimes, when a Presbyterian church is large, it has two or even more than two bishops, united in the same pastoral charge, and having, in all respects, an official equality. When this is the case, each of these bishops is president or moderator of the church session in turn. But in some Presbyterian churches, the bishop, instead of having one or more colleagues, of equal authority and power with him, has an assistant or assistants. These assistants, though clothed with the whole ministerial character, and capable, without any other ordination, of becoming pastors themselves, yet, as long as they remain in this situation, bear a relation to the bishop similar to that which curates bear to the rector, in some Episcopal churches, and, in some cases, cannot regularly baptize, or administer the Lord's Supper without the concurrence of the bishop. But all this, as every intelligent reader knows, may exist without prelacy. Ignatius, therefore, we repeat, could hardly give a more perfect representation than he does of Presbyterian government. And all the fault we have to find with the strain of his Epistles, as they now appear, in regard to this point, is, that he appears to be too anxious about the prerogatives and honors of the parochial bishops of whom he speaks; to have the dignity and authority of that officer continual running in his head; and to introduce the subject, and dwell upon it with a frequency and zeal at once unseasonable and disgusting. No contemporary writer treats this matter in a similar way; and hence the best judges have been of the opinion that his Epistles have been tampered with by some unprincipled and unskilful friend of the hierarchy, with a particular view to the elevation of the bishop. Modern readers of these Epistles, predisposed to the prelatical regimen, overlooking the circumstances and duties of the bishop in the second century; borne away by the mere title; and taking for granted that that title was of the same import in the second century as in the fourth and subsequent centuries, have pronounced Ignatius a decisive witness in support of diocesan Episcopacy!

Having had occasion, of late, to review, with some care, the controversy concerning these Epistles, our wonder has been strongly renewed, that they should ever have been pressed with

so much confidence into the service of prelacy. The only rational solution of the difficulty is, that, finding no solid support for prelatical Episcopacy in the New Testament; and perceiving also the extreme scarcity of any thing that has the semblance of testimony in its favour for the first three hundred years, its friends have thought these Epistles too important to their cause, and the language of them too well adapted to operate upon the popular mind, to be given up. They have thought them too precious to be spared. They have, therefore, determined to hold them fast, as a strong-hold; and have gone on repeating the story of their clear and decisive import in favour of prelacy, until they have honestly persuaded themselves that the fact is really as they have stated.

~~Review of the~~ *Rev. Mr. Baxter*

ART. II.—*Narrative of Facts, characterizing the supernatural manifestations in members of Mr. Irving's congregation, and other individuals in England and Scotland; and formerly in the writer himself. By Robert Baxter. Second edition, with preface on the spiritual influence permitted to Satan.* London. 1833. pp. 155.

THE subject of this interesting pamphlet is, beyond doubt, a series of the most curious occurrences of the religious world in modern times. Various notices respecting them have appeared in the religious periodicals of the day; but none of them in any tolerable degree satisfactory, either as to their nature, their extent, or their history. The little work before us precisely meets these deficiencies. As the title page imports, it is a full narrative of the most striking facts connected with the subject; by one who was a leader in the very scenes and occurrences which he details. It may not be generally known, that Mr. Irving, whose name has been so conspicuous in the whole matter, is no more than a patron of the work; and though long and anxiously waiting for supernatural endowments, has never yet received any thing at all of "the power," as it is technically called. He is, as they express it, yet "in the flesh;" though it has been several times prophesied that he should receive the gift, and become the great prophet of the Scotch church.

The writer of the work before us, who was during the period of his delusion the principal prophet of London, is fully of the opinion, that the whole work is to be ascribed to satanic influ-

ence. The preface to the second edition is chiefly taken up with an ingenious argument to prove this point; and indeed through the whole of the "narrative," the "facts" are ascribed to the same cause: with what propriety the reader must judge. Certain it is, however, that many of the marvellous occurrences here detailed are utterly inexplicable on any known laws, either of matter or mind. There is a compound of truth and error, of consistency and contradiction, and indeed of all kinds of irreconcilables, which is curious beyond description. That some of the unhappy subjects of this delusion were sincerely pious, our author does not question, and that they are yet sincere in their fanaticism will be fully apparent from the following pages. Mr. Baxter himself seems to have been a very zealous and enterprizing Christian. Before falling a prey to this delusion, "he had been in the daily habit of reading to and teaching the poor in the parish where he resides," and so conscientiously did he avoid every assumption of the ministerial office that "he refrained from praying with the people when gathered together." This was probably owing to his rigid high-church principles; in defence of which he had just finished writing, as he tells us, the "Layman's Appeal." From this last circumstance, and from the clear and nervous style of the "narrative," we judge that he is a man of well cultivated mind, though to what profession he belongs does not appear.

He adopted, and still maintains the opinion, "that there is no reason for limiting the manifestations of the spirit to apostolic times." And in view of the growth of infidelity without, and formality within the church, he was "ready to examine the claims to inspiration, and anxious for the presence of the gifts of the spirit, and even longed greatly and prayed much, for such an outpouring and testimony. When he saw, as it seemed to him, proof that those claiming the gifts were walking honestly, and that the power manifested in them was evidently supernatural, and moreover, bore testimony to Christ come in the flesh, he welcomed it at once as the work of God."

At this time Mr. Baxter "was called to London by professional arrangements, and there attended the prayer meetings privately held by those who spoke in the power, and those who sought for the gifts." At the very first meeting which he attended, after an utterance by a lady whom he calls Miss E. C. strikingly adapted to his own state of mind, and which he most reverently regarded as an utterance of the spirit, from its matter and manner and the strange influence it produced on him, "he himself was seized by the power, and in much struggling against it, was made to cry out, confessing his sins in the matter which consti-



tuted the subject of the utterance, and afterwards to utter a prophecy that the messengers of the Lord should go forth, publishing to the ends of the earth, in the mighty power of God, the testimony of the near coming of the Lord Jesus." The attainment of the gift of prophecy considered so desirable, was a source of great joy, and yet he was much distressed and weighed down in spirit, lest he should mistake the mind of God in the matter. "There was in me," says he, "very great excitement at the time of the utterance, and yet I was distinctly conscious of a power acting upon me beyond mere excitement, which I was convinced was the power of God." So fully was he persuaded of this fact, that when he was told the spirit had spoken strongly, even applying the name Babylon to the churches of England and Scotland, that he was much shaken in his zeal and attachment to high-church principles.

"From this period," says he, "for the space of five months, I had no utterances in public, though in private the power would come down upon me, and cause me to pray with strong crying and tears for the state of the church. On one occasion, after struggling long with wandering, worldly thoughts, the power came down upon me suddenly, and I found myself lifted up in soul to God, my wandering thoughts at once rivetted, and calmness of mind given me. By a constraint I cannot describe, I was made to speak, at the same time shrinking from utterance, and yet rejoicing in it. The utterance was a prayer that the Lord would deliver me from fleshly weakness, and graciously bestow upon me the gifts of his spirit, the gift of wisdom, the gift of faith, the working of miracles, the gifts of healing, of prophecy, of tongues, and the interpretation of tongues, and that he would open my mouth and give me strength to declare his glory. When I had reached the last word, at which time the utterance was so loud that I put my handkerchief to my mouth to stop the sound, that I might not alarm the house, the power died off me, leaving me just as I was before, save in amazement at what had passed, and filled with thankfulness to God for his great love manifested to me. With the power there came upon me a strong conviction, this is the spirit of God, and what you are asking will surely be given you; a conviction which was never shaken until the whole work fell to pieces. From that day I acted in the full assurance, that in God's own good time all these gifts would be bestowed upon me." The event of this prophecy will be seen in the sequel. "On another occasion, subsequently to the one last mentioned, when teaching at a Sabbath school, the power came down upon me, constraining me to leave and return to my study, and conveying to me very distinctly the impression

that I might be called to utterance in the church during public worship that day. Many circumstances seemed to forbid this; the impression was not so commanding as to leave me without doubt that it was not of the flesh, or the enemy: the minister was opposed and would forbid, and all the congregation would be offended; other circumstances in my family made it painful, and even dangerous for me to do so. Sorely tried, yet desiring to do the will of God, and leave all consequences in his hands, I turned in prayer to 1 Cor. xiv. and sought direction, whether the gift of prophecy ought always to be exercised in the public congregation. Seeing this so plainly laid down in the affirmative, I concluded that it was my duty to yield if the power came upon me to utterance. The whole of the ordinary services passed without any visitation, but after the sacrament had been administered, when kneeling to return thanks, the power came upon me largely, though the impulse was not to utterance, my tongue was rivetted as I was repeating the response, and my soul filled with joy and thanksgiving, and such a presence of God as, it seemed to me, exceeded any peace and joy I had ever before tasted at that holy sacrament."

Although there was an utter failure of the prophetic intimation that he should be called to utterance, yet this incident tended greatly to strengthen Mr. Baxter's conviction that the power was of God, because he thought "none but the spirit of God would at such a season be permitted to enter in, and none but the spirit of God could produce such fruits." On the supposition that the influence was Satanic, he can only account for it by supposing it to have been a judgment from God, for neglecting the Lord's injunction, to *watch as well as pray*.

Notwithstanding the frequent visitations of the power in private, Mr. B. had no public utterance until his return to London, which, as already stated, was about five months after his first visit. "Having been asked," says he, "on this occasion, to spend the evening at a friend's with the pastor, one of the gifted persons (Mrs. J. C.) and three or four other persons, I went, and during the evening Mrs. J. C. was made to testify 'that now was the time of the great struggle, and the power of Satan in the midst of us, and that we must take to ourselves the whole armour of God, and stand up against him, for he was coming in like a flood upon the church, and fearful was his power.' The pastor observed," for it seems he claimed the privilege of interpreting and applying these revelations, just as much as the Bible, "that this utterance taught us our duty as standing in the church to wrestle with the enemy; and whilst he was going on to ask some question, the power fell upon me, and I was made to speak, and

for two hours or upwards, with very little interval, the power continued upon me, and I gave forth what we all regarded as prophecies concerning the church and the nation, declaring that God's anger rested upon the nation because of its wickedness and infidelity, and that the visitation of Pharaoh would come upon the land, and it would be as a charnel-house for the multitude of the slain. On the church, the denuncements against unfaithful pastors were most fearful. These prophecies, however, were mingled with others most glorious and gracious, declaring that the spirit should be abundantly poured forth, and a faithful and mighty people should be gathered in this land, the presence of the Lord in the midst of them as of old time, that the Lord would anoint, and send witnesses into every nation under heaven, and speedily gather to himself out of every kindred and tongue and people, a church made ready for her Lord, and that the Lord was at hand, the morning star rising among us, and the signs of his coming all around us."

As to the nature of this strange impulse called "the power," the writer adds, "it was far more mighty than before, laying down my mind and body in perfect obedience, and carrying me on without confusion or excitement. The things I was made to utter, flashed in upon my mind without forethought, without expectation, and without any plan or arrangement, all was the work of a moment, and I was as the passive instrument of the power which used me."

"During this same evening," says Mr. B. "I was made to bid those present ask instruction on any subject, on which they sought to be taught of God; and to several questions which were asked, answers were given by me in the power. One in particular was so answered with such reference to the circumstances of the case, of which I was wholly ignorant, as to convince the person who asked it, that the spirit speaking in me knew those circumstances, and alluded to them in the answer. This circumstance, however, troubled the pastor exceedingly, because two children in Gloucestershire, who had been made to speak in wonderful power, and who were afterwards found to speak by a false spirit, were accustomed to bid to questioning, and to give answers in the power; and none of the speakers in the pastor's flock ever did so. He came up to me and said, 'Faith is very hard.' I was immediately made to address him, and reason with him in the power, until he was fully convinced the spirit was of God: and gave thanks for its manifestation."

A very curious circumstance mentioned in the "narrative," is a facility and ingenuity in the interpretation of Scripture—even the most difficult parts—so as to wrest it with an air of great

plausibility, to the support of their opinions and practices. These interpretations were entirely unpremeditated; often contrary to all the former views of the speaker; and in some cases not at first fully comprehended by the person who uttered them.

We have space only for one or two specimens: "At the early prayer meeting," says Mr. B. "being called up by the pastor to pray, I had a distinct direction from the power to read the eleventh chapter of the book of Revelation. I read it in the power altogether; and as I went on I was made in the power to expound it—declaring that the two witnesses were two offices; one, the office of the prophet (alluding to the gifted persons who had spoken with tongues and prophesied) the other, the office of minister (alluding to the gift which was now manifested in myself) and this should be multiplied, and many (spiritual) ministers sent forth—that thus the two witnesses were put forth, and the days of their prophesying begun. We were distinctly commanded to count from that day (14th Jan. 1832) 'the days one thousand threescore and two hundred'—1260, the days appointed for the testimony, at the end of which the saints should go up to meet the Lord in the air; and be forever with the Lord." The exposition of this prophecy was frequently repeated. On one occasion a circumstance occurred worth mentioning, as showing in connexion with facts mentioned in the sequel, how completely the eyes of these persons were closed against all kinds of evidence that the whole was a delusion. An individual near the speaker, when he said, 'count the days one thousand threescore and two hundred,' repeated it in order to remember it; and saying the words 'two hundred' louder than the rest, the sound fell on the speaker's ears, as though he had said 'wonderful'. He turned to him and was made in the power to rebuke him, for thinking it wonderful; telling him, 'if he was looking for wonders, he would fall into the snare of the enemy.' The individual rebuked did not correct the mistake until a more private opportunity occurred, lest he should cause those present to doubt of the genuineness of the work. The speaker was then made in the power to say to him "so you would rather be unfaithful to your heavenly father, than shame your poor brother! Is this the love you bear to your father?" This seeming jealousy for God at once laid to rest all suspicions and only led them to the conclusion "that the Lord did sometimes suffer his prophets to stumble that the people might not rely upon them, but on the Lord."

Another instance of very ingenious accommodation of Scripture was given by Mr. Baxter while "preaching in the spirit," to a company of young men assembled at Mr. Irving's, "declaring that the church in the apostolic days was as Sampson in his strength; that when the church began to commit fornication with the kings



of the earth, the world was as Delilah, and seduced the Church to surrender its secret source of strength, (which was said to be the teaching of the Spirit;) and instead of it to seek the applause and opinion and learning of the world; that thus shorn of its strength, the church had lain in the dungeon, until, like the locks growing on Sampson, the teaching of the Spirit was now again bestowed; and the church was now arousing itself to lay hold upon the pillars of the world, and in the strength of its God, to bring down all the strong holds of wickedness on the heads of the wicked."

An interpretation, more curious and striking because more complicated, is given of the 12th chapter of Revelation and of the six trumpets. The want of space, however, forbids their transcription.

The following passage from "The Narrative" gives the fullest account, that any where occurs, of the nature of this wonderful impulse, and the reasoning by which its subjects are confirmed in their delusion, so as to render their rescue almost hopeless, without the interposition of divine power:

"To those never visited with any power beyond the mere vagaries of excitement, it may seem inexplicable how persons can be brought to surrender their own judgment, and act on an impulse or under a power working in them, without daring to question that power. The process, however, is very simple and plausible; and, the premises admitted—perfectly logical. My own case may be an example: accustomed to try the powers and weaknesses of my own mind in public and in private; in business and in religious meetings; in speaking and in prayer; in reasoning and exposition; I found, on a sudden, in the midst of my accustomed course, a power coming upon me which was altogether new; an unnatural, and, in many cases, a most appalling utterance given to me; matters uttered by me in this power of which I had never thought, and many of which I did not understand until long afterwards; an enlarged comprehension and clearness of view given to me on points which were really the truth of God, (though mingled with many things which I have since seen not to be truth, but which then had the form of it); great setting forth of Christ; great joy and freedom in prayer, and, seemingly, great nearness of communion with God, in the midst of the workings of the power, the course of the power quite contrary to the course of excitement. It was manifest to me that the power was supernatural; and therefore a Spirit. It seemed to bear testimony to Christ come in the flesh, and to work the fruits of the Holy Spirit; the conclusion, then, was inevitable, that it was the Spirit of God; and if so, the deduction was imme-

diate, that it ought in all things to be obeyed. If I understood not the things I was made to utter; it was consistent with the idea of the utterance of the Spirit, that deep and mysterious things should be spoken. If I were commanded to do a thing of which I saw not the use, was I to dare to pause on God's command? When the communication is decided to be from God, faithfulness to God steps in, and all the faith, and love, and simple reliance on God which the christian, through grace, possesses, will be enlisted to perform the command; so that the more devoted the christian thus seduced, the more implicit the obedience to the seducing spirit." And to complete this master-piece of delusion, if a single doubt entered the mind of any of these persons, it was instantly dismissed as a temptation of Satan, and therefore highly offensive to the Spirit.

We come now to a most curious, as well as to those concerned, "a most trying and painful occurrence." Says Mr. Baxter, "While sitting with Mr. Irving and a few others, Mr. Irving remarked that Mr. T. when in the Court of Chancery, had found the power mightily upon him, but never a distinct impulse to utterance. Whilst he was speaking I was made in power to declare 'there go I, and thence to the prison house.' This was followed by a prophecy, setting forth the darkness of the visible church, referring to the king as head of the church of England, and to the chancellor as keeper of the king's conscience; that a testimony should that day be borne before him, which should make the nation to tremble; that I was to bear this testimony, and for it be cast into prison; that the abomination of desolation would be set up in the land, and Satan sit in the high places of the earth, showing himself to be God. Much more was added of the judgments of God against the land, and also against the church for her worldly mindedness. The power upon me was overwhelming. I gave all present a solemn benediction, as though I was departing altogether from among them, and forbidding Mr. Irving, who rose to speak to me as I was going, I went out under the constraint of the power, and shaped my way to the court of the Chancellor, to bear the testimony I was commanded.

"On the way my trials were almost beyond endurance. Might it not be a delusion? Ought I not to consider my own character in the sight of the world, which would be forfeited by such an act; and the ruin of all worldly prospects, which would ensue from it and from my imprisonment? Confident, however, that the power was of God, it seemed my duty to obey at every sacrifice. In this mind I went on, expecting, as I entered the court of the Chancellor, the power would come upon me, and I should be made to bear testimony before him. I knew not what

I was to say ; but expected the subject and utterance would be given me together, as on other occasions. When I entered, no power came upon me. I stood in the court for three or four hours, momentarily expecting the power ; and as the time lengthened, more and more perplexed at its absence. I was tempted to speak in my own strength ; but I judged this would not be faithful to the word spoken. After waiting this time, I came out of court, convinced there was nothing for me to say. I could not resist the conviction, painful as it was, that I had been deluded. How was it then with the others who had heard me, received me, and spoken in power with me as one of them?" Every effort, both of Mr. B. himself and Mr. Irving, failed to solve this astounding case. Still however they could not give up their confidence that the work was of God. The next morning at prayer meeting an utterance came from Miss E. E. who knew nothing of the visit to the Chancellor, 'it is discernment—it is discernment ye lack: seek ye for it, seek ye for it'—which, it seemed to Mr. B. applied to his case. Afterwards the text in Jer. 20: 7-9. was quoted. While thinking on these things the whole matter was revealed by the Spirit making him to say "ye have obeyed the word of the Lord, ye went to the place of testimony, the Spirit was quenched before the conscience of the king; ye a, spiritual minister have borne witness there; and were ye not cast into prison? Has not the dark dungeon been your prison house since ye came from the place of testimony? Ye lack discernment, ye must read the word spiritually, the abomination of desolation is set up, the Spirit of God is quenched in all the churches of the land ; and now the mystical man of sin is enthroned, and sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." This explanation was perfectly satisfactory to all parties.

While Mr. B. was doubting whether the whole work were not a delusion, Mr. Irving related the following striking case, well authenticated. "A man, a stranger to the Scotch church, came up from the country, and spoke in a power in the midst of the congregation. He was rebuked by some one, and afterwards being called into the vestry, Mr. T. one of the gifted persons, and Mr. Irving reasoned with him, to show him from the nature of his utterance, that the power could not be of God. The man would not yield, when suddenly Mr. T. was made to rebuke him in an unknown tongue, and the man fell down upon the ground crying for mercy. Afterwards, wishing to speak with two other gifted persons at their own houses, he was again rebuked in the power, and as if by the force of the word was cast down upon the ground, foaming and struggling like a bound demoniac. The gifted persons were then made to pray for him in power, and he soon became calmed and went away."

Mr. Baxter's doubts being all removed, he next received a prophecy concerning the church, of which we give an outline, as curious in itself, and entirely contrary to his wishes and settled views as expressed in the "Layman's Appeal." It was revealed that the ordination of ministers by the laying on of hands by succession from the apostles was no longer valid, that God would endow men with the power of utterance in the Spirit, as the gift distinguishing those set apart for the ministry. That the whole visible church was now cast off because she had quenched the Spirit's manifestations in her midst, and that God would bring forth his spiritual church, with the fulness of the gifts of the Spirit; and extend it to the ends of the earth within the appointed time of the testimony of the two witnesses already mentioned—three years and a half: and that this was the setting up of the abomination of desolation, spoken of, Matt. xxiv. and Luke xxi.

"The *mystical* man of sin, (2 Thess. iii.) was also explained to be the spirit of Satan, now bearing rule in the visible church, manifested in her worldly-mindedness, and her opposition to the work and power of the Spirit. This interpretation was not to invalidate the application of the passage in its full sense to the papacy. In both cases Satan was ruling as the Spirit of God, and *showing* himself *that he was God*. And moreover there was to be a more fearful manifestation of the man of sin, in Satan's usurping the authority of Jesus as King of kings, and Lord of lords, coming to bear rule over all the earth. Before this could take place, however, at the end of the three years and a half, God would take away his Spirit and his church altogether from the earth, by causing his faithful spiritual church to be caught up to heaven like Elijah, and the earth being without a witness for God, Satan would stand forth in all his hideous power in the person of one man, to receive the worship of all the earth, even the papacy having been destroyed as too narrow to admit of the full manifestation of this personal man of sin, claiming to be the Christ of God come to establish his kingdom on the earth. The person thus energized of Satan was subsequently declared to be young Napoleon."

At the same time were uttered fearful denunciations against all benevolent societies, on the ground "That all religious knowledge was hereafter to be imparted by the teaching of the Spirit, and any attempt to accomplish by the combined efforts of men, what God had ordained to effect by the outpouring of his Spirit, was leaning upon an arm of flesh, instead of exercising faith on



God. And besides, there was a strong temptation to keep back unpopular parts of God's truth, because the accession of members and the increase of funds were more earnestly laboured after, than the setting forth of the truth." The passage in Isaiah (viii. 9) 'associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces,' also verse 12 were applied by the Spirit to all these societies. Distinct denunciations were uttered against the "Bible Society" and the "Trinitarian Bible Society," of the latter of which Mr. Baxter was a member and a warm friend. The burden of prophecy against it was "that it compassed sea and land to make one proselyte, and made him twofold more a child of hell than before."

All such utterances, however unwelcome, were implicitly received as the word of God.

In conformity with the revelation concerning the spiritual ministry, Mr. B. at one of the early prayer meetings, was made to command all present and all who should hear, to go forth and declare in all the highways, streets, lanes and alleys, the near coming of Christ, and the coming in of the spiritual ministry, and exhort all to repentance. "In conformity with this message," says he, "many of the congregation went forth publicly to preach, and continue in it to the present day, being called up before the magistrates on account of it."

Having set the people to work, Mr. Baxter received "a distinct intimation that he had nothing more to testify to the brethren in London, and therefore determined to visit his brother, (a clergyman,) in one of the eastern counties." This visit is connected with some of the strangest incidents related in "The Narrative."

"While on the journey," says Mr. B. "it was revealed to me that God had set me apart for a special purpose, for which he would commission and endow me, that for this purpose I should be taken away from my wife and family, and become a wanderer without home or habitation, that this separation would be, in God's hand, a visitation upon my wife for her opposition to the work of the Spirit, and yet would be overruled for a blessing to her, that I should find my brother at home, and, as I entered the paddock gate, he would come out to meet me, that whilst I was there he should receive the Spirit and speak in the power, which should be signs of the truth of the revelation, that I should be made in power to deliver to him two messages, one to be carried by him to my wife, declaring God's purpose concerning us, and the other to some relations enjoining the winding up of all my worldly concerns, and the future provision for my wife and family, that a child of my brother should be called to be a pro-

phetess, and that I should minister on the ensuing Sunday in my brother's church; that when my brother went to carry the message, he should be commissioned to baptize with the Holy Ghost my youngest child, an infant six weeks old. Not knowing certainly that my brother was at home, I looked with no little agitation for the first sign. I arrived, and as I entered his gate, he came out exactly as was shown me. This seemed to seal the truth of the whole. On the second morning after my arrival, having had as yet no utterance, my brother's wife called to me and said, "has the Lord revealed to you what he has done?" On my answering in the negative, she added "he has given the Spirit to your brother, he spoke much in the power during the night." Here then was fulfilled the second sign. I had said nothing about the revelation. My brother soon after called me to his room, and in the power said "every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; Jesus Christ is come in the flesh." At breakfast the power came on me, and I was made to utter the declaration and message concerning my wife and family shown me in the revelation, accompanied with my putting my hands on the head of his child, and declaring her set apart for the office of a prophetess, and with a command to him to go and baptize my infant with the Holy Ghost. After family prayers and some further inquiries, he made ready to go, when the power came upon me to give him the other message to our relations, and enjoin him to proceed immediately on his mission. On his saying he did not quite understand what he was to do with the infant, I was made to explain to him, that he must take her in his arms, and say, (repeating her name) I baptize thee with the Holy Ghost, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. After this I was made to declare that I would minister in his church on Sunday, which would commence the spiritual ministrations which should never cease until the Lord should come.

"During that day it was indistinctly revealed to me that I should be called to bear witness at Cambridge, and in the House of Commons; and that for this purpose I should be caught away by the Spirit as Philip was (Acts viii.) that very day. No sign in proof was given me, and I could not yield full credence to it; but fearing to grieve the Spirit, I gave myself into the hands of God and waited for the result. But as nothing followed, I concluded it was a snare of the devil.

"The next day, being Sunday, I was much tried to know what I should do in case the power did not come upon me, for I could not command it when I would. I was, however, relieved from my fear by an utterance in a most awful oath, that God would not

leave me nor forsake me. On commencing the service in church, the power came upon me, explaining the spiritual ministry, and continued in prayer for an hour. While they sang, I went into the vestry to fetch a bible. Here I was wholly impotent, and seemed to have no strength to exhort the people. My sister, under the nervous excitement of anxiety, was seized with an hysterical fit. My confidence for the moment was gone, and I felt as though my mouth was shut for ever. The power however came down upon me again, and I preached in power upwards of an hour; and then dismissed the people with the customary benediction. In the afternoon I took the same course, and the power continued during the whole service. Fearful denunciations of judgment were given both morning and evening; and the reiterated declaration, that within three years and a half the believers in the Lord would be caught up to him, and the world delivered over to the judgments of God: accompanied by energetic and arousing exhortations to repentance."

After Mr. Baxter's return to London, he had to encounter new trials. While in company with Mr. Irving and Miss E. E. conversing about his separation from his family, and much weighed down in spirit, Miss E. E. after some preliminary utterances, was made to declare in power "ye must not leave them." "If a thunder-bolt," says he, "had burst at my feet, it could not have created half the pain and agonizing confusion which these utterances cast upon me. The impression rushed on me like a flood, "the revelation must then have been of Satan. I have betrayed my brother into a satanic embassy, ruined his character, and insured his expulsion from the church; I have sent my wife a lying torture, and shall seem to her as a monster, and I shall have forfeited all my professional pursuits, contrary to God's will, and brought discredit upon the work of God, and so cast a fearful stumbling block before God's children." (It not even then occurring to me, that the whole work was of Satan.) I reeled under the weight of the agonizing suggestion for a moment; but having lifted my soul to God in prayer, appealing to him for my honesty, I seemed immediately to have light upon the subject. It was that the revelations were of God; but the time of my leaving my family and ceasing from my worldly labours was not yet; and that the reproof was to correct my haste and rashness in rushing upon their immediate fulfilment. Relieved in a measure, I returned to my coffee house, and there found a letter from my wife, saying that her brother had been to her, and delivered the message in power, which she now recognized as of God, and desired to submit to the will of the Lord, great as the sacrifice was. This seemed like God's own

seal of his own work; for I had long seen the utter inability of human efforts to convince her; whereas this revelation, so likely to prejudice her more and more, was overruled, as it was predicted to me, for her good.

“In the evening my brother returned. He had delivered the message, and also in the power took up the infant and said over it the form of words, I had given him. When the ceremony was performed, the babe did not speak in the Spirit as he fully expected. This startled him somewhat; and on his journey to the other relatives, so pressed upon him that when he reached them he was ready to burst into tears, and confess that he had been deluded. But suddenly the power came upon him, and he was carried out in utterance of the message, all the time almost trembling at what he was saying. They to whom it was delivered wondering at the strange exhibition which they had never witnessed before, laid hold of his arm to stop him. Their entire disbelief of the message, contrary to his expectation, gathered from my utterances, confirmed his fears that it was delusion; after some consideration he wrote to my wife begging her to forget all that was past, for he believed it to be a delusion. A careful consideration of the utterances brought my brother to see that his expectation, both with regard to the child speaking, and the relatives immediately believing, was groundless; my wife’s letter also had such weight with him that he confessed his want of faith, and reproached himself for stumbling in the way of the Lord. His hope was that my wife’s faith would be stronger than his own, and enable her to withstand the effect of his letter. My professional engagements being ended, and being in great anxiety about my family, I determined to return home and wait the Lord’s farther direction. I found my wife relapsed into unbelief, though in a few days her difficulties were overcome, and she expected with me the fulfilment of the things prophesied.”

We come now to what Mr. Baxter calls the masterpiece of doctrinal delusion, the development of “the baptism by fire,” as expounded by himself, and adopted and still held by the members of the Scotch church. Very frequent allusions to “fire” had been made in his late utterances, without any understanding of their meaning. At length he was made to declare “that his wife should be baptized with fire; and that the Lord would again send apostles, by the laying on of whose hands should follow the baptism by fire, which should subdue the flesh and burn out the sin; and give the disciples of Christ the full freedom of the Holy Ghost, and full and final victory over the world.” A day or two after it was declared, in an appalling utterance, that he was set apart for this office, that from his calling to the spiritual ministry there should be



a probationary period of forty days, now nearly elapsed, at the close of which he should receive the gifts of *signs and wonders and mighty deeds*; that the sick should be healed, the deaf should hear and the dead be raised; and that apostles should be ordained, endowed, and sent forth to the end of the earth, to warn the world and make ready a people prepared for the Lord. It was distinctly revealed that Mr. Irving should not become an apostle, because the Scotch church had erred in rejecting the apostolic form of government, but should become the great prophet of Scotland, to bear the Lord's warning before the carnage produced by the cholera. It was also specified that on the fortieth day, having received the power, Mr. Baxter should go to the relatives to whom the message had been sent by his brother, and, in their presence, cast out an evil spirit from a deranged girl residing near; and that they should immediately be convinced the work was of God. About the same time, a revelation was made to a neighbouring clergyman, directing him to go and heal a poor cripple, who had for many years been bed-ridden.

Mr. B. in obedience to the revelation, repaired to London, where he was to receive the apostolic endowments. The expected *fortieth day* arrived. At the morning prayer meeting nothing peculiar occurred. At breakfast it was clearly revealed to him, though a stranger to the company, that an unbeliever was present, which he immediately announced. One of the company inquired if it were he? To whom it was replied in the negative. After the conversation became general a voice from the top of the room struck him, and it was shown he was the man. Having mentioned this, the individual confessed it, and showed that the state of his mind had been exactly made known. The day, however, passed without any manifestation of the signs and wonders foretold. Still they expected from day to day to witness the consummation of their fond hopes.

At the close of a large meeting at Mr. Irving's a few days after, a circumstance occurred which created great confusion. A power to utterance came upon an individual, "but instead of distinct words, nothing but muttering followed, and an expression of countenance the most revolting. Almost at the same moment an utterance broke from Mrs. C. and myself, says Mr. Baxter, 'it is an evil spirit.' A thrill of horror passed through the assembly, and presently an utterance came from Mrs. C. 'Rebuke the unclean spirit, and command him to enter no more into him.' The power came on me, and I said, 'in the name of Jesus I adjure thee, thou foul spirit, to come out of the man.' The man continued muttering and speaking nonsense. Again

the command came from Mrs. C. and the power on me, and I used the same words over him again. Lady —, who had before once or twice spoken in power, under an impulse rose up, and stretching her hands towards me, cried out, '*greater is he that is in you than he that is in the world;*' and repeating this several times, sank down on the floor. The muttering and disgusting utterances continued. Mr. Irving suggested '*this kind goeth not forth but with prayer and fasting.*' We were, however, confounded, and the only explanation I could suggest, was that the word of God had gone forth for the expulsion of the evil spirit, and we must rest in faith, that in due time the man would be delivered, and so we parted."

On the next Sabbath Mr. Irving invited Mr. B. to occupy his pulpit, which, deeming himself called to the spiritual ministry, he did not dare to refuse. When the time of service arrived, the spirit, by Miss E. C. forbade this arrangement and he was suffered, much to his relief, to sit among the prophets. During the service, however, a further development of the spiritual ministry occurred.

The visible church and fleshly ministry were already considered as discarded, and an attack was now made on the visible elements in baptism and the Lord's Supper. It was declared that as soon as the spiritual church was fully constituted by the communication of apostolic gifts, which were daily and hourly expected, the spiritual ministers should no longer baptize with water, but with the Holy Ghost and with fire; and that Christ having come spiritually, the mere emblems of his presence would of course be laid aside in the Lord's Supper, according to the text, *As often as ye eat this bread and drink this wine, ye do show forth the Lord's death UNTIL HE COME.* During the service on this day an infant was brought to be baptized. When Mr. Irving took the babe in his arms, and was proceeding to administer the rite in the usual form, an utterance broke from Mr. B. "Jesus receiveth thee into his church thou little one, and baptizeth thee with his Spirit." It was then revealed that this utterance, though he knew not what he was going to say until it broke forth, was to be the form of baptism in the spiritual church. The same thing occurred on a subsequent occasion; though in both cases Mr. Irving proceeded with the usual form, only giving thanks for the utterance, having not yet received the endowments of a spiritual minister.

Mr. Baxter having met with a missionary to our American Indians, who had gone to London with a converted chief, was made to declare that these Indians were the lost ten tribes of Israel, that this chief should then be endowed with power from on high in all signs and mighty wonders, and should be instru-

mental in gathering back the tribes into the holy land, within the three years and a half of the spiritual ministry. Afterwards he went to a Jewish institution, and there reiterated in power this prophecy to the Jews present. He also met with the Indian chief at a public meeting, and was made to address him in a most triumphant chant, as a chosen vessel of God to bring back his brethren. "But afterwards, in conversing with him," says Mr. B. "his countenance and *tout ensemble* were so foreign to my ideas of a Jew, that my confidence was much shaken in my prophecy. But I was soon after relieved by Miss E. C. declaring that the very same revelation was made to her at the same time." This Mr. B. thinks clearly proves that it was the work of an evil spirit, for the subject of the prophecy was new to both of them. This prophecy was a complete failure, for the chief went away an unbeliever, and of course none of the predicted gifts have ever been manifested.

Mr. Baxter's faith was now severely tried. He was weighed down under the delay of the fulfilment of the prophecy concerning the apostolic endowments on the fortieth day; he had heard from his friend who had spoken in the power, and received directions to perform a miracle of healing, in which he had utterly failed. The prophecy about the fortieth day had been noised about the country, and its failure, and that of his friend, had caused his wife and most of the believers in the country to abandon the work as a delusion. Yet he still trusted that God would manifest his mercy and power in the midst of them. He determined with the advice of the gifted persons to return home. At breakfast, at Mr. Irving's, occurred the remarkable closing scene of his ministrations in London. A clergyman from Ireland, an inquirer, was present. "When Mr. Irving began as usual to read a chapter," says Mr. B. "instead of expounding it as before, the power revealed to me that some persons present must depart, for we were assembled at a holy ordinance, to partake of the body and blood of Christ. None going out, I was made again and again more peremptorily to warn, until the clergyman and an aged man a stranger had gone out, when Mr. Irving proceeded in reading, and I was made to expound as usual, greatly to the comfort of all present. After prayer in the power I was made to declare that this was an example of the spiritual ministration of the Lord's Supper, corresponding to that of baptism already mentioned. The opening of the word was the bread, and the indwelling and renewing presence of the Spirit, the wine, and the discerners of spirits would not permit the unbelievers to mingle with the faithful. It is remarkable that when the call for separation was made, the clergymen professed

his faith in the work, and I was made to tell him he was doubting, which afterwards proved to be true. I had not any previous intimation that the Lord's Supper would be given, nor had I any conception of what its spiritual ministrations would be."

After Mr. Baxter's return to the country his hopes again revived, and his prospects brightened for a moment; but it was only the fitful gleams which were to precede their total extinction. A few days after his return he established a public morning prayer meeting, contrary to the wishes and strenuous opposition of his wife. During his absence at this meeting a power came upon his wife, notwithstanding her unbelief, in the form of a revelation; calming all her irritation and in a moment filling her mind with peace, giving a reason why the signs and wonders were not bestowed upon the fortieth day, and promising a speedy fulfilment of what had been prophesied. As a sign that the revelation was of God, it was told her that when her husband came home, as soon as he saw her, he would say "speak—speak," and after she had told him the revelation he would speak in the power, and beginning "it is of the Lord," would fully explain what had been revealed. Strange as it may seem, this revelation was literally and minutely fulfilled; to the entire conversion of his wife that the work must be of God; and much to the relief and joy of his own mind. In the utterance given on this occasion it was declared that the power had not been given on the fortieth day, because the church in London had failed in love to the visible church which God had cast off, but for which he was still jealous. There came a most emphatic declaration that on the day after the morrow they should both be baptized with fire; and the Lord would then bring forth visibly a spiritual church, with spiritual ordinances, in fulness of power and gifts, and thenceforward the work should proceed in swiftness and not again tarry. Most glorious prophecies followed these declarations fully developing the constitution of the spiritual church, and its progress through the earth.

Overjoyed with these communications, they awaited in fulness of hope and confidence, the day of fulfilment. At length it arrived, and in the evening came an utterance from the power, "kneel down and receive the baptism of fire." They knelt down, lifting up prayer to God continually. Nothing however ensued. Again and again they knelt and prayed, but still no fulfilment. Day by day for a long time they continued in prayer and supplication but received no baptism; "until at length," says Mr. B. "my wife concluded the whole must be a delusion, and ceased to follow it. For six weeks, however, I continued unshaken to seek after it, but found it not." The nature of this baptism was fully explain-



ed to be the burning out of the carnal mind, and every sinful lust of the flesh ; so that those receiving it should walk in perfect holiness and spiritual light, accompanied with the fulness of the presence of the Holy Ghost. The full gifts of the Spirit were also to follow, according to the office to which each one was ordained of God. The ministers were to be borne about from place to place by the Spirit, as Phillip was ; and bodily changes would also be wrought. " It was especially declared, that as a consequence of such changes, the marriage state would be no longer blessed with increase, and husbands and wives, sons and daughters, would be called to the ministry, and devote themselves to the office of warning the world, until the expiration of the days of testimony should summon them to the glory of the Lord."

The faith of Mr. B. already stretched to the utmost tension, could not bear the repeated and severe strokes it was now to receive ; his eyes, so long, and one would think, so hopelessly sealed in delusion, began at length to open to the light of conviction. A letter was received from Mr. Irving stating that Mr. F. who had spoken in power among them was found to speak by an evil spirit as Mrs. C. and Miss E. C. both declared. Mr. Baxter himself had declared to him his call to the spiritual ministry, and he had also been present at Mr. Irving's when the two persons were sent out, and it was declared in the power that the Lord would not suffer an unbeliever to be present at the holy ordinance. Here were inexplicable contradictions.

Soon after, came another letter from Mr. Irving, stating that Miss E. C. had rebuked him for repeating the time so often mentioned when the faithful should be caught up to the Lord, declaring the prophecy to be true, yet containing a mystery ; and that the day is really not known, and commanding him to write to Mr. B. not to repeat this in the flesh ; but suffer the Spirit to say it how and when he pleased. This was a severe blow, for he had been made in power to declare the very day frequently, and to explain and enforce it ; and more than once to enjoin ministers publicly to preach it in the flesh, though they had no gift.

A little later came another blow. Miss H. who had been universally received as a prophetess ; and whose gifts had been explicitly recognized as genuine, by Miss E. C. and himself, was now charged by Mrs. C. and Miss E. C. with feigning utterances ; and both had pronounced in power that the whole work in her was of the flesh. And what was still more startling, the very message for which she was condemned, was in perfect harmony with what he himself had been made to utter on a former occasion. It was remarkable however that Miss H. acknowledged the justice of the charge of meditating utterances on several occasions, though

not in the case for which she was condemned. However explained, the occurrence still involved all of them in lack of discernment, and two at least, in false testimony to her gift. Besides all this, certain distinct and striking predictions he had been made to utter respecting a day of fasting appointed by the government, and now past, had utterly failed of their accomplishment. Moreover, the servant girl, on whom it was declared the miracle of casting out a devil should be performed, was recovered of her derangement and had gone out to service. This, therefore, could never be fulfilled; and on this account was much more staggering to his faith, than the failure of his friend to perform the miracle of healing on the cripple already noticed, which he readily accounted for by the want of faith in the person to be healed.

Notwithstanding this overwhelming evidence of delusion, he dare not still deny the work, as the evidence of its supernatural character seemed so clear, and the testimony to Christ come in the flesh, so full. But then the perplexing difficulty was, that all this was true of the persons now denounced as false prophets! In consistency with his present opinion, that it is all the work of an evil spirit, the writer of course supposes they erred in requiring of the spirit merely a verbal confession of the scriptural test. In confirmation of his hypothesis, he details a most remarkable case, of two children eight or nine years of age, who spoke in wonderful power, setting forth Christ, and preaching with such recital of Scripture, and such power of argument and exhortation, as would surpass many able ministers. They uttered prophecies, denounced judgments, gave commands to their parents and others, and at length forbade to marry. This unscriptural precept opened their parents' eyes, and they determined to try them by the Scriptural test, which they strenuously resisted, denouncing punishment on every such attempt. The father, himself a minister, feared to make the trial. His curate, however, demanded of the spirit a confession that Christ was come in the flesh. "Paleness and agitation increased over them until at length an utterance broke forth 'we will never confess it.' The curate then went on to say 'I command thee thou false spirit in the name of Jesus to come out,' and as they since described it, a coldness was removed from the heart and passed away. They were then instructed to resist the spirit thenceforth, which they did, and were delivered in time entirely from its influence."

That which was finally made instrumental in opening Mr. Baxter's eyes, was a discovery of the dangerous error of Mr. Irving with regard to the human nature of Christ. This led to a correspondence between him and Mr. Irving, in which the latter,

after careful re-examination of the subject, declared his increased conviction of the correctness of his views, in which Mrs. C. and Miss E. C. fully concurred, and in power declared to be correct and scriptural. To Mr. B. however they were plainly both erroneous and dangerous, and the conclusion unutterably painful as it was, could no longer be resisted, that the utterances supporting these views could not be of the Spirit of God. In this state of mind he visited his brother, who still spoke in the power, and after a full investigation of the whole subject they both concluded, that the whole work was a delusion of Satan. He next visited Mr. Irving, and made an unsuccessful attempt to convince him of his errors. He then showed him the inconsistencies of the utterances, and the total failure of many predictions in so forcible a light, that Mr. Irving and the other abettors of the scheme were obliged to resort to the subterfuge, that the same person might at one time speak under the influence of the Spirit of God, and at another under that of an evil spirit; a very convenient way, certainly, of disposing of contradictions and difficulties of every sort, and not unlike that of the Persian Magi in accounting for the existence of good and evil in the world. It was a little unfortunate, however, for this theory, that it had been repeatedly and explicitly declared in the power by several of the gifted persons, "that God would guard the utterance of his prophets, and they should never be permitted to speak by the power of Satan." When this difficulty was suggested, it was readily met by the assertion that these utterances were misunderstood, and merely meant that God would not suffer his prophets to be under these opposite influences at the same time. This of course reduced them to the necessity of deciding on the origin of each particular utterance, before they could yield credence to it; and none could decide this without the gift of discerning spirits, which none but the prophets, not even Mr. Irving himself, professed to be able to do. This was a sad dilemma, and yet there was no avoiding it.

The utterance now cautiously warned them against having any more intercourse with Mr. B. so that they refused to hear arguments, or discuss the subject at all.

With regard to the utterances in other languages, which have figured so conspicuously in all the previous accounts of this work, the "Narrative" says but little. The author was very little exercised in that gift, and indeed there seems to have been far less stress laid upon this particular manifestation of the power, by the advocates of this delusion, than has commonly been supposed. "On one occasion," says Mr. B. "a sentence in French was vividly set before my mind, and under an impulse to utterance, was

spoken. Then in a little time sentences in Latin were in like manner uttered, and with short intervals sentences in many other languages, judging from the sound, and the different exercise of the enunciating organs. My wife who was present declared some of them to be Italian, and some Spanish. Sometimes single words were given me, sometimes sentences, but never a connected discourse, though I could neither recognise the words nor sentences as any language I knew, except those which were French or Latin. Immediately following this exercise, there came an utterance in English, declaring that the gift of tongues now manifested, was nothing more than that of "the tongue" needing interpretation, manifested formerly in the Corinthian church; but that shortly the Lord would bestow the Pentecostal gift, enabling those who received it to preach in all languages to the nations of the earth."

"My belief now is that it is no language whatever, but a mere collection of words and sentences, and, in the lengthened discourses, is, much of it, a jargon of sounds, though when the power is very great it will assume much of the form of a connected oration. One day, in the Scotch church, when I was prayerfully meditating on the propriety of yielding my tongue to the power of utterance, an utterance broke from Miss E. C. 'yield your tongues to Jesus,' and going on to exhort to an entire resignation to the Spirit of Jesus speaking and dwelling in us. The instances of such obvious discernment of spirits, continues Mr. B. are so numerous as to take away the possibility of their being accidental coincidences. In the case of one individual praying in silence in her own room, in three or four distinct instances, answers were given in power by a gifted person, sitting in the adjoining room. With nearly all the persons with whom I have conversed, who were brought into a belief of the power, instances of obvious discernment of their thoughts, or particular state of mind have been so striking, as to conduce to their recognition of the power."

For a more minute and satisfactory account of these curious occurrences, we must refer our readers to the original work of Mr. Baxter. It is earnestly hoped that this narrative of facts may not only prove satisfactory to the curious, but also enlist the sympathies of every Christian, and induce him, at least occasionally, to remember at a throne of grace, the unhappy subjects of this wild delusion. A circumstance which should tend greatly to increase this feeling is, that they are our brethren, Christian brethren, for some of them at least, previously and even yet, give satisfactory evidence of genuine piety. The little work before us, setting forth as it does with great clearness and



force the failure of prophecies, the contradictions of utterances, and inconsistencies of every kind, and yet all this done in a kind and Christian manner, would seem to be abundantly sufficient to open the eyes of all, unless sealed in seven-fold darkness. And accordingly, we are informed in the preface to the second edition, "that many instances had come to the writer's knowledge of the 'Narrative' being made instrumental in opening the eyes of those under the delusion." And yet the delusion, as we have seen, takes hold of some of the strongest principles of our nature, and combines such an air of plausibility, and such a mixture of truth, as to render its eradication by no means easy. The difficulty, moreover, is greatly enhanced by the exciting nature of the two main doctrines which it supports, the personal reign of Christ on the earth at no distant period, and the previous revival of the supernatural gifts of the Holy Spirit. Indeed so powerful is this cause, that if this particular form of delusion were entirely dispelled, there is great reason to believe some other would very soon spring up in its stead. These opinions have seldom been held, without leading to more or less extravagance and fanaticism. Notwithstanding, therefore, the severe blow given to the cause by the publication of the "Narrative," it still retains pretty firm footing, both in England and Scotland. There are two periodicals which have openly espoused its interests, the "Jewish Expositor" and the "Morning Watch." Great discord, however, prevails among the gifted persons in different parts of the country. Those of Port Glasgow, where the whole work originated, and who are quite numerous, spoke severely against Mr. B. while he was speaking in the power, and are now speaking against Mr. Irving. At Cambridge too, there is one man "who thinks himself called to be an Apostle, and to have arrived at perfection; who sent for a friend some hundreds of miles to impart to him the Holy Ghost by the laying on of his hands: but when he came, and the hands were imposed, the gift did not follow. He also is denounced by Miss E. C.; and himself holds Mr. Irving and the gifted persons in London to be deceived." And yet the work finds many abettors, both secret and open, both ministers and laymen, in retired villages and congregations in different parts of the country; and in some places engrosses no small share of the public attention. Some most remarkable cures, by them of course accounted miraculous, were actually performed by persons acting under the power. One case, so well authenticated as to admit of no question as to its truth, was that of a young lady unable to walk for eight years, perfectly restored, so that at the command of the individual commissioned to work the miracle, she immediately rose and walked

without the slightest pain, and continued perfectly well ever after. For a full account of this extraordinary case, and the interesting discussions to which it gave rise, together with a learned, ingenious, and, we think, satisfactory explanation of all the phenomena on natural principles, we refer our readers to the Christian Observer of Nov. 1830, and the Appendix for the same year.

In Oxford, where in one congregation between fifty and sixty persons were so powerfully wrought upon by the power, that on some occasions nearly twenty have been carried out of the church completely prostrated by it, most of the deluded persons have been rescued from their miserable bondage. In London, while many of the leading members have renounced the work, there are still hundreds who are praying and anxiously longing for the gifts of the Spirit; and those who have received these gifts, of whom not more than seven or eight are mentioned in the "Narrative," and several of these are now denounced as false prophets, are going on to still wilder fanaticism and grosser absurdity. One of them is avowedly exercising apostolic functions, upon the mere command of the voice, without pretending to have the signs of an apostle; ordaining to the apostolic office in the name of an apostle; laying hands on others, and ordaining them as evangelists and elders, without pretending that the baptism of the Holy Ghost accompanies this laying on of hands, as had been uniformly predicted. For this, however, they are daily praying with solemn appeals to God, whether he is not his apostle. And yet Mr. Irving, as "angel of the church," claims authority, even over this apostle. This is strange enough; and yet perhaps not more so, than that which he exercises over those who speak in the power. On one occasion he publicly addressed an individual while speaking, telling her, 'to speak more to the purpose; for the spirits of the prophets were subject to the prophets, and she was speaking beside the question.' When a man, says Mr. Baxter, can go so far as to suppose that the Spirit of God can speak beside a question, and to be put in remembrance, we may well say, "what more?"

It remains yet to be seen, 'whereunto this will grow;' and also whether it is to be transplanted into *our* soil, so well adapted, as experience proves, to the growth of every wild or fanatical delusion. We have heard of at least one individual in this country, who, though not a *professed* in the work, has yet ventured to defend it, and seems strongly tending towards the belief that it is a work of God. There may be more of this description. Certain it is, that should the doctrine of the personal reign of the Messiah on earth during the latter-day glory of the church, an event which the signs of the times indicate as near at hand, prevail ex-

tensively in this country, its tendency will be by no means hostile to the spread of such extravagant hypotheses and practices; especially among the more illiterate and excitable part of our population. If, however, there be at present any considerable tendency on the part of any number of persons to this particular delusion, the little work of which we have given a condensed view, will certainly prove an efficacious antidote.

*Henry Stoll*

ART. III.—*Memoir of James Brainerd Taylor.* By John Holt Rice, D.D., and Benjamin Holt Rice, D.D. New York: Jocelyn, Darling & Co., 1833.

WE rejoice to see worthy tokens of respect for holiness as an ultimate object. For just in proportion as these multiply, "the regeneration" advances, and the final redemption draws nigh; but as these decrease or become disreputable in the Church, we seem to see other years added to the otherwise plain prophetic numbers, in which the whole creation shall continue to groan in bondage, waiting only for this adoption of the sons of God. How long, how long, ere we shall all duly appreciate and propose to ourselves the simple object, and for the simple reason revealed to us and to our children: *Be ye holy, for I am holy?* It is more, however, in congratulation than in grief, that we now urge this question, having just now risen from the perusal of the work before us, so adapted, we had almost said, divinely adapted, to hasten this consummation of holiness for the sake of God. Holiness for the sake of happiness, expediency, usefulness, is an object good indeed, but only conditionally, comparatively, and relatively. To become and to be holy because God is holy, is itself the chief good; the absolute and ultimate excellence and blessedness to which man can aspire. And it is chiefly because this one principle is so happily exemplified and ingratiated by the volume before us, that we value it, and love it, and would commend to higher consideration than it might otherwise claim, or than a brief review can give it. Indeed neither the lamented subject of the Memoir, nor the Rev. authors, have sought in it any higher crown than this, to wit, the one in his life, and the others in their record of it, to rescue *holiness* from its captivity and obeisance, and commend it as "the *great secret* of ministerial efficiency." Understanding this on the principle already expressed: efficiency in a minister's appropriate

work being the accomplishment or result, when holiness, because God is holy, is the reigning motive. "We wish here most deeply to impress it on the minds of all candidates for the ministry, that in this nation, where the Church is thrown on its own resources, no means can support religion, and make it prosperous, without the exemplary holiness of its ministers. Let the saying of Paul be our motto: Follow peace with all men, and holiness without which no man shall see the Lord." This is well. Nothing could be more honourable to themselves in the sight of God, or more relevant to their heavenly purpose. It is the beauty of the Lord our God upon them, and He will establish the work of their hands, yea, *this* work of their hands, He will establish it. This diamond pen shall write *holiness to the Lord* on many vessels of the sanctuary, whose definite purpose, and most efficient qualifications, hitherto have been, or otherwise might be, involved in doubts not a little embarrassing in a daily service like that of the Christian ministry.

We say with confidence it will. Partly, because this is its avowed object. Here, in a sense not much below its highest revealed import, is "confession made unto salvation," coming as it does from men so qualified to rate the causes "of ministerial efficiency," and in an age which so loudly demands the avowal of this as the chief.

It cannot be concealed, that since a public education of the ministry began to prevail in the Church in this country, other excitements have arisen to take the place of those once derived more singly from the aims and the spirit of holiness. That which the unlearned pious feared, has in part befallen us. Colleges, seminaries, and scholarships, diplomas and degrees, have not been sufficiently beholden to eminent holiness for their elevation in the Church, to make it natural for them to crown it with their highest honours, or to aspire to it as their chief glory and support in future. In nearly all our institutions of learning, their general plans and arrangements we mean, who fails to observe either a studied neglect or a neglected study of the means of eminent holiness—considered either as the chief end, or the chief means of efficiency in useful life? We refer to this fact now, simply to set forth, in its just relief, the true character of the Memoir before us in this one particular. Amid the discouragements occasioned by the facts alluded to, it was holy heroism in a youth just from the counter of mammon and the court of fashion, to begin, continue, and close a course that should remain to be recorded as a worthy illustration of the principle already repeated; and that men having the vantage ground of literary and theological seminaries, and their highest honours



themselves to stand upon, should venture their claims to the influence and the rewards of authorship, in the avowed defence of this principle, is an additional fact, that justifies our special hosanna to Him who has thus taught their hands to war and their fingers to fight.

But their claims to be read, respected, and imitated, rest on more substantial merits than the mere professing of an holy object, though that object be holiness itself; and though it be professed at the hazard of having their book, on that very account, laid aside unread and unhonoured by many whose opinion might add to their earthly interests and fame. The subject of the Memoir *attained* the object thus avowed in holy faith, both by himself and his biographers. And these last succeed in showing us *how* he attained it; insomuch that every faithful reader of the book finds himself, as he proceeds, either labouring or rejoicing under fresh convictions, that *eminent holiness is attainable on earth*; and that without this attainment, nothing truly eminent and efficient can be achieved. These convictions come not, however, from reading any mere review of the Memoir. Biographies are a class of composition, in one sense, entirely independent of all reviews. To trace the blended lineaments of another's life upon the memory and leave a fair impression of the various motives therein developed, on the judgment and the heart, is the part of the *biographer* himself; as it is to painture, rather than the descriptive art, that we owe our most accurate and affecting recollection or impression of the features and expression of a countenance, now absent, or never seen. We, therefore, commend this volume to notice as we would recommend some special seal or signet. Its design, as we have seen, is to seal an image or impression of *holiness* on the very ground-work of the soul, and to cover the whole, so that it shall become the characteristic of the child of God.

The class or classes of persons for whose use it is especially adapted, remain now to be considered. It is "affectionately inscribed to students of theology in the seminaries of the United States, and to the christian church generally."

So far as a mere inscription gives a work its destination to any particular class of readers, we could wish the volume before us had been inscribed, also, particularly to two other classes of youth: for to them does the *providence of God* seem to have sent the life of James B. Taylor, as remarkably as to students of theology and the church at large; we mean students in academies, high schools, and colleges, of whatever individual or professional character. So rare is such a life as his, during these preparatory studies, and so seldom do those engaged in them find books *born*, if we may so

speak, into their own family, that it seems somewhat like a pious *fraud* to divert, in any way, the influence of such lives and such books to any other class of readers whatever. But, though apparently forgotten in the inscription, the following extract will show that this class of students, and their peculiar wants, are rightfully remembered elsewhere:

“On the 13th of January 1820, Mr. Taylor arrived at Lawrenceville, and began a course of study preparatory to his entering college. A young man, in this situation, is exposed to temptations which require much vigilance and care; otherwise his religious interests will suffer, and while he is growing in knowledge he will be declining in piety. A new, dry, and difficult study at once occupies and harasses the mind. If there is an ardent thirst for knowledge, and any waking up of ambition and rivalry, the attention is so engrossed, that little opportunity is found for prayer and that devotional reading of the Scriptures, which is indispensable to one’s growth in holiness. And if religious exercises afford high enjoyment, there is great danger lest the young student should go from them to his daily studies with reluctance, and, in process of time, with feelings of disgust. Besides, a promiscuous school of twenty or thirty boys, lodging in the same or neighbouring buildings, has a spirit generally unfavourable to religious improvement. Their petty jealousies, their occasional dissatisfactions, the general levity of boys, and a thousand things of this kind, operate injuriously. And it happens, sometimes at least, that a young man enters college with less of the spirit which becomes a minister of Christ than he carried with him to the grammar school.

“If then an example can be shown of one who went through these dangers without injury; and if it can be shown by what means he grew in grace, while others in similar circumstances often decline, this part of James Taylor’s memoir may be useful to numbers, in whose high toned and fervent piety the church and the world have a deep interest.”  
—p. 29.

Again, at the commencement of his “life in college,” Mr. Taylor was examined and admitted a member of the sophomore class in the college of Nassau Hall, where he remained three years. When the end designed to be accomplished by this Memoir is remembered, this will probably appear to be the most important period of Mr. Taylor’s life.

“It can hardly have escaped the observation of those who are interested in the spiritual prosperity of the church, that there is in our literary institutions, arising from the character of the studies, and from almost necessary associations, what may be called the college spirit, the *esprit du corps*, which is very unfavourable to the attainment of a high toned piety. On this important subject, the life of Mr. Taylor sheds a cheering light, which shows that it is altogether practicable to

pass through those trying scenes, not only without losing one's spirituality, but with large accessions to his stores of self-knowledge, and of holy devotedness to God, and to the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom."

To whom, then, does this Memoir come, as a natural inheritance, with more appropriate and impressive tokens, or with better promises, than to students in preparatory schools and colleges? Not to possess it, not to read it, not to hand its memory down to each successive class, would argue in any college, high school, or academy, an indifference but too significant, to the best endowments that heaven can bestow upon them. This suggestion will not be thought either arrogant or extravagant by any who have faithfully tried the influence of the Memoir itself.

But there are indeed special reasons why this work should be inscribed to students of theology, or rather why it should be especially read and most solemnly pondered by them. These we shall give chiefly in the language of the book itself, premising, however, more distinctly that these reasons are *here* presented, not by way of argument in relation to the deficiencies in ministerial or Christian character alluded to in them, but purposely and solely to induce the reader to weigh well the *whole argument* on these points, contained in the Memoir itself, the life, the letters, the diary, and the death.

He will find, in the first place, an answer, constantly accumulating in interest and strength as he proceeds, to this question: "How may I do the greatest possible good?"

"This is a question that frequently presses with mighty force on the conscience. But the directions ordinarily given to questions of this kind, very commonly fail to produce the desired effect. A clear exhibition of the manner, the temper, the spirit of one, who, in a very short life, was eminently useful, and made a powerful impression wherever he went, may show the young what they must be, and how they must act, in order to accomplish the same valuable results."—*Intr.*

The student of theology may also expect to find in this Memoir, much that is clear and convincing, and of thrilling interest on another question, more nearly allied to the last, than many who desire the office of a bishop can be persuaded to believe.

"There is a very wide difference between the desire for the sacred office which carries a man through eight years of preparatory study, and that vain and eager wish to be recognised by the church as a teacher, which urges raw, undisciplined lads, in the *noviciate* of their religion, to seek this sacred office. Other qualifications, than a fierce

and fiery zeal, are called for in a minister of the religion of Christ. He who teaches religion, has to teach persons of all classes; the master-spirits of the nation, who expect justness and force of thought, propriety of language, enlarged and liberal views, united with "the meekness of heavenly wisdom;" and the uninstructed poor, who need that the truth should be set forth in terms so clear and familiar that they cannot be mistaken. The art consists merely in setting the subject so plainly and distinctly before the people, that every one shall think that he can see it *himself*. But it requires much intellectual discipline to enable a public speaker to do this.

"The conclusion to which, after all my observation on this subject, I have been obliged to come, is, that he who hurries into the office of the ministry, and takes on himself its fearful responsibilities, without very careful preparation, gives a very decisive evidence that he has not been called by Christ, although he may be sent by man."

Thus far the venerated man who commenced the Memoir, and whose voice in this book come to us as from his place of final rest.

Is not this testimony worth preserving? Yes, let the whole paragraph, from which the above is but a meagre extract, be *embalmed* in the most spicy and spiritual feelings of every youthful aspirant for the ministry; and, in connexion with it, the remarkable experience, and these remarkable words of James B. Taylor, in the day of his temptation on the same momentous question:

"I am more contented with my situation and prospects, and more settled in mind than I was at one period. I see more clearly than ever that I have a great work before me, and one that needs *great preparation*. Since I commenced study you know that I have been much tried on account of the length of my course. I was anxious to *get out*. But I am now thankful to God that he did not let me go, for had I gone, what should I have done? At one time I felt it my duty to go forth as a preacher immediately; at another, to curtail my allotted course. I now look forward to a complete course as I did at first." In another place he says: "I had like to have been ruined at that time;" and in another, "I can now only confess my error, and assure my friends that in all this case, I was actuated by a sincere desire for the glory of God, the good of my soul and the souls of others. It was my shortsightedness, my inexperience, and want of deeper and more thorough investigation which occasioned my precipitate determination." The compiler adds that he "has been thus particular in the statement of this affair, because he heard from his young friend a full account of his precipitate decision, and knows that it was an object of his earnest wishes, that young candidates for the ministry might be put on their guard against the dangers to which they are exposed."

To these topics of peculiar interest to the students, we cannot forbear to add the following which, with many others which our



limits forbid us even to name, will be found discussed and illustrated in a manner most deeply affecting to all classes, be they only such as, like Paul, desire to forget the things that are behind, and to press forward to those that are before. For example, from one of the letters we extract the following:

“Why may not you be an *uncommon Christian*? Do you see any thing to prevent it? I said that the 15th of September, 1816, was and ever will be an eventful era to me. But there is another day to which I shall ever recur with as much, if not more interest. It was the 23d of last April. On that day the Lord wrought a deeper work of grace in my soul than at any former period. Yes, blessed be his holy name forever! He condescended to bestow a favour for which I had been longing for years, the *witness* of which I have enjoyed daily ever since.”—p. 85.

“The reader cannot have failed to notice the high-toned and devoted piety of Mr. Taylor, as manifested in all his correspondence, and may well inquire by what means he made such attainments in spirituality? To this question the answer is perfectly obvious,” &c.—p. 17.

Closely allied to this, is another, which may very justly invite to a perusal of the volume under consideration.

“This subject is urged in this manner, because the unhappy dispute which has arisen on the subject of *perfection*, has been so managed, as to induce in many the belief that doubt, despondency, and occasional gloom, are important evidences of Christian character.”—p. 80.

A sufficient index to another motive to peruse this Memoir may be found in the following:

“It may, therefore, be useful to show that one whose heart was very much devoted to the work of the Lord, was, in every proper sense of the word, a true gentleman. Not indeed stiffly and formally polite, but abundant in all the kind and gentle attentions, which show a heart keenly alive to the comfort, even in minute particulars, of all around him.”—p. 5.

On some questions involved in the education of poor and pious young men for the ministry of reconciliation, a subject that soon or late must become identified in the hearts of Christians with the command to “go into all the world and preach the gospel,” there is a relevancy and force in some remarks contained in this volume, not a little remarkable. The reader will not begrudge his purchase money, when he shall have come to p. 26, where he will find an answer to the objection, “that poor young men are taken from the plough and the workshop, and introduced into a profession, which places them on a level with the

*best society*," and where the nature and design of education societies are examined with reference to the "spirit of our civil institutions."

The manner in which many miscellaneous questions in casuistry are also settled in this book, is no trifling reason why it should not only be read, but why it should be made a familiar companion and counsellor, in a great variety of the more common and unguarded circumstances of life. For example,

"At evening devotion, had a singular exercise. While singing, my soul thirsted for a blessing. The thought suddenly entered my mind; 'If you neglect your tea, you may obtain the blessing which you seek.' I inquired, whence is this? Is it from God, or from the devil? But I concluded, that the Lord's blessing came not by a purchase of mine, and therefore that he could as well bless me then as afterwards; and I determined to throw myself at his feet and ask his favour, and thus defeat the adversary who was ready to cheat me out of a blessing. My Father smiled upon me, the work of grace was deepened, and my soul fed on manna from above."

We close this imperfect notice of one of the most holy and unexceptionable books we ever read, with a single extract, designed, as it is singularly adapted, merely to set the edge of appetite for more in the same spirit, on the subject of *death*:

"In contemplating my latter end, the question arose, what inscription would you have on your tombstone? and in thought I answered,

"Here lies ———. A sinner, born again; a sinner, washed, and justified, and sanctified. A sinner, once an heir of hell, a child of the devil by wicked works; but *by grace* a child of God, and an heir of heaven, a miracle of grace, deserving all the miseries of the second death; and yet an expectant of endless glory and felicity. Farewell earth, welcome heaven. I am nothing; Jesus is *all*."

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*Archibald Alexander*

ART. IV.—*The Catechism of the Council of Trent. Published by command of Pope Pius the Fifth; translated into English, by the Rev. J. Donovan, Professor, &c. Royal College, Maynooth. First American, from the Dublin edition. Baltimore: published by James Myres, near the Cathedral, 1833. pp. 551.*

THE title would seem to import that the Catechism here brought into view, is the work of the Council of Trent; but we are in-

formed in the preface by the editor, that this is not the fact; but it has received this denomination from the circumstance, that the fathers of this synod made a decree, that such a work should be prepared, and appointed the persons who were judged fit to undertake it. A translation of this decree is prefixed to the volume now under review in the following words:

“That the faithful may approach the sacraments with greater reverence and devotion, the Holy Synod commands all bishops not only to explain in a manner accommodated to the capacity of the receivers, the nature and use of the sacraments, when they are to be administered by themselves; but also to see that every pastor piously and prudently do the same, in the vernacular language, should it be necessary and convenient. This exposition is to accord with a form prescribed by the Holy Synod for the administration of the sacraments, in a Catechism, *which bishops will take care to have faithfully translated into the vernacular language, and expounded to the people by all pastors.*”

The execution of this work, under the superintendence of the archbishop of Milan, was committed to four persons, three of whom were of the episcopal order. When completed it was presented to Pius the Fifth, and by him handed over for revision to a congregation, over which presided Cardinal Siret, who is here characterised as “profound and judicious.” The style, we are informed, was retouched by the learned Manutius; or, according to others, received its last improvement from the classic pen of Bogianus; and was speedily translated into the languages of Italy, France, Germany, and Poland. It is a book, undoubtedly, on which great pains were bestowed; and it has ever been in high esteem with the Romanists of every class. Whether the English translation here presented to the public has been faithfully made from the original, we have no opportunity of judging, as we have not been able to lay our hands upon the original work. The only circumstance which has excited a suspicion that some things have been omitted, is, that a citation which we have met with in a late author, cannot be found in this volume. This may, however, be a mere mistake; we mean not to bring any charge of unfaithfulness against the editor. Upon a careful perusal of this Catechism, candour constrains us to acknowledge, that it contains more evangelical truth than we had expected to find; but at the same time it contains the errors of Popery, exhibited without disguise. Our object, in this review, is not to travel over the whole ground of controversy, which would require volumes, instead of a few pages, but to confine our attention to a single point, namely, the doctrine of transubstantiation. On many other points, it is a matter of uncertainty,

or at least of disputation, what the Romanists really do hold; but here they avow their belief, and profess to hold all that their opponents have ever charged upon them. Here then the parties are fairly at issue; and as this doctrine is considered by them to be fundamental, and as this single error deeply affects their whole system, it will probably answer a better purpose to assault this strong-hold, than to run over the long list of errors which have been charged upon that degenerate church. If we should succeed in demolishing this single error, it would go far towards the subversion of their whole system. Our object is to treat this subject calmly and dispassionately, without having recourse to ridicule, sarcasm, or declamation; and much less to abusive epithets. We are of opinion, that the controversy with Roman Catholics, as with all other persons, should be conducted with a spirit of meekness and benevolence. Truth needs no poisoned weapons for her defence; truth deprecates such weapons, because they can be successfully wielded by the advocates of error. We feel ourselves bound, however, to strip this monstrous error bare, and to hold it up to the view of all reasonable and impartial men, as an absurdity, which never had among men a parallel. But while we shall endeavour to exhibit this incredible dogma in its true features of deformity, we will carefully avoid using any arguments or illustrations which appear to us fallacious or sophistical. What we principally fear is, that most of our readers will think that we use too many arguments, and dwell too long in the refutation of an opinion, which needs only to be distinctly proposed, to be rejected as an incredible thing. But let it be considered, that this error has struck its roots very deep, and is supported by all the influence of superstition, and by the authority of a power supposed to be infallible. We intend to make no appeal to those termed fathers; not because we believe that a fair construction of all that they have written would be unfavourable to our cause, but because we view them to be erring and fallible men like ourselves, to whose opinions we are under no obligation to submit. Our appeal is to reason and Scripture; and in the light of these, we hope to make it appear, that the doctrine of transubstantiation involves so many gross absurdities, that in order to believe it, a man must first take leave of his reason and common sense.

But let us hear from their own authorised formularies, what their doctrine is. In the Catechism now under review, we have the following explanation:

“The Eucharist becomes a sacrament by the sole consecration of the elements. In the material elements of which the other sacraments are composed, no change takes place; in baptism, for instance, the



water, in confirmation the chrism, lose not in their administration the nature of water and oil, but in the eucharist, that which before consecration was bread and wine, became after consecration really and substantially the body and blood of our Lord.”—p. 197.

Again,

“The Catholic Church firmly believes, and openly professes, that in this sacrament, the words of consecration accomplish three things; First, that the true and real body of Christ, the same that was born of the virgin, and is now seated at the right hand of the Father in heaven, is rendered present in the holy eucharist. Secondly, that however repugnant it may appear to the dictates of the senses, no substance of the elements remains in the sacrament. Thirdly, a natural consequence from the two preceding, and one which the words of consecration also express, that the accidents which present themselves to the eyes, or other senses, exist in a wonderful and ineffable manner, without a subject. The accidents of bread and wine we see, but they inhere in no substance, and exist independent of any. The substance of the bread and wine is so changed into the body and blood of our Lord, that they altogether cease to be the substance of bread and wine.”—p. 207.

The decree of the Council of Trent, on this subject, is in the following words:

“Since Christ our Redeemer has said, that that was truly his own body which he offered under the appearance of bread, it has therefore always been believed in the Church of God, and it is now again declared by this holy Council, that by the consecration of the bread and wine, there is effected a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of Christ our Lord, and the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood, which conversion is fitly termed by the holy Catholic Church, transubstantiation.”—*Con. Tred. Sess. xiii. c. iv.*

Again,

“If any one shall deny, that in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist, there are entertained truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ; or say, that he is in it only as a sign or figure or by his influence, let him be anathema.

“If any one shall say, that in the adorable sacrament of the eucharist, the substance of the bread and wine remains, together with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ [referring to the consubstantiation of the Lutherans] and shall deny the wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance of the bread into his body, and the whole substance of wine into his blood, the appearance only of bread and wine remaining, which conversion the Catholic Church most properly calls transubstantiation, let him be anathema.

“If any one shall deny that in the adorable sacrament of the eucharist, a separation being made, the whole Christ is contained in each element or species, in the separate parts of each element or species, let him be anathema.

“This conversion then is so effectuated, that the whole substance of the bread and wine is changed by the power of God, into the whole substance of the body of Christ, and the whole substance of the wine, into the whole substance of his blood, and this without any change in our Lord himself, he is neither begotten, nor changed, nor increased, but remains entirely, and substantially the same.”—*Cat. Con. Trent.* p. 215.

Again,

“Our Lord is not in the sacrament as in a place. The substance of bread is changed into the substance of Christ, not into magnitude or quality.” “As then the body of our Lord succeeds to the substance, the body of our Lord is contained whole and entire, under the least particle of the bread.”

“We have already proved, that the body and blood of our Lord are really and truly contained in the sacrament, therefore contrary to the physical laws, subsist of themselves, inhering in no subject.”

The doctrine of the Romanists by which the laity are restricted in the participation of the eucharist, to one kind, is also distinctly stated in the Catechism of the Council of Trent.

“The law of the Church restricts its administration under both kinds to any but the officiating priest, unless by special permission of the Church. Christ, it is true, as has been explained by the Council of Trent, instituted and administered to his apostles, at his last supper, this great sacrament under both kinds, but it does not follow of necessity that by doing so he established a law rendering its administration to the faithful under both kinds imperative.”

The reasons assigned for this departure from the example of our Saviour in the original institutions are, 1. That the Scriptures often speak of it under one kind. 2. This practice is necessary to avoid accident or indignity. 3. By this means it may always be in readiness for the sick. 4. There are many who cannot bear the taste or smell of wine. 5. In many places wine is extremely scarce. 6. Finally and chiefly, it was so ordered to crush the heresy, which denied that Christ, whole and entire, is contained under either species.

The doctrine of the sacrifice and adoration of the mass, is also explicitly declared.

“The difference between the eucharist as a sacrament and sacrifice, is very great; and is two-fold. As a sacrament, it is perfected by consecration; as a sacrifice, all its efficacy consists in the oblation. When

deposited in a tabernacle or borne to the sick, it is a sacrament, not a sacrifice. As a sacrament, it is to the worthy receiver a source of merit; as a sacrifice, it is not only a source of merit, but of satisfaction. It is never offered to any but God."—p. 231.

We have now seen what is the avowed doctrine of the Romanists, respecting the eucharist; in other cases they often complain, that their opinions are misrepresented by Protestant writers; but on this point, there is no such charge. They explicitly profess their belief in all that has ever been attributed to them. This is one reason why we have selected this particular dogma for the subject of our argument: there is here a fair issue formed, and there is no medium between the absolute truth and falsehood of the opinion which they hold. In the consecration of the bread and wine in the eucharist, these material substances are actually and really, by a stupendous miracle, converted into the flesh and blood of Christ; so that they are no longer bread and wine; although the sensible properties of bread and wine remain, yet these accidents exist without a subject: for what is eaten or drunk is truly the body of Christ, and the substance of the bread and wine no longer exists. This is the doctrine, concerning the meaning of which there is no dispute: nor concerning the name, for the Council of Trent has declared that it is "properly and fitly" called "transubstantiation."

We now beg the earnest and impartial attention of our readers to the following observations.

1. It cannot be denied, that there is something very extraordinary in the doctrine of the Romanists. There is nothing in the Bible which has the least analogy to it. In all other cases when miracles were wrought, the appeal was made to the senses of the people; but, here we are called upon to believe, that a miracle is wrought, when the testimony of the senses is in direct opposition to the fact. A piece of bread, made out of wheaten flour, lies upon the table. It is admitted, that it is what it appears to be, bread, and nothing else. But as soon as the priest pronounces the words "*hoc est meum corpus*"—*this is my body*, we are told, that the bread is changed, or transubstantiated, into the body of Christ: but after the pronounciation of these words, the substance on the table remains the same so far as our senses can judge. The appearance is the same to the sight; the weight is the same, if it be tried in a balance; all the chemical properties will be found the same upon analysis; the feeling is the same when handled; and the smell is the same. It is admitted, that there is no sensible change; no change of any kind, which we can discern. Now, we say, that there is nothing analogous to this in all the hundred of miracles recorded in the Bible. And before it is received as a fact, there

must be strong evidence, indeed, if any evidence can be sufficient, to produce a rational faith, in direct contradiction to the testimony of all the senses.

2. But, if there is such a change of the bread and wine into the flesh and blood of Christ, why are the properties of the bread and wine left to impose on our senses? What reason can be assigned why the evidence of the miracle, as in all other cases, is not made manifest? The only reason which we have ever heard assigned for this very extraordinary and unique case, is, that it serves to increase the mystery of the sacrament, and renders the faith which receives the truth, more mysterious. This, however, is an explanation which receives not the least countenance from Scripture. God never, in any other recorded case, dealt thus with his people; but where he works a miracle, he makes it evident to the senses of all who are his witnesses; and why is there a departure from this rule, here? If, on the third day after the crucifixion, the body of Christ had remained in the tomb, an apparently lifeless corpse, and the disciples had been informed, that notwithstanding this appearance of death, he was alive and had left the tomb, as he had predicted, it would be an analogous case. But if we were obliged to resort to such an invisible miracle; and not only invisible, but absolutely contradicted by the senses of all, what a triumph would have been afforded to the enemies of Christ! and what a theme for ridicule and triumph! If such had been the case in regard to the resurrection of Christ, his religion would never have survived a single year; yet it might be said, that the mystery would have been greater, and our faith more meritorious. It is a false principle, that God creates mysteries to astound his creatures with their incomprehensible nature, where there is no need of them. All the mysteries of revelation arise from the nature of the subject, or rather from the limited capacity of the human intellect. If a miracle is wrought, why should it not appear to be what it really is? If that bread is no longer bread but flesh, why does it not appear to be flesh? This change of substance, while the properties or accidents remain, has too much the appearance of deception. It is unworthy of the God of truth thus to deal with his creatures. He gave us our senses, and so formed us, that we cannot but credit their testimony; and to suppose, that he would place us in circumstances, in which we are required to believe that their information is false, is to subject his creatures to a dilemma, in which they must either act absurdly or wickedly. If we believe our own senses, we must be of opinion that that substance on the table is still bread; but according to the religion of Romanists, thus to believe is a damnable sin; for this which appears to be bread, is really the



flesh of Christ. And why, we ask again, are we subjected to this great difficulty? Why does not the element manifest its true nature, by its properties? Why does not the miracle appear evidently, as in all other cases? To these inquiries no satisfactory answer has been given, or can be given.

3. This is not all. The thing proposed to our faith, seems to be impossible. Different collections of material elements, forming bodies of various kinds, are distinguished from each other by their properties. Flesh has properties which make it flesh; and the same is true of bread. Now to assert that flesh has lost all the properties which constituted it flesh, and possesses all the properties which belong to bread, and yet remains flesh and not bread, is a contradiction. It is a thing impossible. It is the same as to say, it ceases to be flesh, and yet is flesh. It has all that which constitutes bread, and yet is not bread. The notion of properties subsisting without a subject, is repugnant to common sense, and involves a manifest contradiction. What is a property or accident? It is that which inheres in some subject, and by which it is what it is; but to talk of properties without a subject, is absolute nonsense. It is an absurdity which never could have gained footing, except in the dark ages, and under the influence of the false philosophy of the schoolmen. We know nothing of essence or substance but by its properties, and when we perceive them to exist, we are, from the constitution of our nature, obliged to believe, that the substance is what these properties manifest it to be. But here it will be asked, do you deny the power of the Almighty to uphold accidents where there is no subject? We answer, that God is not honoured by attributing to him absurdities and contradictions. Omnipotence can perform whatever is an object of power; but to cause the same thing to be and not to be, at the same time, is not a possible or conceivable thing; so, to create or uphold properties or accidents without a substance to which they belong, is impossible, because it involves a contradiction, as will appear whenever we attentively consider the import of the terms. For what is a property or accident? A property, as the word imports, is that which belongs to something; but if it belongs to nothing, it is no property; and the same is true of every other term by which qualities are expressed. The very idea of their self-existence without a subject, is contradictory. This block is extended, inert and divisible into parts: these are some of its properties, but can there be such properties created without a subject; or where the substance is changed, is it possible that the properties can remain unchanged? We feel mortified to be under the necessity of arguing such a plain matter of common sense; but our adversaries

are pertinacious in regard to this very point; for unless they can maintain themselves here, the whole fabric of transubstantiation must fall. We must be indulged, therefore, in some further illustrations. Matter and spirit are believed to be essentially distinct, because their invariable properties are not only distinct but incompatible. God could easily change one substance into another, and give to matter the properties of spirit; but to make no change in the properties of matter, and yet to make it spirit, is impossible, because it attributes to the same substance qualities manifestly incompatible. If this doctrine however be true, the substance of a stone might be changed into an intelligent mind, and yet the inertness, solidity, and extension of the stone remain as before. Here is a dark heavy piece of ore; now, as God can create worlds without any pre-existing material, so he could change this opaque body into a sun or star; but suppose the question to be, can God transubstantiate this substance into a bright luminous body, and without sensible weight, while it continued to possess all its former properties, of being opaque, heavy, &c.? Every man of common sense would say, it is impossible for this to be, because it involves a contradiction. But what if it were made an article of faith, that this lumpish stone was now changed into a brilliant star, although, to our senses, it still had all the properties of stone? Would not every man say, it is absurd to require us to believe in such a proposition? He would say, I am sure it is not so, for I see it to be the very same it was before you say the change in its substance took place. He takes it in his hand, and says, that which I thus handle cannot be a star; a star is a body of vast magnitude, but this is so small that I can grasp it in my hand; a star is a beautiful, luminous body, but this is a dark and unsightly lump of ore. To which, upon the principles of our opponents, it might be replied, you must not, in this case, trust your senses; God is able to change the substance of this stone into a star, and yet all the accidents of the stone may remain as before; and as his word declares that such a change has occurred, you must, on pain of damnation, believe the divine declaration. This is as precisely analogous to the case of transubstantiation, as any thing we can imagine. It would not be more unreasonable to insist, (nor half as much so) that the stone which you hold in your hand is a brilliant star of the first magnitude, as to believe, that the small wafer of bread which the priest puts in your mouth, is the whole body of Christ; and not merely his flesh and blood, but his "soul and divinity." It would be in vain to allege, that a small lump of matter could not be a star, because the properties of the stone might be said to remain, while the substance was changed; and

although to our senses it appeared to be nothing but a stone, yet under these sensible properties, there lay concealed the substance of a brilliant star. For thus they pertinaciously insist, that although this wafer has, after consecration, all the properties of bread, and this liquid in the chalice has all the sensible properties of wine, which it ever had; yet, by the exertion of divine power, a great miracle is wrought every time the eucharist is celebrated, and the bread and wine are converted into the flesh and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ. True, it is admitted, that we perceive nothing of flesh; but we must believe that our senses deceive us, and that that which, to our sight and taste and touch and smell, seems to be a thin cake of wheaten bread, is really the flesh and blood of the Son of God.

4. The very action which this doctrine of transubstantiation supposes to be performed by every believing communicant, is one which is shocking to all the unadulterated feelings of human nature. The idea of feasting on human flesh is so abhorrent to our nature, that most people think they would rather perish with hunger, than preserve life by such unnatural food. This natural abhorrence of devouring our own species, has for a long time rendered the world exceedingly incredulous about the existence of cannibalism. To the disgrace of our kind, the proof of the fact has become now too strong to admit of any further doubt; but still, when we read the narrative of the shocking feasts of the New Zealanders, it thrills us with horror, and our blood seems to be curdled in our veins. Now, to suppose that God would ordain, that the flesh and blood assumed by his own eternal Son, should be eaten and drunk daily, and that too as a part of our most solemn worship, is a thing so incredible in itself, that we doubt whether any evidence that can be conceived is sufficient to render it so probable, that in opposition to this strong instinctive or natural aversion, we should receive it as a truth, and as an essential part of the service which God requires. It is true, our Lord spoke familiarly to the Jews about eating his flesh and drinking his blood, and declared such a manducation of his body as essential to eternal life; but he could not have been here speaking of the eucharist, of which sacrament no intimation had yet been given. And surely Christ could not have discoursed to the Jews about an ordinance of which they could not have had the least idea. His words did, however, contain a prediction of the violent death which he knew he should die, and by which his body would be broken, and his blood poured out. As the Jews called for a sign from heaven, and referred to the bread which their fathers received in the wilderness, Christ took occasion to let them know, that the manna, concerning

which they spoke, was a lively type of himself; that he was the true bread which came down from heaven; and to teach the necessity of faith in himself, he insists on the necessity of eating his flesh and drinking his blood, in order to eternal life. As the manna kept the people alive only by being eaten, so a participation, by faith, of his atonement, was necessary to the salvation of men. Often Christ discoursed to the Jews, who were malignantly watching him, in a highly figurative manner; sometimes, that he might lead them on to a conclusion by which they condemned themselves; and at other times in just judgment for their perverseness, "that hearing they might hear and not understand, and seeing they might see and not perceive." The Jews had no idea of what Christ meant by eating his flesh and drinking his blood; and some of them understood his words literally; but they were not agreed in their interpretation of them, for it is written, "The Jews therefore strove among themselves saying, how can this man give us his flesh to eat?" Our Lord, knowing their true character, gave them no further explanation, but extended his former declaration, "Verily verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day." When, however, he perceived that they were offended with what he had said, as entertaining some gross and carnal idea of his doctrine, to leave them without excuse, he intimated to them with sufficient plainness, that his language was not to be interpreted according to the literal meaning. "It is," said he, "the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life." Now after this lucid exposition of the general import of this discourse, for any now to insist upon a literal interpretation, of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of man, is to be more blind than the unbelieving Jews; for it is not probable, that any of them were so stupid as to suppose, that Christ meant nothing more by these expressions than an actual manducation of his flesh and blood; for they knew the law well enough to understand, that all drinking of blood was forbidden, and the reason of the prohibition would apply to human blood with tenfold force. It would be just as reasonable to suppose, that because Christ calls himself a shepherd, and speaks of his sheep of different folds, that he actually was engaged in tending a flock of sheep; yea, that he promised to sheep literally, a kingdom. Or, that he was really a door, or a vine; or that the Holy Spirit, whom he promised to believers, was "a well of water." There would be more excuse for having recourse to these words, to prove the



fact that Christ's body must be eaten and his blood drunk, if he had not precluded every gloss of the kind, by asserting that "the flesh profiteth nothing." As much as to say, if you could literally become partakers of my flesh, that could not profit you; and again, "The words I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." What can this mean, but this, that his words were to be interpreted spiritually; and that under the figure of eating his flesh and blood, he had represented spiritual blessings, connected with eternal life, which would be procured by his death and sufferings, and be made to nourish unto eternal life all who would believe in his name.

5. "The flesh profiteth nothing." There is much in these words deserving our attention; and which has a direct bearing on this subject. The eating of any flesh can have no effect to invigorate the spiritual life of the soul. Christ's body, although perfectly free from all the defilements of sin, consisted of particles of matter, otherwise it would not have been a body; and his body was derived from his mother by the power of the Holy Ghost, by whose operation it was produced, otherwise it would not have been a human body. Some heretics of old, and some enthusiasts of modern times, imagined that Christ did not receive his body from his mother, but that the matter of which it consisted was celestial, and passed through the womb of Mary, as water through a tube; but all such opinions have ever been rejected by every branch of the Catholic Church, and by the Romanists as well as others. Now, the body of Christ being material, his flesh formed and configured, like the flesh of other human bodies; and his blood also material, and of the same qualities as the blood of other men, except that his whole body was uncontaminated with the stain of original or actual sin; it plainly follows, that however the flesh of such a body might, upon the principles of nutrition, invigorate or sustain the life of the body, it could not possibly, by being carnally eaten, promote the health and purity of the immortal soul. If a man should eat nothing else but the flesh of Christ, and drink nothing else but his blood all his life, it would never improve the moral qualities of the immortal soul. The argument which our Lord uses so forcibly, to prove that that which enters into a man's stomach cannot defile his soul, is founded on the same principle as the one which we are now using. Material causes cannot directly affect the mind, either to purify or defile it. We cannot see, therefore, that the mere eating of the flesh of Christ's body, and drinking his material blood, could in itself, *ex opere operati*, have any more effect to produce or increase spiritual life, than the flesh and blood of any other person. We do not deny, however, that

God can institute a connexion between external acts and the communication of his grace: and if he had made eating Christ's flesh a means of grace, or the channel through which he communicated spiritual life, this act would stand precisely on the same footing with other ordinances; the efficacy of which depends, not on the act performed, but on the blessing of God, which can give efficacy to that which has none in itself. But is it probable, is it credible, that God would ever institute such an ordinance as this, by which we are bound, on pain of the loss of salvation, to devour the flesh of the Son of God?

6. Another view of this subject, connected with what has been said, is, if the bread is converted into the flesh of Christ, and is eaten, and enters through the œsophagus into the stomach, and is there subjected to the process of digestion, it is a matter of real and serious difficulty to know what becomes of it. By a miracle it may immediately be carried away, before the process of digestion commences; but then it may be asked, what good is effected by eating it? Or it may be digested like other food, and assimilated into the body of the participant; but then the body of every believing communicant would contain as a constituent part of itself the whole body and blood; yea, the soul and divinity of the Son of God. This would be incorporating Christ with his disciples, not by a spiritual and mystical union, but by a gross corporal and physical union. The remaining alternative, which is, that the body of Christ received into the stomach, turns with other parts of unassimilated food to corruption, presents an idea so gross, and indeed blasphemous, that we are sure no one would ever think of entertaining it. Now, it may be said in reply, that this is curiously to pry into mysteries which are inscrutable, and that all observations of the kind here made are impious. If so, the whole blame must rest on the doctrine of transubstantiation; for this alone lays the foundation of such remarks. The consequence is inevitable and undeniable, that if the real fleshly body of Christ is taken into the stomach by eating, it must be disposed of in some way. Let the Romanist tell us how—or we will give him a choice of every conceivable hypothesis. Is there any thing profane in drawing from an asserted fact, consequences so palpable? We say again, if there is, the fault is not in the inference, but in the principle from which it is derived.

We are aware that the advocate of transubstantiation will answer to all these reasonings, that the doctrine is explicitly taught in the Gospel, and what God has said must be true, however much it may be opposed to our sense and reason. It is, however, a reasonable inquiry, whether the ground assumed for the proof of transubstantiation does not go far to destroy all external

evidence of divine revelation. This view of the subject is so forcibly given by archbishop Tillotson, in his admirable sermon "on Transubstantiation," that we will cite a few paragraphs, on this point.

1. "I shall only ask," says the venerable prelate, "whether any man has, or ever had, greater evidence of the truth of any divine revelation, than every man hath of the falsehood of transubstantiation? Infidelity were hardly possible to men, if all men had the same evidence for the Christian religion which they have against transubstantiation; that is, the clear and irresistible evidence of sense. He that can once be brought to contradict or deny his senses, is at an end of certainty; for what can a man be certain of, if he be not certain of what he sees? In some circumstances our senses may deceive us, but no faculty deceives us so little, and so seldom; and when our senses do deceive us, even that error is not to be corrected without the help of our senses.

2. "Supposing this doctrine had been delivered in Scripture in the very same words that it is decreed in the Council of Trent, by what clearer evidence, or stronger argument, could any man prove to me that such words were in the Bible, than I can prove to him, that bread and wine are bread and wine still? He could but appeal to my eyes, to prove such words to be in the Bible; and, with the same reason and justice, might I appeal to several of his senses to prove to him, that the bread and wine after consecration, are bread and wine still.

3. "Whether it be reasonable to imagine, that God should make that a part of the Christian religion, which shakes the main external evidence and confirmation of the whole? I mean the miracles which were wrought by our Saviour, and his apostles, the assurance whereof did at the first depend on the certainty of sense. For, if the senses of those who say they saw them, were deceived, then there might be no miracles wrought; and, consequently, it may justly be doubted whether that kind of confirmation which God hath given to the Christian religion would be strong enough to prove it, supposing transubstantiation to be a part of it; because every man hath as great evidence that transubstantiation is false, as he hath that the Christian religion is true. Suppose then, transubstantiation to be a part of the Christian religion, it must have the same confirmation with the whole, and that is miracles; but of all doctrines in the world, *it* is peculiarly incapable of being proved by a miracle. For if a miracle were wrought for the proof of it, the very same assurance that any man hath of the truth of the miracle, he hath of the falsehood of the doctrine; that is, the clear evidences of his

senses. For that there is a miracle wrought to prove that what he sees in the sacrament, *is not bread, but the body of Christ*, there is only the evidence of sense; and there is the very same evidence to prove, that what he sees in the sacrament *is not the body of Christ, but bread*. So that there would arise a new controversy, whether a man should rather believe in his senses giving testimony against the doctrine of transubstantiation, or bearing witness to a miracle wrought to confirm that doctrine, there being the very same evidence against the truth of the doctrine, which there is for the truth of the miracle."

But let us come now to the examination of the scriptural evidence, on which this doctrine is supposed to be founded; and it is all included in one short sentence; the words of Christ, where he says, "*this is my body*." Other texts, indeed, are brought in as auxiliaries, but the stress is laid upon this simple declaration. If this can be set aside, all the others will fall of course. Now, let it be well observed, that our Lord says not a word about the transubstantiation of the bread. He never intimates that he was about to work a stupendous miracle, by changing the bread into his own body; of which we might have expected that he would have given some more explicit information. But having taken the Jewish passover, with his disciples, after this supper was ended, he took in his hand a piece of the unleavened cake or loaf, which was used on this occasion, and said, "this," that is, this bread, "is my body;" and having broken it and blessed it, he gave it to his disciples and said, "take eat, this is my body; and he took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to them and said, drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." By Luke it is added after the words, 'this is my body,' "which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, this cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you." The account of this transaction as revealed to Paul, and by him delivered to the Corinthian church, accords fully with the narrative of the evangelists, "That the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, this is my body, which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup when he had supped, saying, this cup is the New Testament in my blood; this do ye as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me." It is undeniable, from all these accounts, that Christ does call the bread his body, and the wine his blood; the only question is, in what sense are these words to be understood, literally or figuratively? Did the Lord Jesus intend that his disciples should believe, that the



piece of bread contained literally his own flesh and blood? It is admitted, that when he took it up, it was nothing else but bread, but it is alleged, that at the instant when he said, "this is my body," the substance was changed, and it was no longer bread, but the flesh of our Lord. Now, the mode of speaking by no means corresponds with this idea. "This is my body" does not convey the meaning, that now I change, or transubstantiate this bread into my body. But passing this, we would remark, that if the bread was thus converted into the body of Christ; and if, as the Catechism teaches, the whole body and blood was contained in this one piece of bread, then there existed at one and the same time two complete bodies of Christ; the one the visible living body, for no one will pretend that this did not continue still to be the body of Christ after the consecration. Here then is mystery upon mystery; one Christ stands, or sits, with a complete living body at the table, and holds in his hand another complete body of Christ; and when the wine was changed also, as each of the species contains the whole body complete, there must have been three complete bodies of Christ, two of which were eaten by the disciples, but the living visible body was not eaten; and if Christ partook of the elements which he distributed, as seems to be reasonable to suppose, then he ate his own body and drank his own blood. We resolved, on entering on this subject, to avoid all ridicule; and yet we are apprehensive that the bare statement of these things presents a case so truly ludicrous, that we shall be accused of resorting to this unsuitable weapon. We must, however, for the sake of truth, exhibit the doctrine of transubstantiation with all its legitimate absurdities. If some of these are monstrous or ludicrous, it is not our fault; the blame lies with the doctrine itself, as was before said.

But if these words, "this is my body," must be taken literally to signify the flesh of Christ, surely, all the other expressions in the same passage, and in relation to the same sacrament, must be interpreted in the same way. Then, when Christ says "this cup," or chalice, as they prefer to call it, "is the New Testament," or New Covenant, "in my blood," we should understand that the vessel in his hand, which contained the wine, was "a testament," or covenant. This, however, is so manifestly absurd, that all will be ready to say, that he meant the wine in the cup, and not the vessel; but even here we have an expression, which cannot be taken literally; the wine before or after consecration, can no more be a testament or covenant, than the chalice can be such. Our only reason for bringing forward these absurd interpretations, is to show to what consequences the prin-

ciple of interpretation which Romanists wish to establish, will lead, even in the explication of the same passage. But this is not the whole, nor the chief objection to this interpretation. Our Lord says, "this is my body which is broken for you—this is my blood which is shed for you." Now, if the word "body," must mean Christ's real flesh, then it must be admitted that the word "broken" must also be so taken; and it will follow, that Christ's body was already crucified, and his blood poured out for the remission of sins. In fact, therefore, his body was broken and slain before he was fastened to the cross. As the eucharist is a real sacrifice, and there could be no sacrifice without the death of the victim, it is clear that Christ must have been put to death at this time; and his words, taken literally, express this fact; for he says, "this is my body which is broken for you—this is my blood which is shed for you." But he was still alive, and his visible and animated body was not broken, and his blood was not yet shed; therefore his body was at the same time dead and alive, or rather, that body now produced from the bread was a dead and broken body; while the former body was alive and sound. But perhaps this idea of a plurality of bodies will be rejected, as no legitimate consequence from the doctrine of transubstantiation; and it will be alleged, that when the bread and wine are converted into the body and blood of Christ, they are not formed into a separate body, but changed into the same identical body, which before existed, and was born of the Virgin Mary. We are perfectly willing, so far as our argument is concerned, that this should be considered the hypothesis of the advocates of this doctrine. Let it be remembered, then, that at the moment when the change took place in the bread and wine, the body of Christ existed, complete in all its parts; then if these elements were transmuted into the already existing body, it must have been by substitution or addition, that is, the former body must have been removed or annihilated, and this new body, recently formed, must have assumed its place; or the former body continuing to exist without change, the new body must have been added to it. The idea of the annihilation or removal of the body before existing, will be admitted by none; therefore, the alternative must be adopted. The bread and wine, then, when transubstantiated, passed into the living body of Christ and became identified with it. To his body received at his incarnation, then, there was now added another recently formed of the bread and wine in the sacrament. But if his original body was perfect in all its parts, where was there room for such an addition; or what conceivable benefit could arise from such an increase? When this change took place, either the weight of

Christ's body, and the quantity of his blood was increased, or it was not. If the former, what special purpose could such an enlargement answer? It could certainly add nothing to the efficacy of his sacrifice; but if the body of Christ was not increased in bulk or weight by this change, how can it be supposed, that any addition of a corporeal kind was made to it? There is here another difficulty. The disciples ate the bread which had just been converted into the body of Christ; but if it had immediately become a constituent part of Christ's living body, how could they eat it? Did they eat the living flesh of Christ's body, and drink the warm blood which was then flowing through his arteries and veins? But this is not all; it is asserted in the Catechism now under review, that the body of Christ, of which believers partake in the eucharist, is "the same that was born of the Virgin." Now to us this appears to be a palpable absurdity, a contradiction as clear as can be expressed in words. It is to assert, that that which was not a fact is made to be a fact; that a substance which was entirely distinct and separate from the Virgin Mary, was that very body which was born of her. The bread and wine before consecration, no one will pretend, was the body of Mary; when the substance of the bread and wine is changed into the body and blood of Christ, that act of power by which it is changed, cannot possibly make this to be the identical body born of the Virgin. It would be just as reasonable to assert, that God, by an act of omnipotence, could make the child just born to be Adam the first of men. Such suppositions are a disgrace to rational beings; the tendency of them is to obscure and unsettle all our firmest and clearest perceptions of truth. According to this philosophy, God might cause that which does exist, never to have existed; and the being which may be brought into existence hereafter, to have had an existence from the beginning of the world. It is only necessary to state such monstrous absurdities; their falsehood cannot be rendered more evident by reasoning; for there is nothing with which we can compare them, which could render their falsehood more manifest. To make a substance which, it is acknowledged, formed no part of the body born of the Virgin Mary, to be that identical body, is certainly one of the greatest absurdities of the doctrine of transubstantiation, so fruitful of absurdities; and it is not an inference of ours, but is explicitly avowed in this authorized formulary.

Having exhibited some of the difficulties and absurdities of the doctrine of transubstantiation, by considering the circumstances which attended the first institution of the sacrament, these will not be diminished by extending our views to the celebration of

the eucharist by the priests of the Romish church. Here we find the doctrine of the mass, with all the superstitions and idolatries which accompany it.

The doctrine of the Catechism of the Council of Trent, as it is called, not only asserts that the body of Christ in the eucharist is the same as that which was born of the Virgin, but the same as that now glorified in heaven. The apostle Paul, indeed, declares, that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven." Christ's body, before entering into heaven, underwent a glorious transformation, to fit it for the heavenly state. There it appears now resplendent with ineffable glory. It is no longer a body of gross particles of flesh and blood for such a body, though suited to his condition and work upon earth, would be entirely incongruous with the heavenly state. Now that celestial and glorious body is complete, and can neither receive any addition or diminution. Although, then, bread and wine may by omnipotence be changed into flesh and blood, and this flesh and blood may be received into the mouths and stomachs of communicants; yet it cannot be that this flesh and blood should be the identical body of Christ, which is now enthroned in glory. It cannot be, that that heavenly body should be eaten every time the eucharist is celebrated. The idea is so shocking, as well as absurd, that we know not how it could ever have been received by any man in his senses. If the merit of faith rises in proportion to the difficulty and impossibility of the thing to be believed, then is there nothing more meritorious than the faith of Roman Catholics, on this point. A hundred thousand priests, throughout the world, often celebrate the eucharist at the same hour. In every one of these instances, if the priest only have a right intention, the body of Christ, even his body now glorified in heaven, is produced by the repetition of the form of consecration, "this is my body." Now how this glorified body of the Saviour can be present in a hundred thousand different places, at one and the same time, and yet remain complete and un mutilated on the throne of glory, in heaven, is a thing not easy to be believed. The Lutherans, who adopted the opinion that there was no change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, yet maintained that the real body and blood of Christ were present with these elements, and were received by every communicant, whether in the exercise of faith or not. And when urged in controversy with the reformed, with the consequence, that this rendered it necessary that the body of Christ should exist every where, they admitted the inference, and held the ubiquity of Christ's body; but this was to attribute to a finite and created nature, one of the attributes of Deity; therefore, they adopted the absurd opinion, that in consequence



of the hypostatical union, divine attributes were actually communicated to the human nature of Christ. But another stubborn difficulty attended this hypothesis. It is the property of all bodies to exclude all other bodies from the space which they occupy; hence, if ubiquity be ascribed to Christ's body, it will exclude all other bodies from the universe. There was no method of obviating this objection, but by giving a new definition of a body; and here was opened a field for abstruse speculation which occupied the learning and labours of men of the first order of intellect. And when they had completed their theory, it was impossible to say what was essential to body; or in what respect they who held a bodily presence of Christ, differed from those who maintained that he was really but spiritually present.

How far the Lutherans still adhere to the old doctrine, we cannot certainly say, but we are inclined to believe, that the doctrine of consubstantiation or *impanation*, as some of their theologians choose to express it, is not at present held with a very firm grasp by the existing Lutheran church; and yet they will not be forward to renounce a dogma, to which Luther clung with invincible pertinacity, and which was originally the only point of distinction between the followers of the German and Swiss reformer. The doctrine of the ubiquity, or omnipresence of Christ's body seems to follow as certainly from the Roman Catholic as the Lutheran doctrine; but as far as we know, this consequence has never been admitted by Popish writers: they have even impugned with severity the absurd doctrine of ubiquity. They resort to another principle of explanation, which is, that Christ, by his divine power, can render his body present whenever, and wherever, the eucharist is celebrated; but while they shun one absurdity, they fall into another, fully as incredible. For though they do not believe in the omnipresence of the body of Christ, yet they are forced to admit, that it may exist in many different and distant places at one and the same time. It exists in heaven and upon earth, at once and in as many places on earth as the mass is celebrated. It becomes necessary, therefore, for them as well as the Lutherans, to resort to subtle and abstruse definitions and distinctions, in regard to matter and space, to free their doctrine from absurdity: and just so far as they succeed in clearing away the difficulties from the subject, it is by removing the idea of the palpable presence of solid resisting matter, and giving such views, as render it difficult to understand what they mean by bodily presence; or to see how it differs from the real, spiritual presence maintained by Calvin and his followers.

The doctrine of transubstantiation, absurd as it is, is not in it-

self so dangerous and impious, as the sacrifice of the mass, which naturally comes out of it. The inference is fairly deduced that if the bread and wine, after consecration, be the real body and blood of Christ; and if his soul and divinity, as they teach, be also present in these elements, then are they proper objects of worship. Accordingly, they are elevated in imitation of Christ's being lifted up on the cross, and they are carried in procession that all the people may worship them. But if this be the real body of Christ, broken for us, then as often as it is created, it may be offered as an expiatory sacrifice to God, for the living and the dead; and as this oblation of Christ is the most important part of the whole transaction, it is often repeated when there is no participation of the consecrated elements by the people; and thus private masses are encouraged and performed, especially for the relief of those who are supposed to be suffering the pains of purgatory.

That we may exhibit fairly this doctrine of the mass, we will give some account of it from works of acknowledged authority among the Romanists. Dr. Challoner, in his *Catholic Christian Instructed*, p. 74, c. vi. asks,

“What do you mean by the mass?” and among other things, answers, “The mass consists in the consecration of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and the offering up of the same body and blood to God, by the ministry of the priests, for a perpetual memorial of Christ's sacrifice upon the cross, and a continuation of the same to the end of the world.

“Is the mass properly a sacrifice? Yes it is.

“What do you mean by a sacrifice? A sacrifice, properly so called, is an oblation or offering of some sensible thing, made to God by a lawful minister.

“How then is the mass a sacrifice? Because it is an oblation of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, offered, under the outward and sensible signs of bread and wine, to God, by the ministry of the priests of the church, lawfully consecrated and empowered by Christ; and this oblation is accompanied with a real change and destruction of the bread and wine, by the conversion of them into the body and blood of Christ, &c.

“Is the sacrifice of the cross and that of the eucharist the same sacrifice, or two distinct sacrifices?

“It is the same sacrifice; because the victim is the self same Jesus Christ; it was He that offered himself upon the cross; it is He that offers himself upon the altar. The only difference is in the manner of the offering; because, in the sacrifice of the cross, Christ really died, and therefore that was a bloody sacrifice; in the sacrifice of the altar, he only dies mystically, inasmuch as his death is represented in the consecrating apart the bread and wine, to denote the shedding of his sacred blood, from his body, at the time of his death.”

Now this whole doctrine of the mass is without the slightest evidence from the New Testament. There is, in fact, under this dispensation no other priest but Christ; no other is ever mentioned; and the ministers, teachers, and governors of the Church are not invested with any sacerdotal office.

This notion of a repeated oblation of the body and blood of Christ, is not only unauthorized by Scripture, but is in direct violation of what Paul testifies in the epistle to the Hebrews, "For by *one offering* he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified." "Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high-priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others; for then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world; but now *once* in the end of the world, hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." "Who needeth not daily, as those high priests to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people's; for this he did *once*, when he offered up himself." "So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many." "By the which will we are sanctified, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ, *once for all.*"

Now what Dr. Challoner says, in answer to the arguments of such texts, is nothing to the purpose. He alleges that Christ's offering on the cross is not injured by his prayers and intercessions continually offered up; which is true, but wide of the mark. It furnishes no proof that there was need for his body and blood to be offered up often. Again, he says, "Though the price of our redemption was to be paid but once, yet the fruit of it was to be daily applied to our souls, by those means of grace which Christ has left in his Church, that is, by his sacraments and sacrifice." All this is very correct, except the last word, which stands directly opposed to all Paul's declarations, that the offering of Christ was made but once. The application of the merits of Christ's sacrifice does not require that it should be continually renewed. This renders his sacrifice on the cross insufficient, like the sacrifice of the priests, under the Levitical law; for if the one sacrifice was complete and satisfactory, why repeat the oblation continually? He speaks of this, as an "unbloody sacrifice;" but how is it unbloody, when the real blood of Christ is on the altar, as much as it was on the cross? This doctrine of the mass is, therefore, unscriptural, and highly derogatory to the one sacrifice of Christ; besides which the Scriptures of the New Testament acknowledge no other; for if other expiatory oblations are requisite, call them bloody or unbloody, then was this offering of Christ imperfect. All that this author says in favour of such a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ, is irrelevant; and, if admitted, does not prove the truth of the doctrine which he maintains.

The doctrine of the mass, as laid down in the Catechism under review, is,

“That the holy sacrifice of the mass, is not only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or a commemoration of the sacrifice of the cross; but also a sacrifice of propitiation, by which God is appeased and rendered propitious.” “If, therefore, with pure hearts and a lively faith, and with a sincere sorrow for past transgressions, we offer in sacrifice this most holy victim, we shall, no doubt, receive from the Lord, ‘mercy and grace’ in seasonable aid. So acceptable to God is the sweet odour of this sacrifice, that through its oblation he pardons our sins, bestowing on us the gifts of grace and repentance.” “Its benefits extend not only to the communicant, but also to all the faithful, whether living or numbered among those who have died in the Lord.”

Transubstantiation is not merely chargeable with bringing Christianity into disgrace by its palpable absurdities, but has given rise to gross idolatry. No sooner has the officiating priest pronounced the words of consecration over the bread, than it becomes, as the body of Christ, an object of worship, just as truly as if Christ should descend from heaven and appear before us in all the glory of his exaltation. But here we are met by a perplexing difficulty, which no ingenuity can resolve. It is admitted that no change takes place in the bread unless the priest consecrates with a right intention, and unless he is a regularly ordained minister. Before the people worship the host, as it is called, there should be some method of ascertaining whether indeed the bread had been actually converted into the body and blood of Christ; for if, on either of the accounts mentioned, that transubstantiation should not have taken place, they are offering their supreme worship to a piece of bread. As we cannot know the hearts of priests, and as we cannot tell whether there may not have been some canonical defect in their succession or ordination, we never, in any case, can be sure that we are not guilty of idolatry. Nothing can be learned from an examination of the elements; for these remain the same, so far as our senses can judge, whether the miraculous conversion takes place or not. The wafer, as soon as consecrated, becomes a proper object of worship; and, as has been before mentioned, is carried about with much pomp and ceremony, elevated on high, that all the people may get a sight of it, and join in the worship; and, in countries completely under Popish dominion, all are forced to kneel down in token of adoration, as the pageant passes.

Moreover, the consecrated wafer, whether used or not, is the real body of Christ, and may be laid up in a pyxis or box, to be adored, or to be eaten, as the case may be. Now suppose it be-



comes mouldy, or should be devoured by mice, or worms, what are we to think? Or suppose before consecration arsenic should accidentally, or by design, be mixed with the flour of which the bread is made, and should be consecrated as a constituent part of the bread, does that also become a part of the body of our Lord? Or would this bread, after being changed into the flesh and blood of the Lord Jesus, affect the health of the communicant? If it be said, that the accidents or sensible qualities do not belong to the body of Christ, then is there no use in eating the bread or drinking the wine; for in the process of manducation or digestion, nothing else but these accidents or sensible qualities come at all in contact with the body. We cannot feel, or taste, or chew, or swallow, that which has no solidity, no taste, no material quality whatever. If then these sensible properties are not the properties of the body of Christ, then the communicant cannot be said to eat his flesh and drink his blood; for that which he sees is no visible part of the body of Christ, that which he feels is no palpable part of that body; so, likewise, that which he tastes and smells is not Christ's body; for these sensible qualities exist without any subject. But as eating and drinking are corporeal acts, they can only be exercised on that which has material qualities; that is, the food which is eaten must have some solidity or extension, for if these accidents are taken away from a substance, it can no more be eaten than an immaterial spirit can be eaten. Upon the admitted theory of the Roman Catholic, Christ's body, after all, is not eaten; but only those properties which, though real, have no subsistence. In fact, the partaker of the eucharist, according to the hypothesis of Romanists, cannot be said to eat the bread or the body of Christ; for he cannot properly be said to eat mere accidents or qualities, without a substance; nor is it possible to conceive that a body which has no material qualities can be eaten.

Mr. M'Gavin in his "Protestant," tells a pleasant, and not inappropriate story.

"A Protestant lady entered the matrimonial state with a Roman Catholic gentleman, on condition he should never use any attempts to induce her to embrace his religion. He employed the Romish priest, however, who often visited the family, to use his influence to instil his notions into her mind; but she remained unmoved, particularly on the doctrine of transubstantiation. At length the husband fell ill, and during his affliction was recommended by the priest to receive the holy sacrament. The wife was requested to prepare the bread and wine for the solemnity; she did so, and on presenting them to the priest, said, 'This, sir, you wish me to understand, will be changed into the

real body and blood of Christ, after you have consecrated them.' 'Most certainly,' he replied. 'Then sir,' she rejoined, 'it will not be possible for them to do any harm to the worthy partakers; for, says our Lord, 'my flesh is meat indeed and my blood is drink indeed,' and, 'he that eateth me shall live by me.' 'Assuredly,' answered the priest, 'they can do no harm to the worthy receivers, but must communicate good.' The ceremony was proceeded in, and the bread and wine were consecrated; the priest was about to take and eat the bread; but the lady begged pardon for interrupting him and said, 'I mixed a little arsenic with the bread, sir, but as it is now changed into the real body of Christ, it cannot of course do *you* any harm.' The faith of the priest was not strong enough to induce him to eat it. Confused, ashamed, and irritated, he left the house, and never more ventured to enforce on the lady the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation.' Whether this anecdote be literally true," says Mr. M'Gavin, "is of little importance to the argument. It may be said very fairly to put any Papist to the test as to his belief of transubstantiation. If the priest's pronouncing the words of consecration should have the power of expelling the arsenic, as well as the flour and water, from the consecrated wafer, I will acknowledge a miracle."

We presume that the advocates of transubstantiation would say, in reply to the above, that notwithstanding that the substance of the bread is changed into the real body of Christ, the accidents or sensible properties remain precisely what they were before consecration; and, therefore, the wafer not only retains the appearance, smell, and taste of bread, but also the nourishing qualities of wheaten bread; and so of the wine; no one, we presume, would pretend that a large quantity of strong wine, after consecration, would not intoxicate. Its being mixen with water, is doubtless intended to guard against any effect of this kind. And so they would admit, we suppose, that arsenic in the wafer would retain its poisonous quality; and, therefore, if a priest, or any other communicant, should be actually deprived of life by such a wafer, it would not prove that the *substance* is not converted into the body of Christ. We do not know how else this case could be disposed of. But still the explanation does not remove the difficulty. We would like to see a logical answer to the following plain syllogism:

That which has no substance cannot injure any one;  
 But the transubstantiated bread has no substance as bread,  
 Therefore, the bread when consecrated, though filled with arsenic, can  
 not hurt any one.

Or the following,

Mere accidents or properties which have no substance, cannot operate efficiently on the body,  
But the sensible qualities of the bread, after consecration, exist without any subject. *Ergo.*

Now the only possible escape from this conclusion, must be by denying that these accidents of bread and wine can affect the body, which they will not assert; or that that which has no existence as a body, can, nevertheless, operate as a body, and produce effects on the body to nourish, to intoxicate, or to pain. Let the Romanist extricate himself if he can from this dilemma. To us it appears impossible. And this comes of holding that accidents may exist without a subject.

Now, after an impartial view of all the difficulties and absurdities which cluster round this strange doctrine, we cannot but wonder that multitudes should be found to hold to it, or think that they believe it; for we are fully persuaded, that in most cases the true nature of the proposition to be believed is not brought distinctly before the mind. The imagination, under the influence of superstitious dread, overpowers the dictates of reason, and, indeed, all nice scrutiny into the subject is discouraged and forbidden; and even the priests are cautioned against attempts at explanation. The language of the Catechism under review, is, "to explain this mystery in a proper manner is extremely difficult. On the manner of this admirable conversion, the pastor, however, will endeavour to instruct those who are more advanced in the knowledge and contemplation of divine things: those who are yet weak may, it were to be apprehended, be overwhelmed by its greatness. This conversion is so effectuated, that the whole substance of the bread and wine is changed by the power of God, into the whole substance of the body of Christ, and this without any change in our Lord himself." No wonder that apprehensions should be entertained that such a doctrine might overwhelm the mind of the novice. Bread and wine are changed into the real body of Christ, and yet his body undergoes no change whatever! Again. "But according to the admonition so frequently repeated by the Holy Fathers, the faithful are to be admonished against the danger of gratifying a prurient curiosity, by searching into the manner in which this change is effected. It mocks the power of conception, nor can we find any example of it in natural transmutations, nor even in the wide range of creation. The change itself is the object, not of our comprehension, but of our humble faith; and the manner of the change forbids the temerity of a too curious inquiry. The same salutary caution should be observed by the pastor, with regard to the mysterious manner in which the body of our Lord is contained whole and

entire under every particle of the bread. Such inscrutable mysteries should scarcely ever become matter of disquisition." (p. 215. 216.) No wonder that they discourage all disquisition on such a subject. The last sentence quoted sets all reason and common sense at defiance. Suppose a loaf of bread to be consecrated; and we know that such a loaf is capable of a continued division until the parts become too small for the cognizance of our senses, and too numerous for arithmetical notation, then what is it that the Romanist believes? That every one of these particles is the whole body of Jesus Christ! On the absurdity of thus multiplying the body of Christ, we have remarked before; we now bring up the subject to show the folly of insisting on a literal interpretation of the words of Christ, when every difficulty is avoided, by interpreting them figuratively; for which we have hundreds of analogous cases in the Holy Scriptures, which abound in bold and striking figures, which, if they should all be taken literally, would turn the Bible into a jargon of nonsense; and we have shown that, in this very passage, we are forced to adopt this mode of interpretation.

And after all, what is the benefit expected from this doctrine? Material flesh and blood cannot affect the soul; but truly, according to the hypothesis of the Romanists, it is only the essence or hidden substance of Christ's body which is present; the gross sensible qualities of flesh and blood are not there; now in what respect does such a presence of the body differ from a spiritual presence; and such an eating of the body from a spiritual eating? And as to the daily mass or oblation, it can do no good—the sacrifice of Christ once offered on the cross, is ever before the throne, and needs no new oblation. All we need is, that the exalted Saviour and Prince of life, should, on the ground of it, intercede for us; and that we should exercise a lively faith in the efficacy of his atonement, to aid us in which the eucharist is an appointed and powerful means.

Almost the only reply to which Romanists resort in their attempt to obviate the objections which Protestants make to the doctrine of transubstantiation, is to adduce the doctrines of the Trinity and incarnation, as equally contrary to our reason, and equally incomprehensible. But truly there is scarcely any analogy between the cases. There is in these doctrines of Scripture, we acknowledge, high mysteries, which greatly transcend our powers of comprehension; but there is nothing which contradicts our senses, or is repugnant to the plain dictates of reason. If this could be proved, which we are aware has often been attempted by rationalists, we should feel constrained to give up these doctrines as untenable; or rather to give up the Scriptures in which they are so plainly revealed. But as Archbishop Tillotson has handled this subject very perspicuously, we beg



leave here to conclude this review, by citing a few passages from his discourse “concerning the unity of the divine nature.”

“Before I leave this argument, I cannot but take notice of one thing which they of the church of Rome are perpetually objecting to us upon this occasion. And it is this, that by the same reason that we believe the doctrine of the trinity, we may and must receive that of transubstantiation. God forbid: because of all the doctrines that ever were in any religion, this of transubstantiation is certainly the most abominably absurd.

“However, this objection plainly shows how fondly and obstinately they are addicted to their own errors, how misshapen and monstrous soever; insomuch, that rather than the dictates of their church, how absurd soever, should be called in question, they will question the truth even of Christianity itself; and if we will not take in transubstantiation, and admit it to be a necessary article of the Christian faith, they grow so sullen and desperate that they matter not what becomes of all the rest: And rather than not have their will of us in that which is controverted, they will give up that which by their own confession is an undoubted article of the Christian faith, and not controverted on either side; except only by the Socinians, who yet are yet hearty enemies to transubstantiation, and have exposed the absurdity of it with great advantage.

“But I shall endeavour to return a more particular answer to this objection, and such a one as I hope will satisfy every considerate and unprejudiced mind, that after all this confidence and swaggering of theirs, there is by no means equal reason either for the receiving or for the rejecting of these two doctrines of the trinity and transubstantiation.

“1st. There is not equal reason for the belief of these two doctrines. This objection, if it be of any force, must suppose that there is equal evidence and proof from scripture for these two doctrines. But this we utterly deny, and with great reason; because it is no more evident from the words of Scripture, that the sacramental bread is substantially changed into Christ’s natural body by virtue of those words, “*This is my body,*” than it is, that Christ is substantially changed into a natural vine by virtue of those words, *I am the true vine*, John xv. 1; or than the rock in the wilderness, of which the Israelites drank, was substantially changed into the person of Christ, because it is expressly said, “*that rock was Christ;*” or than that the Christian church is substantially changed into the natural body of Christ, because it is in express terms said of the church that it is his body. Eph. i. 23.

“But besides this, several of their most learned writers have freely acknowledged that transubstantiation can neither be directly proved, nor necessarily concluded from Scripture. But this the writers of the Christian church did never acknowledge concerning the trinity, and the divinity of Christ; but have always appealed to the clear and undeniable testimonies of Scripture for the proof of these doctrines. And then the whole force of the objection amounts to this, that if I am bound to believe what I am sure God says, though I cannot comprehend it; then I

am bound by the same reason to believe the greatest absurdity in the world, though I have no manner of assurance of any divine revelation concerning it. And if this be their meaning, though we understand not transubstantiation, yet we very well understand what they would have, but cannot grant it; because there is not equal reason to believe two things, for one of which there is good proof, and for the other no proof at all.

“2d. Neither is there equal reason for the rejecting of these two doctrines. This the objection supposes, which yet cannot be supposed but upon one or both of these two grounds: Either because these two doctrines are equally *incomprehensible*, or because they are equally loaded with *absurdities* and *contradictions*.

“The first is no good ground of rejecting any doctrine, merely because it is *incomprehensible*, as I have abundantly showed already. But besides this, there is a wide difference between plain matters of sense, and mysteries concerning God; and it does by no means follow, that, if a man do once admit any thing concerning God which he cannot comprehend, he hath no reason afterwards to believe what he himself sees. This is a most unreasonable and destructive way of arguing, because it strikes at the foundation of all certainty, and sets every man at liberty to deny the most plain and evident truths of Christianity, if he may not be humoured in having the absurdest things in the world admitted for true. The next step will be to persuade us, that we may as well deny the being of God because his nature is *incomprehensible* by our *reason*, as deny transubstantiation because *it evidently contradicts* our *senses*.

“2d. Nor are these two doctrines loaded with the like absurdities and contradictions: So far from this, that the doctrine of the trinity, as it is delivered in the Scriptures, and hath already been explained, hath no absurdity or contradiction either involved in it, or necessarily consequent upon it. But the doctrine of transubstantiation is big with all imaginable absurdity and contradiction. And their own schoolmen have sufficiently exposed it; especially Scotus, and he designed to do so, as any man that attentively reads him may plainly discover: for in his disputation about it, he treats this doctrine with the greatest contempt, as a new invention of the Council of Lateran under Pope Innocent III. To the decree of which council concerning it, he seems to pay a formal submission, but really derides it as contrary to the common sense and reason of mankind, and not at all supported by Scripture; as any one may easily discern that will carefully consider his manner of handling it, and the result of his whole disputation about it.

“And now suppose there were some appearance of absurdity and contradiction in the doctrine of the trinity as it is delivered in Scripture, must we therefore believe a doctrine which is not at all revealed in Scripture, and which hath certainly in it all the absurdities in the world, and all the contradictions to sense and reason; and which once admitted, doth at once destroy all certainty? Yes, say they, why not? since we of the church of Rome are satisfied that this doctrine is revealed in Scripture; or if it be not, is defined by the church, which is every whit as good. But is this equal, to demand of us the belief of a thing which hath

always been controverted, not only between us and them, but even among themselves, at least till the Council of Trent? And this upon such unreasonable terms, that we must either yield this point to them or else renounce a doctrine agreed on both sides to be revealed in Scripture.

“To show the unreasonableness of this proceeding, let us suppose a priest of the church of Rome pressing a Jew or Turk to the belief of transubstantiation, and because one kindness deserves another, the Jew or Turk should demand of him the belief of all the fables in the Talmud, or in the Alcoran; since none of these, nor indeed all of them together, are near so absurd as transubstantiation: Would not this be much more reasonable and equal than what they demand of us? Since no absurdity, how monstrous and big soever, can be thought of, which may not enter into an understanding in which a breach hath been already made, wide enough to admit transubstantiation. The priests of Baal did not half so much deserve to be exposed by the prophet for their superstition and folly, as the priests of the church of Rome do for this senseless and stupid doctrine of theirs with a hard name. I shall only add this one thing more, that if this doctrine were possible to be true, and clearly proved to be so; yet it would be evidently useless and to no purpose. For it pretends to change the substance of one thing into the substance of another thing that is already, and before this change is pretended to be made. But to what purpose? Not to make the body of Christ, for that was already in being, and the substance of the bread is lost, nothing of it remaineth but accidents, which are good for nothing and indeed are nothing when the substance is destroyed.”

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ART. V.—*Notices of the Monosyllabic Languages of South Eastern Asia. From the German of Adelung.*

*J. W. Alexander*  
 PREFATORY REMARKS.

THERE is no part of the world which is at this time more interesting to the Christian philanthropist, than the populous countries on the south-eastern part of Asia. Comprising, as they do, a third of the human race, they cannot but attract and stimulate the enterprise of the church. And as, in the prosecution of the missionary work, language is a prime instrument, it is natural to feel a corresponding solicitude to know something of the remarkable tongues and dialects into which the word of God is to be translated. To the missionary, this is all-important; to the candidate for the missionary service, it is full of interest; and to those who devise and mature at home the plans for foreign

labour, general views on this subject are by no means without their value.

When we come to look more closely at the structure of these languages, we are startled at the philological anomaly, that they are absolutely monosyllabic. This characteristic throws into a natural family a number of tongues which could scarcely upon any other principle be classified. It is to this family that we now invite the reader's attention; and the discussion which follows is one which need not alarm even the unlearned, since it requires no previous acquaintance with foreign languages, to make it intelligible.

The *MITHRIDATES*, of Adelung, from which our article is taken, is one of the most celebrated productions of modern learning; as it proposes to give some account of all known tongues, and contains specimens of the Lord's prayer in about five hundred languages. *John Christopher Adelung* was a native of Pomerania, and was born in 1732. He was successively honoured with the situations of Professor at Erfurt, Chief librarian and Court counsellor at Dresden. He is the author of many works in philology, grammar, and lexicography. The first volume only of the *Mithridates* was completed by himself. The remaining volumes were compiled with the aid of his notes, by *VATER* of Halle, who was assisted by the *HUMBOLDTS*.

The translation which follows is somewhat modified by the occasional omission of paragraphs relating to mere history or bibliography. No corrections have been made in order to make it correspond with the recent changes in those countries.

It is to be observed, that with very few exceptions, the German orthography of foreign words has been retained; not only because the precision of the German alphabet is peculiarly great, but because important and injurious changes would be unavoidable, in the attempt to transfer the sound through letters of different powers.

It will, of course, be understood, that we are far from coinciding with some of the opinions expressed by Adelung, with regard to the origin of language and the primitive state of man.

#### MONASYLLABIC LANGUAGES.

The residence of the monosyllabic languages is in south-eastern Asia, by which is meant Tibet, China, and the northern region of further India with the rich tracts of Ava, Pegu, Siam, Tunkin, Cochin China, Camboja and Laos. These, taken together, constitute the eighth part of Asia, on which upon a surface of one hundred and thirty thousand German square miles, we may



reckon that between a hundred and fifty and a hundred and eighty millions of men utter this earliest language of the human race.\* It is surprising that the missionaries at Peking constantly represent China as the only country in the world which has a monosyllabic language, while the other kingdoms were so near. Of the grammatical character of these tongues I have already said something, and shall treat it more fully in the sequel.

I will here make the general observation, that the few words possessed by these languages are properly not so much words, as merely the material for words, rough radical sounds, which have no indication of relative or accessory ideas. In Chinese, *co* is much the same as the radical *hab* in German; with this difference, that the German can hence form *haben*, *ich habe*, *du hast*, *wir haben*, *ich hatte*, *die haben*; while the Chinese retain the former root unaltered, and must either omit all the secondary modifications, or express them by a difficult circumlocution. In consequence of the paucity of words there results a multitude of figurative meanings, in which all these people peculiarly delight, and in which the license of their glowing fancy is often insufferable to Europeans; to express these, the tone or accent, with which the word is uttered in each of its meanings, lends aid to a certain extent. It is easy to perceive, that languages so barren as these, which convey only the most necessary fundamental ideas, unconnected and unblended among themselves, must open a wide field, even in common life, for obscurity and ambiguity, while for scientific conceptions they are absolutely unfit; hence the people who speak them, remain always children in understanding, and advance little beyond the accomplishment of mechanical adroitness. Whatever efforts the Chinese may make, so long as he adheres to his language, it is entirely impossible for him to appropriate the arts and sciences of the European.†

Yet the whole material lies in readiness for the further improvement of their languages, by means of flexion, derivation, and composition, if there were only intelligence to make the proper application. Even at present these nations express

\* This is certainly a low estimate. Half a century ago the Abbe Grosier set down the population of the Chinese empire alone at one hundred and ninety eight millions. Sir George Staunton, who accompanied Lord Macartney to China in 1793, copied from the public documents the returns of the previous year which made the population three hundred and thirty three millions. Judicious and capable investigators believe that this statement is not extravagant. See *Chinese Repository*, Vol. I.—TRANS.

† For the encouragement of Christian effort, however, it may be observed, that when the minds of a people are illuminated, their very language changes in due proportion. Such has been the effect of the gospel on many a rude dialect.—TRANS.

many of the more prominent relations and shades of thought, but they take no pains to convey those which are more recondite, by means of particular words. To indicate the plural, the Chinese have the words *tem* (other,) and *poy* and *muen* (many.) They mark the genitive, by the words *tie* and *tschi*: *Lum tie foe*, the serpent's bite. In Barman, *to* denotes the plural, and *i* the genitive, (as in Latin and Mantshur): *sa ken*, master; *sa ken i*, of the master; *sa ken to*, the masters. One might suppose that they could join these particles together so as to decline the words thus: *Kiaytem*, *Lupoy*, *Yunmen*, *Sakeni*, *Sukento*. But here the system of tones presents an obstacle. The appended syllable loses its tones in derived and inflected words, and thus is deprived of its exact signification. This would here be inadmissible, as every syllable has more than one meaning, and each of these meanings depends on the nature of the tone. So that this tone cannot be abstracted, without bringing still greater obscurity into the language, and destroying its entire structure.

All other nations of the earth, it is true, rude and uncultivated as they might otherwise be, have succeeded in rising above this obstacle, to the great advantage of their respective tongues in clearness and euphony; and it must ever appear wonderful that such populous nations, which had very early arrived at a certain degree of cultivation, should have clung for so many centuries to their monosyllabic poverty.

In addition to the force of habit, always strongest under a burning heaven, where mental and bodily inaction are prerogatives of divinities and princes, we find the chief cause in their separation from the rest of the world, since they are cut off on two sides by the ocean, and on two sides by impassable mountain ranges. There has therefore been no change in the great mass of their inhabitants, but they descend in direct line from the first settlers, who alighted here in the infancy of the world. These mighty barriers of nature for many years protected them against the influence of their sons who had emigrated, and who in the rough and boundless plains of middle Asia, had degenerated into barbarians. These influences must indeed have been very feeble, in primitive ages, before the wanderers felt in their immense tracts the pressure of population, and hence for a long time they continued to go on quietly in their course of culture and increase. And when afterwards the barbarians who used polysyllabic dialects, scaled the mighty boundaries, the languages and manners which were deeply fixed remained unshaken in their great extent and internal fulness. The most numerous invaders would be weak against so many millions as are spread over China and Tibet; and even though the invaded

people, in consequence of effeminate imbecility and a torrid climate, should crouch to the wild prowess of rude barbarians, they would still continue numerous enough, to preserve their manners and language free from their influence.

I will not then assert that the tongues now spoken in these countries are the very same which were formed at the origin of the human race, and which received the finishing touch from necessity. From the variety of these languages and their dialects, it is clear, that no tongue is too poor to undergo manifold changes. Time and circumstances have here exerted their usual influence upon the pronunciation, tone, and meaning; but the form and the whole structure are almost entirely such as we are constrained to imagine of the dawn of human intellect.\*

Let it be further observed, that partly from the mild climate, partly from the interior vastness, which soon wore away the rough points of the barbarians, all these people are generally soft and pliable, and possess a certain middling kind of culture, which, however, in relation to arts and sciences consists more in manual dexterity, in recipes and formulas, than in genius or principles. Circumspect, and (for men of warm blood) cautious, even to the extreme of hesitation in all they do, they carry courtesy and ceremony to the verge of punctilio; so that poor as their languages are in every other point of view, they are rich in the manifold expression of degrees and relations between the speaker and the person addressed. Beyond this they are, like all half-civilized men, covetous, suspicious, and dishonest, especially towards foreigners, and in war and revenge cruel to the extreme of inhumanity.

All these nations have, in greater or less degrees, the remarkable and unpleasant Mongal configuration of countenance, flat faces, small squinting eyes, and broad noses. One might have been led to suspect that this contour had some connection with the monosyllabic character of their languages. But as the Japanese, with the same visage, still use a polysyllabic language, the coincidence must be deemed accidental, and the peculiarity must be traced to other causes. It is doubtless indigenious among the Mongals, and inasmuch as no structure of face communicates itself more easily, or when once rooted, clings more closely in spite of extraneous mixtures, and as all these nations have repeatedly been attacked and conquered by the former, we must look for the ground of this in the mingling of the races. In Further India this structure is neither so general, nor so striking, doubtless because the influence of the Mongals was there less powerful, or was only

\* A tabular view of various languages is here omitted.—TRANS.

mediate, through the instrumentality of the Chinese, who more than once over-ran that part of India.

### 1. CHINESE.

China, that vast kingdom which is about twelve times as large as Germany, and contains in this space as many inhabitants as the whole of Europe, was known during the middle ages by the name of *Cathay* or *Kathai*. This name designated the northern part, together with Tibet, and eastern Tartary. It is the Chinese boast that they have a very ancient history, even the oldest in the world; for the history of the empire which was translated by the Jesuit *Joseph Anne Marie de Moyriac de Mailla*, and published at Paris by the Abbe Grosier, 1777, in twelve quarto volumes, begins with *Jo-hi*, who is said two centuries after the flood to have conquered the many and small hordes among whom this country was then parcelled, and to have gathered them into one. But though the European missionaries concur in this pretension, there is here a total absence of that sound critical investigation whose useful touch might lop off the multitude of poetic excrescences, that mar the early history of this, no less than of other lands. In these old annals, emperors invent arts and sciences by scores, and give orders to their consorts to find out the manufacture of silk, and to their mathematicians to make astronomical discoveries. Beyond this, there are few events, but long and frequent orations of emperors and their ministers. It is said that the Chinese history begins to be circumstantial and probable about the year 207 before the Christian era. But is it also true and certain? Let me consider only a single circumstance. The well known and immense wall which is said to have been meant to protect China on the north and north west from the incursions of the predatory nomades of high middle Asia, and which failed to do so, was completed, according to Chinese annals, 240 years before Christ. One might readily suppose, that so vast a work, the only one of its kind, would in process of time, by mercantile communication, become known to foreigners; but of this there are no traces. Ptolemy points out the track of the caravans from Bucharey to Seres with much exactness, but he knew of no frontier wall. Ammianus, it is true, seems to hint at some such thing, when he says, (B. xx. iii. c. 6.) *Contra orientalem plagam in orbis speciem consertae celsorum aggerum summitates ambiunt seras*; but when he adds: *appellantur autem iidem montes Annivi*, etc. we at once perceive that it is only his turgid way of describing mountains. That Renaudot's Arab, about the year 850 knew nothing of any wall,



might be explained upon the supposition that he never reached those parts. But that *Marco Polo*, who in 1270 travelled from this side into China, and abode three years in the service of the Mongal Khans, should make no mention of it, though he must have passed it, and though he detains us with details of far less importance, is a circumstance which certainly casts suspicion on this high antiquity, while the whole structure itself betrays a much more recent origin.

It is well known that the Chinese of the present day have the Mongal visage, with small oblique eyes, flat face and nose, and high cheek bones. Does this configuration prevail throughout China, in all the provinces, or does it belong to a few only, particularly in the north? Is it a peculiarity of the people from the earliest ages, or the result of admixture, especially since the dominion of the Mongals, from 1210 to 1368? In the former case it would indicate an early common origin; thus many deduce the Chinese from the Tatars. But as the languages betray no trace of such an affinity, the latter is more probable. Renaudot's Arab, in 850, represents the Chinese as more comely than the Hindoos, and assures us that they resemble the Arabs, not in their appearance only, but their garb and manners. This he could scarcely have said, if at that time they possessed the odious Mongal contour; which must therefore be of later origin. The laws of Menu, to which a higher antiquity in India is attributed than even to the *King* in China, approach nearest to the truth when they represent the Chinese as emigrating from India, especially if this name, as is common, be extended to the neighbouring country of Tibet. At present indeed they are further to the east than any of the other monosyllabic nations, and consequently most remote from the cradle of the human race. But upon the supposition, (and in the absence of all history we must be content with supposition,) that in the original increase and spread of mankind the younger progeny always pressed off the elder race, till at last the mighty boundaries of nature, as in this case the ocean, set limits to further progress, we must look upon the Chinese as the immediate descendants of the oldest race of men, while on the other hand, the nations which lie westward are less ancient in proportion as they are near to the primitive residence.

#### LANGUAGE.

All that has been said receives confirmation from the language, which being the simplest among all those of one syllable, is consequently nearest to the first formation of speech. True,

it is not now a mere unmodified vowel-sound, for nothing remains of this first rude attempt except some simple words in all languages; but it possesses the highest degree of simplicity which is possible after this; and it is this which has induced me to place it at the head of all others. For its monosyllabic words consist of a vowel preceded by a single consonant. Here it should be remarked, however, that when these words are expressed by European alphabets, the two or three vowels which they then acquire do not destroy their monosyllabic character, nor does the prefixed or suffixed nasal, *n* or *ng* of many words preclude the idea of a vowel or simple consonant. The former are mere aids in writing, being necessary to imitate the undefined monosyllabic vowel of the Chinese, *Liao*, *Siao*, *Kiun*, and blend in pronunciation into a single syllable, and sound almost as *Lo*, *So*, *Kyun*. The nasal sound is a merely incidental appendage of the organs of speech: *Kyun*, *Kyang*, *Lyung*, *Nge*, *Ngo*. As the Chinese language is altogether destitute of the consonants *b*, *d*, *r*, *x*, and *z*, it is of course very much limited in the number of simple consonants to be prefixed to the vowels. Instead of *b* and *d*, the hard mutes of the same class, *p* and *t* are used; *l* is put for *r*, and *s* for *x* and *z*. Two consonants together cannot be pronounced; *ts* and *tsch* must be considered simple consonants, as they are in utterance. Hence when such a concurrence takes place in foreign words, they add a vowel to each consonant. From these peculiarities foreign words acquire commonly a most curious form. The Chinese pronounce *Cruz*, *Cu-lu-su*. For *Cardinalis*, he says *Kya-ul-fi-na-li-su*; for *Spiritus*, *Su-pi-li-tu-su*; for *Christus*, *Ki-lisu-tu-su*; and for *Hoc est corpus meum*, *Ho-ke-nge-su-tu-es-ul-pu-su-me-vum*.

Of such radicals, simplified to the highest degree, and rather sounds than words, the Chinese have now three hundred and twenty-eight, or, according to others three hundred and fifty. To multiply these, they possess no means, but one appropriate to the childhood of human understanding, that of tone or accent. There are, specially, five such principal tones: 1. The uniform, answering to the natural utterance of a syllable, as we pronounce the numerals, one, two, three. 2. The grave uniform, and this is aspirated in such syllables as allow it. 3. The high, which begins on a high pitch and suddenly descends, as when one in anger says, *No!* 4. The ascending, which begins rather low, but rises, and is longer continued than another tone, as when one says in surprise, *Ah!* 5. The abrupt, as when one from alarm fails to complete a syllable. Besides these, there occur, perhaps only in singular cases, other compound intona-

tions, so that the number of tones is by some reckoned at eight, and by others at twelve or thirteen. Most of these are beyond the ear as well as the tongue of a foreigner. Thus the syllable *shu*, according to its pronunciation, signifies *a book, a tree, great heat, to tell, the dawn, rain* and *to rain, clemency, to be accustomed, to lose a bet*, and I know not how much besides. *Tshun*, signifies *master, swine, kitchen, pillar, liberal, to prepare, old woman, to break, tending, little, to moisten, slave, prisoner, &c.* Each of these significations has again, further, its figurative uses. So that many words have fifty meanings, which even the most subtle modulation of a Chinese voice cannot distinguish. In such cases a word is often added to give explanation. To *fuh*, father, is added the word *tshin*, relationship. So also *mu-tshin*, mother. In writing, this auxiliary is omitted, because every signification has its appropriate symbol. By means of these tones, reckoned to be five, the Chinese have from their three hundred and twenty-eight radicals 1625 different words. And as each of these may be aspirated or not, the treasure of words is increased thereby to three thousand two hundred and fifty, or, according to the highest reckoning, to seven thousand seven hundred; which the fine ear of a Chinese, trained to it from his youth, can always readily distinguish. It has been said that this diversity of tone reduces the speech of the Chinese to song; but this is unfounded. The Chinese sings as little as the Frenchman, who marks in utterance the distinction between the words *l'eau, lots, and l'os*.

These three thousand two hundred and fifty, or, at the utmost, seven thousand and seven hundred words, constitute the entire verbal treasure of the Chinese, and must suffice, together with the sometimes strangely figurative meanings, to express all ideas, whether abstract or concrete. It may easily be imagined how awkward is the device. As they are all of one syllable, there can be here no distinction of the parts of speech, but each particular word may be an adjective, substantive, verb or particle. And since every thing like derivation, or proper flexion is here precluded as means of expressing manifold accessory ideas and modifications, so also declension and conjugation, strictly so called, are wanting. In the most prominent instances, however, the China-man can avail himself of circumlocution. He denotes the genitive by the particle *ti* or *tié*, appended to the noun; the dative by *ju*, and the ablative by *tung* or *tsung*, the last two being prefixed. Thus, *Geh*, Love; genitive *Geh ti*; dative *Ju Geh*, ablative *Tung*, or *Tsung Geh*. So also in the plural. *Quih ju tshin*, dear to men. *Ni-leh tung ta*, come with him. The plural is denoted by a prefix signifying truth. *Tu-tshin*, a

number of men; *Tu tu tshin*, a multitude of men, *Tshung tshin*, all men. Or by the word *tem*, other, and *poy* or *muen*, many; *Ngo I*, *ngo tem*, *ngo poy* (I other, or I many) we. Sometimes also by repetition, as *Tohin Tohin*, men. The adjective is distinguished by being uniformly placed before its substantive. Besides this, it is sometimes expressed by the genitive of the substantive, as *pai* whiteness; *pai-tié* white; *tshe* heat; *tshe-tié*, hot. But when it has its usual position before the noun, the suffix is omitted; *Chau tshin*, a good man; *Pai mah*, a white horse. The comparative degree is marked by *keng* prefixed to the positive; *Jiu*, soft, *keng jiu*, softer. The superlative, either by a repetition of the positive, or by various particles, sometimes preceding, sometimes following. The personal pronouns, *Go*, or *Ngo*, I, *Nih*, thou, *Ta*, he, *Ngo men*, we (I other) *Nih men*, ye (thou other) *Tu men*, they (he other,) become possessives by adding the sign of the genitive; *Ngo tié* mine, *Ngo men tié*, our. But these tenses are denoted in the verbs. The present is indicated by the simple root, *Ngo leh*, I come; the past by *lio*, *Ngo leh lio*, I came, or have come; the future by *jah* prefixed, *Ngojah leh*, I will come; or when a more definite expression is needed by *juen y*, *Ngo juen y leh*, I am determined to come. These minute distinctions occur however only in common parlance; in higher discourse they are entirely neglected, which much increases the obscurity.

This obscurity is under all circumstances great. In the absence of so many modes of thought which conduce to clearness and precision, such as the article, many conjunctions, and the like, the diction of the Chinese consists of rough, abrupt ideas, without connexion, without the blending of relations, and without the indication of accessory conceptions. Thus: *English good, Chinese better; to-day go, to-morrow come; sea no bounds; Kiang no bottom*. Much is gained, indeed, by the precise collocation of the words in the train of thought, by the connexion, by the look and gesture, and by circumlocution; but after all much is left open for conjecture. The following is a strophe given in Barrow's Travels, from an ode of Shih-king: (The) *peach tree* (how) *beautiful*, (how) *pleasant*, (how) *graceful*: *so* (is a) *bride*, *when* (she) *goes* (into the bridegroom's house, and gives) *attention to her family*. From such simple barrenness the language would be peculiarly easy, were it not for the delicate distinctions of tone and accent, which make it to foreigners more difficult than any other.

In the *Mémoires concernant l'Histoire des Chinois, par les Missionnaires de Peking*, (Paris, 1776, 1777, &c. quarto, part viii. p. 133,) is an essay on the Chinese language, which is so



remarkable a panegyric that one is tempted to understand it as a satire. If indeed the writer is serious, he must have counted upon a rare complaisance in his readers, when he would have them believe, that the Chinese is the richest, most euphonious, and most perfect tongue in the world. Rich in words it doubtless is, for it awkwardly expresses with three or four more terms those ideas which other languages denote by a single form. Thus, *Portabam illum*, I carried him, *Ngo na chi kien tiao ta*. This is evidence of the most deplorable barrenness. Laconic brevity there certainly is, but a brevity which degenerates too often into the most profound darkness. The *Kings*, their old classical books, are most studied and least understood, by the Chinese; every one has an interpretation of his own. The author himself acknowledges that the language is totally useless in abstract investigations, particularly those of a metaphysical kind. But he reckons this among its advantages, inasmuch as it is fitted only for useful knowledge.

## WRITING.

The Chinese method of writing, which is peculiar in its kind, is still more wonderful. It is distinguished from others by this property, that it is neither the hieroglyphic of nature and symbols nor the method of syllabic or literal characters, but a purely artificial structure, which denotes every idea by its appropriate sign, without any relation to the utterance. It speaks to the eye, like the numeral cyphers of the Europeans, which every one understands, and utters in his own way. Hence one may learn to read Chinese, without knowing a word of the spoken language. Yet the latter seems to have served as a model in forming the character. As in the language the principal part is played by from four to six vowels, out of which, with the consonants which are prefixed to them, are made the three hundred and twenty-eight or three hundred and fifty radical sounds; so there are in writing six lines, some straight and others variously curved, which serve as the elements of the two hundred and fourteen keys, or primitive marks, out of which all the other characters, reckoned to be eighty thousand at most, are compounded. If this mode of writing had been the work of a single head, or of a number united for the purpose, these two hundred and fourteen keys would be found to comprise the most necessary elemental or cardinal ideas, of which all the rest are composed. But as they denote a perplexed mass of heterogeneous things, it would appear that the inventors were moved by accident and caprice. There are traces of some actual resemblance

originally subsisting between the signs and the things signified, so that they were true hieroglyphics. Hence they seemed to be the first rude experiment in the infancy of cultivation, when there was little to describe or to write about, and these few keys may then have constituted the whole supply for writing.

Nothing more clearly evinces narrowness of mind and total want of genius, than the fact, that as civilization advanced, and there was a greater demand for writing, the Chinese did not abandon so onerous a method, but wandered still further in this inconvenient path, more and more increasing these marks by the combination and union of the keys, or parts of them, until they have accumulated a mass, which the longest life of a Chinese scholar, were he even a Leibnitz or a Newton, would not suffice to learn. And after all, the China-man, with the whole of this huge array of symbols, cannot denote all which the European expresses by a few letters. As every idea has its appropriate sign, and as two hundred and forty-three signs often concur to indicate a single Chinese word with its manifold significations, it is surprising indeed that so many simple ideas have symbols so much compounded. Night is *ye*; but the symbol consists of the three keys *darkness*, *to cover*, and *man*; signifying the darkness in which man covers himself, or the darkness which covers men; for vagueness predominates in the written, as in the spoken language. The symbol of a *dog*, with another for *word* or *voice*, signifies *lament*. The symbol of a *king*, consists of the three keys, *sceptre*, *eye*, and *high*. The united symbols of *mouth* or *word*, and *arrow*, (or *to impinge*) signify *to understand* or *comprehend*. It is needless to remark that all this betrays the rude infancy of the human mind; and yet this method of writing has not failed to have its panegyrists.

In this most inconvenient system of writing, and in this imperfection of language, we find the principal causes why the Chinese have never yet been able to attain even a tolerable degree of scientific culture, and why they never can do so in future. He who must spend the best and most active moiety of life in barely learning to read and write for necessary uses, remains a child during the other moiety. The multitude of perplexed signs transcends all powers of thought. A learned man, who after long and wasting application has learned ten thousand of them, is in mature life when first he can apply his knowledge, feeble and obtuse in understanding. Nothing is more common than for such men to crave from Europeans means for strengthening their minds. The vaunted examinations of such candidates as aspire to be Mandarins, that is, scholars and functionaries, consist of tedious and toilsome inquiries as to their

knowing how to read and paint two thousand symbols. Of other knowledge there is no question. A so-called learned Chinese, that is, one who can barely read and write, is, in regard to what we call science and art, absolutely ignorant. Add to this an unhewn language, which recoils from the expression of any thing beyond the sphere of sense. It is amusing, says a certain writer, to hear two Chinese talking upon scientific subjects. They contend, without understanding one another, accumulate synonyms, and plunge deeper and deeper into perplexity, and when they can do no more, betake themselves to their fans, depict in the air the idea which they would convey, and find themselves on the very spot whence they set out.

#### MANDARIN LANGUAGE.

What has been hitherto said of the Chinese tongue, has primary reference to the speech of the court and of the higher classes, which in China is called *Kuan hoa*, and in Europe the *Mandarin language*, because it is current among the literati and upper officers. This is properly the common language of *Kiang nan*, in which the former native emperors had their residence, and in which court it was principally formed. It is also used in ordinary discourse in this province and the neighbouring country. When the Mantshu possessed themselves of the kingdom, and fixed the court nearer to the frontiers, about Peking, they employed among themselves their vernacular tongue, but in all public transactions they retained the old language, which is at this day spoken most purely and agreeably by the higher classes at Peking. Various writers distinguish this *Kuan hoa*, or Mandarin language, from the *Ku uan* which prevails in the five *Kings* or ancient religious books, and from the *Uan tshang*, or language of books; these, however, are not distinct tongues, but only varieties of the style, which in the *Kings* is elevated and solemn, and in the language of the books more pure and select than in the current diction of ordinary life.

#### DIALECTS.

In a country of so great extent, there cannot fail to be numerous dialects, and perhaps even peculiar languages; of these, however, we have unfortunately little exact information. The European missionaries, from whom alone we can expect circumstantial instruction, always concentrated their powers upon the acquisition of the court diction, and gave themselves little trouble with regard to the dialects of the populace. The latter are

denominated, in the country itself, *Hiang tan*, and (as we may judge from some traces) are likewise monosyllabic; a circumstance which points to a community of origin. China consists of fifteen, or, according to others, eighteen great provinces; these are again subdivided. Each of these provinces, and almost every considerable city or district in each, have their peculiar dialects. In the southern provinces especially, the varieties are numerous and divergent. According to Kämpfer's Travels in Japan, there are three different languages on the eastern coast, viz. Nankin, Tshaktsju, and Foktsju, (King nan, Tshe kiang, and Fo kien). Du Halde confirms the statement in regard to Fo-kien. This dialect is the one with which we are now most familiar, as there is a dictionary and grammar of it in the Royal Library at Berlin, from which Bayer (*in Museo Sinico*, P. i. p. 139, ff.) has reprinted his grammar. It is true he calls the province *Chin Cheu*; but this is no other than *Fo kien*, from *Tshang Tsheu*, the capital of which, a brisk trade is carried on with Japan, Formosa, and the Philippine and East India islands. It closely resembles the Mandarin language in its monosyllabic character, and other properties, but the words here have a different pronunciation, and different meanings, and the letters *b*, *d*, and *r*, which are wanting in the Mandariu, are restored. The genitive is denoted, not by *ti*, but by *gue*. The pronoun I, is not *ngo* but *gua*; and we is *guan*. This language is still further subdivided into five inferior dialects. Besides this, there are in the mountains many savage and half savage tribes, still unconquered, of whom we only know in general, that they have their own languages or dialects. To these pertain the wild *Mar lao*, or Wood-rats, who have overspread six provinces; the *Miao tse*, in the midst of the country, in four provinces, who were subdued, it is said, in 1776; the *Lo los* in the province *Yun man*; and others. In the island *Hai nam*, 19° N. lat. the people on the coast speak Chinese, but the wild mountaineers of the interior have their own language, which is still unknown to us.

## II. TIBETIAN.

Tibet, that remarkable and extensive dwelling place of thirty millions of mankind, which has been represented to us as the first rest of the primitive fathers after they left the garden of Eden, is immediately contiguous to high Central Asia. Here therefore, is the rise of the great rivers, Ganges, Burrampooter, Indus, and Nukian. It is bounded on the east by China, on the west by Cachemire and Bucharia, on the north by Mongolia and the great desert of Kobi, and on the south by Hindostan and the



Birman empire. It is called *Tibet* and *Tangut* by the Mongals; the inhabitants name it *Bod*, or rather, as their language has no *b*, *Put* or *Pegedu*, and themselves *Pod-pa*. By the Chinese it is called *Tsan* and *Tsang li*, and a Tibetan is *Kiang*. The name *Butan*, which is applied to it by some, especially English writers, is borrowed from one of the southern kingdoms which borders immediately upon Bengal, and has a king of its own, who is also a lama or priest, but of another sect, and resides at Tassisudon. In ancient writers it is mentioned by the name of *Indo-Scythia*; which, no doubt, was occasioned by the influence which the neighbouring Mongals and Tatars have always had over the country; having conquered it more than once, as is known to be the case at least with regard to the *Tufans* or *Koshæt*, a Calmuc race. The proper Mongal visage of the inhabitants is to be attributed to the intermingling with these people; for that the Tibetians are not originally descended from Mongals or Tatars, is proved by their language, which is essentially different from those of the north, and which, like the Chinese, they have succeeded in keeping pure and unmixed during all the power of barbarous tribes. The country is divided into Great Tibet, and Small Tibet, and Lassa; or, according to others, into Higher, Middle, and Lower Tibet; but most correctly into eleven kingdoms, which are given by *Georgi* and *Hakman*.

There is, so far as we are informed, no ancient history of Tibet. What *Georgi* details, begins to resemble history only with the year 790. Even the annals of China do not mention it until a late period. It comprised formerly, as is evinced by the modern divisions, a number of petty kingdoms, of which some one or other was always aiming at the sovereignty. In the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, the Scythians, (probably Turks or Tatars) made an irruption into northern India or Tibet, to these the name of *Indo-Scythians* is given by *Arrian*, *Dyonysius Periegetes*, and *Ptolemy*. A century later, the Buddhists, expelled from India, took refuge here and introduced the still existing Lama worship. About the year 547 we find the *White Huns* mentioned in *Cosmus*; probably the same with the above mentioned Turks. About 720 the *Sifans* or *Tufans*, a people dwelling on the lake of Kokonor, near the Chinese frontier, invaded the land. This Mongal race is by the Russians called *Koshæt*, and had dominion until 907, when the kingdom was rent by internal dissension into a number of principalities. There is no doubt that the Lamas or priests availed themselves of this opportunity, to establish themselves as secular potentates, and to found that remarkable hierarchy, which,

with the whole Lama religion closely resembles the Romish, but except the latter has no parallel. Here again there was dissension, so that in 1414 there were eight Lama princes or pontiffs, until China elevated one at Lassa to be the Supreme or *Dalai Lama*. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, one of these attempted the introduction of females into the priestly order, which occasioned a new division, and the rise of two grand Lamas, the *Dalai Lama*, at Lassa in the north, and the *Boydo* or *Tishu Lama*, in the south. At first, both these Lamas denounced and anathematized each other, as if they had been two popes, but at present their relations are friendly, and they exchange mutual benedictions. The former is under Chinese protection, but the latter is independent. The Lama, being not allowed to meddle with worldly affairs, has his *Tipa*, or secular viceroy.

Of the language, only fragments are known. It is ascertained in general that it consists of a few hundreds of monosyllabic and indeclinable roots, like the Chinese, with which it has many words in common. Yet it is less simple than the latter. For though it has many words consisting of a vowel preceded by a consonant, (*Su* body, *Go* head, *Pa* cow, *Zo* treasure, *Po* man,) yet there as many in which the syllable is terminated by a consonant, (*Ser* gold, *Sar* house, *Deb* speak, *Den* place, *Kong* eye, *Ming* name.) It also allows some double consonants at the beginning, *Prul* snake, *Pru* thunder, *Pre* vice, *Dre* devil; and among these some harsh combinations, *Sre* son, *Srungh* overseer, *Sgiah* to place, *Rnam* soul, *Rta* sign, *Rpa* seize. The language appears also to have something like derivation by means of suffixes. *Ton-ghen* boaster, *Tra-khen* enemy, *Sam-then* looker, *Nu-bhe* might, *Cih-va* death, *Khor-va* wandering, *Dro-va* wanderer; while at the same time the fixed tone precludes the idea of derivation. For tone and accent have here the same office as in Chinese. There are here also five principal sorts, not to mention such as are subsidiary, which distinguish between meanings. These are not always sufficient to remove obscurity, and therefore the speaker using the aid of his fingers writes the characters in the sand. As in the Chinese, the most striking grammatical relations are expressed by separate words. The genitive by *hi*, *hei*, *hoi*, *khi*, *ji*, *cei*, or *vei*. *Go hi* of the head, *con hei* of the cloister, *ke vei* of the virtues; the dative and accusative by *jhu la*, which is properly the preposition *in*. To denote the infinitive, *bha* is added; *Si bha* to see, *Den bha* to Give, *Tor bha* to make, *Dar kje bha* to be divided. The collection of words is not so precise as in Chinese, but more arbitrary, as the defining terms may at pleasure be prefixed or appended; *Thron*

*me* or *Me thron*, burning lamp. We may learn how difficult and obscure the meaning of their discourse is, in the total absence of all distinctions among the parts of speech, from the extensive commentary of *Georgi* upon the Tibetan manuscripts found in Siberia; where he often has to borrow aid from the Coptic, Ethiopic, and Shemitic languages, in order to extract or superinduce any meaning.

The ancient religious books of Tibet are in a dialect of the Sanscrit, a proof that they came originally with the Buddhists and the Buddhist religion, from hither India, though the system has assumed a peculiar form in Tibet. In the kingdom of *Amboa*, which has most culture and most schools, the Tibetan language is most purely spoken; and most harshly and incorrectly in *Combo*. There are in this great empire a number of tribes, savage in whole or in part, who possess their own languages, or dialects, of which however, nothing is known. The *Duc-ba* in Butan, are known only by name. The *Sifun* or *Tufan* in the rough mountain ranges between China and Tibet, who long ruled over the latter, and from whom the *Dalai Lama* is still chosen, are not properly Tibetians, but a Mongal race.

### III. BOMAN, BIRMAHN, or AVANESE.

Boman, Arrakan, and the countries following which use monosyllabic speech, constitute the Further India of the north, which borders on the south of the preceding kingdom, from which it probably received both inhabitants and language. In all these countries prevails the Indo-Brahmin religion, according to the sect of Buddha, which fled hither in the first century of the Christian era, though it now exists under another name. Their sacred books are written in a dialect of the Sanscrit, which is here called *Pali* or *Bali*. Assam and Tipra, as it regards situation, also belong to Further India, but as their languages are polysyllabic, and dialects of Hindostanee, I must defer the consideration of them.

The kingdom of *Boman*, also called *Ava* from its capital, is often denominated *Barmah*, *Birman*, and *Burman*, from *Buraghmah*, which, according to Dalrymple, is the true name. But the *Alfabeto Barmano* gives *Boman*, as the correct form. It is said that towards the end of the sixteenth century an immense horde of Tatars, (perhaps Mongals from the lake Kokonor,) numbering seven hundred thousand men, after a fruitless attempt on China, invaded Further India. These were called *Bomani*, from *Bo mas*, great people or brave man. The Chinese call the country *So mien*; the inhabitants use the name



*Myammau.* It lies between Bengal and Pegu, and has been since 1459 involved in sanguinary conflicts with the latter, constantly ending in the temporary subjugation of one or the other. In the former part of the eighteenth century, Pegu was dominant; but in 1753 Alompra, an Avanese of common rank, rebelled, and conquered not only Pegu, but Arrakan, Tongho, Kassay and several other countries. His son was reigning in 1795. Symes computes the population of the Boman States, including Pegu, at fourteen millions and a half. The country, being twice as extensive as France, might sustain far more, were it not covered with forests. The inhabitants in their appearance resemble the Chinese rather than the Hindoos; they are less polished than the Peguans, but as to other things, sprightly, inquisitive, gentle, kind and pleasing, but in war inhuman and ferocious. Budda is here called *Gaudma*, and their principal law book, written in Bali, is the *Derma Sath* or *Sastra*. Symes found in the palace of the king at Ava a large library, in nearly a hundred chests, on subjects of all kinds, both in Bali and in the Boman language.

The Boman tongue is monosyllabic; for the words of more than one syllable are either borrowed from the Bali, or written in the European mode as if compounded. Yet we observe, in a few instances, the rudiments of a derivative system. Thus a Boman can form substantives from verbs by the prefix *a*; *Pio* to speak, *Apio* a speech. Besides many gutturals and nasals, they have six aspirates, which Europeans can scarcely imitate; yet the sound is melodious, particularly as the final word of every period is prolonged with a musical cadence. Diphthongs and triphthongs, such at least to the eye, are no less abundant than in Chinese. In consequence of its monosyllabic character, it has no distinction among the parts of speech, and no proper inflection. But the Boman denotes the plural by *to* or *do*, as well as the cases by other words. The words have here as many meanings as in other monosyllabic languages, and these are distinguished by the accent. When this, however, is insufficient, they aid themselves by synonyms, *to see*, *to look*. The paucity of words is remedied in part by periphrases, which then look like compounds, in part by tropes, which to foreigners appear far-fetched and obscure. *Sii* is light, and, figuratively, beauty, and *Pak* is the mouth; hence *Sii-pak* the lips, because they give beauty to the mouth. *The Glory of the Wood* is the flower. The word *child* denotes figuratively whatever is small, hence *weight-child* is the same as a small weight. From the circumstance that the language has the article in many cases, *Cajet Montegatio* concludes that it has grown out of two differ-



ent tongues, of which only one possessed the article. Hence also the double numerals. Instead of prepositions, there are in certain words postpositions. The relations which in polysyllabic languages are expressed by conjugation are denoted by separate words; but most awkwardly and not at all times; and the tenses are often confounded. Active verbs are formed from neuters and passives by the mere aspiration; *Kia* to fall, *Khia* to throw. Adverbs are made by doubling adjectives; *Kiat* bold, *Kiat Kiat* boldly. There are no conjunctions, and hence discourse is abrupt and fragmentary. The Syntax is short and simple. The adjective which precedes its substantive in Chinese, here follows it. The consecution of words is strange and perplexing. The defect of clearness which results from these circumstances, the Boman endeavours to supply by a tumour of verbiage, especially when he speaks in a respectful or complimentary strain.

The kingdom of *Arrakan*, (Aracan) of which Symes gives some account, lies south of Ava, and southeast of Bengal. By the natives it is called *Yih Kein*, by the Hindoos of Bengal *Ros-saun*, and by the Mongals and Persians *Rechan*. The inhabitants call themselves *Maramas*, and they also have from Europeans the name of *Mugs*, from *Mogo*, holy, a word properly applicable to their priests and kings. According to Symes, it has two millions of inhabitants, and was formerly an independent kingdom; it has many times, however, and finally in 1783, been subdued by the Bomans. The language is a Boman dialect, but nothing further is known.

The *Karians*, a peaceable people in the forests between Ava and Pegu, who live by agriculture and pasturage, are said to have a peculiar language, monosyllabic, and abounding in sibilants; but Symes says that these, as well as the *Kahns*, *Kolonus*, or *Yuh*, between Pegu and Arrakan, speak a dialect of the Boman.

#### IV. PEGUAN.

*Pegu*, or as it is called by the natives, *Beguh*, and, in the Sanscrit name of the Avaneses, *Henzawaddy*, borders westward on Arrakan and Ava, to the latter of which it is now subject; northward on China, and eastward on Siam. The inhabitants are called by the Avaneses *Talain*, and by themselves *Moan*, and are more cultivated than the people of Ava. Pegu has been visited both by travellers and missionaries, but its language is still unknown, except in general that it is of single syllables. According to *Percoto*, it is altogether different from the Boman, yet

there is reason, from our specimens, to consider it a dialect of the latter.

#### V. ANNAM DIALECTS.

*Annam* or *Anam*, signifies the West country; and this name is given by the Chinese and natives to the kingdoms of Tunkin, Cochin-china, Cambocha and Laos. In all these, prevail the dialects of one parent monosyllabic language.

##### 1. *Tunkin*.

*Tunkin* [Tonquin,] or in Chinese *Tun Kin*, the Eastern coast, is bounded on the north by China, on the west by Laos, on the south by Cochin-china, and on the east by the Chinese Ocean. It is a very populous country, but has on its borders extensive mountainous regions covered with forests, in which reside half savage tribes of doubtful origin. China has often endeavoured to subdue this kingdom, but, after many bloody wars and insurrections, has rested finally contented with making it tributary. It is governed by a *Dova* or king, who possesses nothing beyond the title, as all authority is vested in the *Chova* or chief general. The Chinese call the inhabitants *Mansos*, or barbarians. Yet, poor and ignorant as they may be under the pressure of a despotic government, they do not merit this appellation. Their religion, like that of China, is threefold; but that of Fo or Buddha, which came from Hither India in the first century of the Christian era, is predominant. Their science proceeds from China, and so the Chinese tongue is the learned language of speech and writing.

The native Court or Mandarin language is monosyllabic, but is much less simple than the Chinese. For although it contains words of a single vowel sound, as *Ai*, way, *Ao*, fish-dam, *E*, pain, *Eo*, gourd, *Oui*, crooked wood, *Ou*, grandfather; and still more of a vowel after a consonant, *Bao*, load, *Bau*, help, *Bi*, part, *Bo*, ox, *Bou*, ears of corn; yet there are many more compound words, as *Bac*, north-wind, *Bach*, white, *Ban*, day-time, *Bap*, hew; and even with the double consonants *bl*, *ll*, and *ml*, as *Bla*, cheat, *Blai*, fruit, *Mla*, foolish, *Mlac*, fetters, *Mlam*, fault, *Mlo*, word. The final consonants, however, are limited, since none can end a word but *c*, *g*, *ch*, *h*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *p*, and *t*. In general the language has all the letters of the Roman alphabet, except *z* and *x*. Besides, it has a modification of *b* and *d*, and two vowel sounds which are modifications of *o* and *u*. The ambiguity is here as great as in other monosyllabic tongues, and cannot be entirely removed by their six accents or tones. The

word *BA* signifies, *Lord, Forsake, Contemptible, Three, Gift, King's Concubine*. So that when this word is repeated with all its intonations it means, "Three lords gave a gift to the forsaken concubine of a king; a contemptible courtesy." In consequence of its monosyllabic character, there is a defect of all flexion and distinction among the parts of speech. The ablative is marked by the prefix *boy*; the plural by the particles *tshung, mo, ngung* or *dung*. *Toi, Tu, I; Tshung* or *Mo toi*, we; *Boy tshung toi*, of us. When one speaks in complimentary style, *pho* is the plural particle; *Pho ou*, Gentlemen. Conjugation is thus rendered tedious by these particles; *toi ieo*, I love; *Tshung toi ieo*, we love; *Da ve*, he is come; *Da noi*, he has spoken; *Se di*, I will go. There are a few conjunctions.

In addition to this Court language, there are various dialects, especially in the provinces which border on Cochin-China. In the mountains there are said to be also distinct languages.

## 2. Cochin-China.

This country is bounded on the north by Tunkin, on the west by Kambocha, (Cambodia), on the south and east by the Chinese ocean. It is also called by the Chinese *Anam*, or Westland, from its relative situation. For the same reason it is named *Kotshi* by the Japanese, out of which the Portuguese formed *Cochin-China*, Western China. The original inhabitants, a savage race, of dark complexion resembling the Caffres, are called *Moys*, or by others *Kemois*. They are now driven into the mountain tracts between Cochin-China and Kambocha. This country has in its fortunes shared with Tunkin. Once in modern times it became independent, and even powerful by conquering the kings of Tshiampa and Kambocka, but is now brought again under the authority of China. The most southern part is called *Tshiampa*, (Ciampa), and its inhabitants *Loys*. The Cochin-Chinese resemble the Chinese proper, in their flat noses and small oblique eyes; they are good-natured, affectionate, and hospitable. The language is a dialect of the Tunkinese, and accordingly is monosyllabic and vague, calling for the aid of tone and accent to distinguish the meaning. Thus the word *Dai* has twenty-three significations. How little it resembles the Chinese is evident from the fact that Lord Macartney's China-men could not possibly make themselves intelligible to the inhabitants. Yet they use the Chinese characters, of which, however, only three thousand are current.

### 3. *Kambocha (Cambodia), and Laos.*

The former of these, which according to Portuguese orthography is *Camboja*, is a beautiful and extensive valley between Cochin-China and Siam. We have little information concerning either country, and still less concerning their languages, or rather dialects. In Kambocha, the language is much corrupted by the intermixture of words from the Malay, Japanese, and Portuguese.

*Laos* was subject first to China, and then to Siam. It has now a number of independent kings. The inhabitants of the southern part are called *Lanjans*. According to *la Loubre*, they are of the same stock with the Siamese, and this seems to be corroborated by *Kampfer* in his Travels in Japan, where he states that their language is a dialect of the Siamese. By others again they are joined with the people of Tunkin. Perhaps both races are commingled. Between Laos and Ava, lies the kingdom of *Jangoma* or *Junkona*, the inhabitants of which are supposed to have come from Laos, and speak a dialect of Tunkinese, or, according to others, of Siamese.

## VI. SIAMESE.

The kingdom of Siam, (in Malay, *Tziam*,) is bounded on the north by Laos, on the east by Kambocha, Tunkin, and the Gulf of Siam, on the south by Malacca, and on the west by the Bay of Bengal. It lies between two chains of mountains, in a kind of extended valley, which is about six hundred miles long, but generally not much more than two hundred in breadth. The inhabitants call themselves *Tay noe*, the Small Free People. To the north of these dwell the *Tay yay*, or Great Free People, from whom they say they descend, although like all the southern Asiatics they have been subjected to the most galling despotism. In Ava, they are called *Myetapshan*; in Pegu, *Saion*, or *Sioner*; and in China, *Pa Weich*. They resemble the Chinese in appearance, have some words in common, and are the most cultivated people of eastern Asia. Since 1767 Siam has been subject to Birmah, but is said to have regained its freedom.

The language, like its sister tongues, is almost wholly monosyllabic, poor in radical words, but rich in tropes, which receive their character from the tone of utterance. Yet it has some compounds, of which one of the words, being no longer available except in composition, is probably also toneless. The



words are undeclinable, and hence the most prominent modifications of thought are awkwardly expressed by particles, which must serve also to form the conjugations. They are placed either before or after the verb. *Pen* means to be; *raou pen*, I am, and we are; *tan tang lai pen*, ye are; *kon tang lai pen*, they are; *tang lai* signifying all, or many. *Moua nan rao pen*, I was; literally, "Time this I (to) be." *Moua tan ma, raou dai kin sam red leou*, When you came I had already eaten; literally, "Time you (to) come, I already (to) eat (to) cease." If a Siamese would express, I should be glad if I were at Siam; he can do it only as follows; "If I (to) be city Siam, I heart good much." Notwithstanding all this poverty, the language is rich, in cases when it is necessary to denote the precise relation of the speakers to one another. There are eight words to express *I* or *we*, which are identical in Siamese.

According to the Asiatic Researches, part v., there are three dialects; that of *Siam*, that of *Tai yay*, or *Great Tay*, and that of *Tay lung*. A specimen is there given likewise of the language spoken by a neighbouring people, called *Moi tay*, or by the English, *Meckley*. Their chief city is *Munnypura*. The *Jangoma* or *Jankona*, residing in the country of this name, which borders on Siam and Pegu, are said to speak a Siamese dialect. So also the people of the island *Jan Sylan*, near to Siam.

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*W. L. Plumer*

ART. VI.—*A brief sketch of an Argument respecting the nature of Scriptural, and the importance and necessity of numerous, rapid, frequent, powerful, and extensive Revivals of Religion.*

“By a revival of religion we understand an uncommon and general interest on the subject of salvation produced by the Holy Spirit, through the instrumentality of divine truth. The work is very commonly preceded by a prevailing and affecting coldness on the subject of personal religion, such as leads Christians to feel the necessity of extraordinary prayer for themselves as well as others. In its progress the thoughtless are alarmed, convinced of their guilt, inquire what they shall do; receive Jesus as their Saviour; rejoice in hope of future glory, join themselves to the people of God; and in important respects pur-

sue a new course of life.”—*Rev. B. Dickinson in National Preacher.*

Another writer speaks of such a work as “a revival of scriptural knowledge; of vital piety; of practical obedience.... Whenever you see religion rising up from a state of comparative depression to a tone of increased vigour and strength; whenever you see professing Christians becoming more faithful to their obligations, and behold the strength of the church increased by fresh accessions of piety from the world, *there* is a state of things which you need not hesitate to denominate a revival of religion.”—*Sprague on Revivals*, p. 78.

Perhaps the foregoing definitions are sufficiently full and clear for our present purposes. That events substantially of the nature of such revivals as those just defined, are to be expected under the Gospel, and especially toward the dawn of the latter day glory, perhaps no intelligent believer in revelation will doubt. Should any desire proof, the following Scriptures may be regarded as conclusive. “And it shall come to pass in the last days that the mountain of the Lord’s house shall be established in the top of the mountains; and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it; and many people shall go and say, come ye and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways and we will walk in his paths; for out of Zion shall go forth the law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, and he shall judge among the nations and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.” Isa. ii. 2—4. The same promises are made with amplification in Micah iv. 1—7. See also Isaiah xi. 10—16. and liii. 10—12. Hear also the following wonderful words of grace, “Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thy habitations, spare not, lengthen thy cords and strengthen thy stakes; for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left.” Isa. liv. 2, 3 See also parts of Isa. lx. and many parallel places.

That the work of regenerating the world and reclaiming it from its deep revolt and foul apostacy, is not to be effected by the tardy, lingering and doubtful process, generally witnessed since the Reformation, the Scriptures do constantly affirm. Isaiah, speaking of the Gospel church says: “Before she travailed, she brought forth, and before her pain came she was delivered of a man child. Who hath heard such a thing? who hath seen such things? or shall a nation be born in a day? or shall a nation be born at once? for as soon as Zion travailed, she brought forth

her children." chap. lxvi. 7, 8. Again: "Who are these that fly as a cloud and as the doves to their windows," Isa. lx. 8.

It is true, that in none of the foregoing passages of Scripture is the word revival, used; yet is it altogether a scriptural word in application to a rapidly improving state of the church of God. "Wilt thou not revive us again, that thy people may rejoice in thee?" Ps. lxxxv. 6. See also Hos. vi. 2, and xiv. 7, and Habakkuk iii. 2. The objection that the conversion of one soul, yea the edification of one believer, is a revival, and therefore the word ought not to be technically used, does not seem to be valid. For if the conversion or edification of even one soul be a revival, much more is that a revival, when many souls are converted and many believers built up in faith and hope and love. Neither again can we concur with those, who assert the impropriety of the term on account of the fact that it supposes the previous existence of religion. For in the first place it is true that revivals do generally occur in communities previously possessing some pious members, and, secondly, the word revival strictly means a restoration to life of that which was in whole or in part dead. Now in a revival, dead souls are revived, brought to life; and religion, killed by sin, is revived, restored to life and activity in the souls of men. There are as strong objections to the use of the term Trinity and Theology, as can be alleged against the term Revival. We have no contest, however, with those who prefer another phraseology, such as has often been employed. Robe speaks of "an extraordinary work of the Spirit of God." Whitefield, of "a remarkable work of God." Edwards, of "a surprising work of God." In some cases our Scots brethren seem to have a strong and unnecessary prejudice against the word revival, yet there some dear brethren constantly pray and labour for "the out-pouring or down-pouring of the Spirit of God," and speak in glowing terms of the wonderful works of God in the west of Scotland of which their fathers have told them.

It would be "logic misapplied" to prove that revivals, essentially such as have been here described, were known in the days of Joshua, of Josiah, of Ezra, of John the Baptist, of the Apostles, and frequently in the early ages of Christianity. The history of the church for several of the earliest centuries, if properly written, would be to a great extent the history of glorious revivals. Such would unquestionably be the history of the church in Ethiopia under the labours of the Eunuch, baptized by Philip, and others, his coadjutors. Such was the history of the church at Lyons, where Ignatius and others of "like

precious faith" published salvation, and where, although from the heights of one rock sixteen thousand martyrs took their flight to glory, yet did not religion decline, or the church perish. Indeed throughout the Roman empire the time and place of martyrdom often, perhaps generally, furnished an occasion for unusual displays of the power of the Holy Ghost. Five hundred souls are said to have been converted at the martyrdom of one young lady in Rome. Pliny, in his Epistle to Trajan respecting the Christians, says that Christians were every where so increased both in towns and countries, that the [pagan] temples had lain well nigh desolate, and that there had scarcely been any [idolaters] to buy off the sacrifices.

Tertullian also, who wrote about the end of the second and beginning of the third century, thus addresses heathen magistrates, governors and emperors, in regard to their cruel wars and bloody persecutions against the Christians. "We could also make a terrible war upon you without arms or fighting at all, by being so passively revengeful, as only to leave you; for if such a numerous host of Christians should but retire from the empire into some remote region of the world, the loss of so many men of all ranks and conditions would leave a hideous gap and a shameful scorn upon the government; and the very evacuation would be abundant revenge. You would stand aghast at your desolation, and be struck dumb at the general silence and horror of nature, as if the whole world had departed. You would be at a loss for men to govern."\* It is also an amazing fact, that although in less than six hundred years after the ascension of Christ, somewhere between thirty and fifty millions of Christians suffered martyrdom, yet in the beginning of the seventh century there were in many places thirty Christians for one pagan. Now these and other similar facts show the utter impossibility of writing any veritable history of the church in early times on any supposition, that would exclude the existence of exceedingly powerful, numerous, extensive, rapid, permanent, frequent and scriptural descents of the Holy Spirit, melting down the hills like wax, his right hand teaching him terrible things and his two edged sword being very quick and powerful.

From the year A. D. 606, or the time of the beginning of Daniel's 1260 years up to the beginning of the Reformation, we know not much of the true church of God, yet perhaps enough to show that to those who lived "in caves and dens of the earth and wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins" God did not leave

\* Tertull. Apol. contra Gent. cap. 37.



himself without witness, but gave fruitful seasons in many times of refreshing.

When we direct our attention to the history of the work of the Holy Spirit in Great Britain, we find that, from a very early period revivals were known. The venerable Bede gives the following, among other wonderful accounts of occurrences under the ministry of Paulinus:\* “King Edwin, with all his nobles, and a very great multitude of people, believed and were baptized A. D. 627, in the eleventh year of his reign, and the hundred and eightieth from the arrival of the English in Britain. He was baptized at York on Easter, April 12th, in St. Peter’s Church, which he himself had hastily constructed of wood, when he became a catechumen and was ready for baptism.” A little after in the same chapter, speaking of a period about eight years later, he says:—“So great is said to have been the fervor of faith at that time, and the desire of baptism, among the people of Northumberland, that, on one occasion, Paulinus, coming with the king and queen to a royal residence, called Alegebrim, remained there with them thirty-six days wholly engaged in catechizing and baptizing. During all this time he did nothing else, from morning until evening, than instruct the people (who came thither in crowds from every village and neighbourhood) in the Gospel, and, when instructed, baptized them.” Many similar fragments of history pointing to glorious revivals might easily be quoted from the same author as well as from others. In North Britain also has God many times, during the last three hundred years, poured down his Spirit in a most remarkable manner. Church history has few brighter pages since the days of the Apostles than those which record God’s wonderful dealings with sinners at Shotts, at Kilsyth, at Cambuslang, and at multitudes of places in the west of Scotland, in the days of John Livingstone, of Ja. Robe, of James Young, of David Blair, and other holy men.

Glorious revivals have long and often been experienced throughout Wales, whence the Gospel has had free course and powerful advocates. But it seems as if God, in his sovereign mercy, ordained that America should be, in a peculiar and full sense, the land of revivals. Almost, if not altogether, as far back as we read of the Church of God in this wilderness, we read of extraordinary religious influences being at times afforded. The history of these revivals is known to the readers of the Repertory sufficiently for our present purposes.

Seeing that such events have occurred, and will undoubtedly occur in still greater power and frequency, it may be well to

\* Bede Hist. Ecc. Gentis Anglorum, pp. 145-46, Cantab. 1643.

spend a short time in considering the necessary accompaniments and evidences of such revivals as are desirable.

The first thing which we shall notice, is solemnity. We mean something more than sobriety, or mere seriousness, even a quiet, subdued, fixed stillness, and awe of the soul, resulting from some clear apprehensions of eternal things, as eternal things. We have no confidence in those religious raptures or impressions which breed lightness of mind and spiritual carelessness. When God the Spirit comes down to exhibit the spirituality, extent, and terrors of a violated law, or the still grander, sweeter awfulness of a glorious Gospel, it would require more than usual insanity of heart and folly of mind, to yield to a tripping levity, a flaunting demeanour, or the wicked irreverence of an unholy familiarity with God, and all things sacred. Truly pious feelings are seldom more rudely assailed than by exhibitions of a something, which, for want of a better name, we call impudence, in prayer. Indeed, a want of becoming solemnity is manifested in many ways. When such want exists, the subjects of a reputed revival have far less of the fear of God after their supposed conversion than before it. Yet the word of God in the Old Testament has more than once or twice declared, that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." And the New Testament declares, that we cannot otherwise "serve God acceptably, than with reverence and godly fear." And sound reason loudly proclaims, that the human mind, having even a general and vague, yet realizing view of eternal and holy and infinite things, must be deeply solemn.

To genuine revivals of religion always pertains a degree of permanency, both in themselves and in their effects. A genuine revival of religion may have a sudden commencement. Indeed the Lord whom we seek often delights to come suddenly to his temple. "In the mount it shall be seen." "Man's extremity is God's opportunity." When the spouse, having acquired the spirit of patient waiting, forbade the awaking of the beloved until he pleased; the next thing is "Behold he cometh, leaping upon the mountains and skipping upon the hills." And when she had sought the beloved on her bed, in the streets, and at the mouth of the watchmen, then evidently with joyful surprize it is added, "It was but a little that I passed from them, but I found him, whom my soul loveth."

Swift as their thoughts their joys come on,  
But fly not half so swift away.

So that though the Lord often appears suddenly, yet does he not ordinarily leave his church suddenly. Or if, in a sense, di-

vine influences are suddenly withdrawn from a church, their previous effects, when saving, continue. It is the goodness of formalists, of hypocrites, and of self-deceivers, that is like the morning cloud and early dew. On the other hand, no man wonders that Moses, who had stood in the midst of the ineffable effulgence and dazzling glories of Mount Sinai, contracted such a brightness of visage as for a long time to require the veil for the relief of his beholders. It is therefore both pertinent and important in the history of revivals to inquire, not merely whether at the time they seem to arouse, and even to enkindle pious emotions, but also whether they nourish pious principles. Does the revival bring the church permanently to stand upon higher and holier ground than formerly?

Genuine revivals of religion produce and nourish deep and unfeigned humility. To many, the question thrice propounded to the prince of orators, What constitutes eloquence? and his thrice repeated answer, action! must be familiar. An early writer in the Church, taking advantage of the thought, in attempting to define true religion, has said it consists, *first*, of humility; *secondly*, of humility; *thirdly*, of humility. No man's religion can go any further than his humility. No man grows in grace except as he grows in humility. According to the Scriptures, sin consists very much in the opposite of humility, pride. To speak therefore of a proud Christian is a perfect absurdity, if thereby we mean to designate a holy man, yet governed by pride. And to commend a revival as genuine, which has inflated the minds of its subjects with self-conceit, and high opinions of their own powers or virtues, is as unwarrantable as if it had produced the spirit of revenge, of lying, or of murder. Ten times do the Evangelists record that saying of our Saviour, they record no other so often, "He that exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." A want of humility at such seasons is generally manifested by the assumptive conduct, unbecoming freedom, or dogmatical positiveness of its subjects. Servants act unbecomingly to their masters, children to their parents, young people to the aged, members to officers in the church, young converts to older Christians; or superiors have a lofty carriage towards inferiors. Like Diotrephes, the proud love to have the pre-eminence. Sometimes pride bursts out in fierce contentions, and dotings about strife of words to no profit. Wherever humility is lacking, true religion is lacking.

All genuine revivals will bear the test of the apostle James, when he says, (chap. iii. 17.) "The wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy."

Revivals, not tending to make us love our neighbours as ourselves, are not genuine. We have no right to believe that he has obtained forgiveness of God, who has not forgiven his brother, nor that he has obtained mercy, who does not love to show mercy. How dwelleth the love of God in one who could relieve a brother's wants and distresses, and will not? If these views be scriptural, it is not difficult to tell what we are to think, in the main, of those revivals, which in their progress assume the character of a religious quarrel carried on by ministers and a few adherents against the body of the church, and the unconverted part of the congregation. Neither can we stand longer in doubt of these reputed revivals, which, as one of Solomon's seven abominations, sow discord among brethren, destroying mutual affection and confidence between pastor and people, the eldership and the church, one member and another. It was the son of the bond-woman whose hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him.

All genuine revivals are produced in connection with evangelical truth. That error and fiction have no power or tendency to promote conversion or sanctification, need not be proved. It is alike plain that some truth, such as mathematical truth and the truth of profane history, is alike powerless in subduing the heart. But not all religious truth, nor even all revealed truth, is suited to inspire hatred of sin. To the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel is reserved the high honour of subduing the heart, and binding the soul to the throne of God. The only apparent exceptions to this doctrine, are, *first*, that any part of revealed truth may be employed for awakening the soul, and the law is always used to impart "the knowledge of sin." While this is true, yet but little is done towards a man's salvation when he is merely alarmed and convinced of sin. The work of salvation, of purification, and justification, is subsequent to these fears, and these convictions. The other apparent exception to this doctrine is, when the soul seems to receive holy comfort from expressions not found in the Bible. Thus hope and joy seem to have been communicated to Bunyan's mind from a verse in the Apocrypha: "Look at the generations of old and see did any one trust in the Lord and was confounded?" Eccl. ii. 10. This passage Bunyan supposed to be in the canonical writings, and was upheld by it, and although on discovering that he was mistaken in this supposition his heart seemed to be pained for a moment, yet did not his comforts utterly leave him. Now the true way of disposing of this seeming objection to the principle we would establish, is to state what is the undoubted truth, viz. that although the passage be not in the very words of Scripture, yet does it contain in



a very clear light, one of the fundamental and common truths of the evangelical system. It is precisely equivalent to this passage: "He that believeth shall be saved." So that we may boldly assert, that religious excitements in which it is taught and believed, that without the shedding of blood can be remission of sins, or that justification is by the works of the law, must be regarded as spurious.

Again: All genuine revivals are produced by the power of the Holy Ghost, and the genuine subjects of such revivals ascribe their conversion to the power of the Holy Spirit. The Scriptures leave us no room for doubt on both these points. Phil. ii. 13. Ephes. i. 18—20. 2 Thess. i. 11. 2 Pet. i. 3, and 1 John iii. 5, may be regarded as conclusive on the first point; and Rev. i. 5, 6. Ephes. i. 6 and 12. 1 Cor. xv. 10, sufficiently establish the last point in the assertion at the head of this paragraph. Should any desire more fully to investigate this subject, they are referred to Augustine, Epis. 107; also Augustine, lib. de Grot. cap. 24. Also, Gurnall's Christian Armor, vol. i. pp. 12—14. It is an exceedingly feeble objection to this doctrine, that the Spirit is not always mentioned, when sinners are called upon to believe, or when conversion is spoken of. Although not *always* mentioned in connection with this subject, yet is the Holy Ghost throughout the Scriptures declared to be the efficient cause of regeneration.\* Besides, hell is not mentioned once in the decalogue. Are we therefore to infer that there is not just as real, close, and indissoluble a connection between transgression of that decalogue and hell, as if hell were named at the end of each statute? It is, therefore, undoubtedly true, that revivals not produced by, and ascribed to, the power of God's Spirit, are not genuine.

The final and consummating evidence of the genuineness of a revival, according to common sense and revelation, must be the fruits of holy living. It was to this principle the Saviour appealed when he said, "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" The apples of Sodom do not grow on the trees of Paradise. Brainerd, remarking on the effects of the revival among the Indians says, "I think it worthy of remark, that numbers of these people are brought to a strict compliance with the rules of morality and sobriety, and to a conscientious performance of the external duties of Christianity, by the internal power and influence of the peculiar doctrines of grace. God was pleased to give those truths such a powerful influence upon the minds of these people, that their lives were quickly

\* See Charnock's Works, vol. iv. pp. 439—488.

reformed, without my insisting on the precepts of morality, and spending time in repeated harangues upon external duties.”\* Much more is said in the same place on this subject. May not one reason of the sudden cessation of reputed revivals be, that the hearts of those concerned in them were never truly and firmly bound and engaged to the glorious things of the Gospel? During the whole time their hearts were saying of the revival, “O that it were gone, that we might buy and sell and get gain.” If the people, who have recently had among them a reputed revival of religion, do afterwards exhibit an unsubdued fondness for wealth and splendour, for pride and party, for self and sloth; if they engage in vexatious law-suits, in giving or receiving usury, in extortion, in daring speculations; if they exhibit bad tempers, show severity of feeling towards servants and dependants; if they adhere to their old tricks of overreaching their neighbours, of chaffering and jockeying; in short, if a holy life does not succeed the revival, then was it no blessing to those who experienced it.

Having said thus much summarily on the history and nature of revivals, let us now take into consideration some things which show that it is important and absolutely necessary that such revivals as we have described should be numerous, extensive, rapid, powerful and frequent. We shall consider the whole subject in special reference to the United States.

In the first place, we in the United States are making the most important experiment in civil government ever yet made, our enemies themselves being judges; and without these revivals, the experiment must fail. More than once already has hung, “the peace of America by a thread, and factions were sharpening their weapons to cut it.” Of late years especially, have the wormwood and the gall of party spirit dashed over the bowl of our political festivity. Witness the ruthless spirit of persecution which ran high under one name, and of late was converted into a mere political party. Behold again the haughty attitude of some threatening political vengeance, and of others hurling the sternest defiance. See disappointed aspirant denounce disappointed aspirant, or unite destinies with him against a successful aspirant. How often have readers of the Scriptures been reminded within a few years of that remarkable passage—“The same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together: for before they were at enmity between themselves.” Luke xxiii. 12. During times of such excitement not only is common and statute law, but also fundamental

\* See Gillies' Collections, vol. ii. pp. 443—445; and Edwards' Works, vol. x. pp. 310—314.

law, yea, all law disregarded. In assemblies popularly called conventions, parties are organized, inflammatory addresses are prepared and sent forth to the people, and political doctrines insisted on as of the most ancient authority, which are as new as the party avowing them. Let men belong to what party they may, or let them belong to no party, and they will still say these remarks are just. All know that of late years our minds have been forced into very horrid familiarity with such words as swords, pistols, coercion, resistance, disunion, civil war, &c. Factions are of two kinds, to both of which we are subject. There is the *factio optimatum*, which rages and burns in the high places, and practises its intrigues with those in authority. There is also the *factio popularis*, which rages in the mind of that most terrible of all wild beasts, an excited populace. In our country these orders of factions, though distinct as in Rome, yet often unite for special ends, and when they do, and the populace can boast of *talents*, and the great ones of *numbers*, there is not a little danger. These factions, in the language of the Father of his country, "are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion."\*

We have no hesitation in asserting our unqualified and unwavering belief, that nothing but the prevalence of true religion, as promoted by glorious revivals, can hinder the faithful historian from emblazoning on the page of our country's future history that solemn truth so often read and so little regarded: "FACTION IS THE GRAVE OF REPUBLICS." But should even this evil be avoided, yet others might destroy us. Our large cities and towns, without the sanctifying influences of the Gospel, will become filled with dissipations, oppressions, frauds, riots, mobs, the habitations of cruelty, the dens of thieves and robbers, and the dark retreats of an organised atheism, and will vomit forth a lawless, rapacious, ignorant, and reckless horde worse than northern barbarians; or, like Sodom, being filled with pride and idleness and abundance of bread, their inhabitants will be sinners before the Lord exceedingly; and the hundred spires of sacred temples which now draw off in harmlessness the electric fluid of the divine wrath, will be laid low; and our Boston and Charleston, our Philadelphia and New York, will be as Sodom and Gomorrah, as Admah and Zeboim. The press too, may easily become licentious, the people fawning, the rulers sycophantic, honest

\* Marshall's Life of Washington, p. 697.

men flee an elective canvass, and down comes the whole fabric, notwithstanding our general unity of origin and interest, the vastness and connexion of our territory, the salubrity of our climate, the fertility of our soil, and our marvellous early history as a nation. Benevolent societies may send Bibles and Tracts, may plant schools, erect churches and support ministers; but without revivals all will be in vain, the land will mourn, the Constitution will be buried, and the cruel angel of tyranny proclaim throughout his dark dominions, that the car of liberty is rolled back and chained fast for centuries to come. The wisest and most patriotic of our political fathers have given to mankind views substantially corroborating those just expressed. Dr. Franklin, speaking to Paine about the Age of Reason, said: "I would advise you not to attempt UNCHAINING THE TIGER, but to burn this piece before it is seen by any other person. If men are so wicked WITH religion, what would they be WITHOUT it!" Washington also, in his last communication to his countrymen, says: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert the great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for prosperity, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of a refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

"It is substantially true, that religion or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?"\* But religion cannot be maintained and increased sufficiently except by revivals. It is therefore true, that without such revivals our experiment in civil government must be a failure. The importance of its success to mankind cannot make it successful.

Again: We in the United States are making a grand experi-

† Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. 5. pp. 699 and 700.



ment in church polity, having no connexion with the state, nor support from the civil arm; so that NOTHING but purely moral influence obstructs the passage of the whole nation to the gulph of Atheism. This is as it ought to be, God grant it may never be otherwise. The heaviest stroke of a nation's vengeance fall on the man or the men who shall devise any thing to the contrary! Important as we believe our experiment in civil liberty to be, we yet believe our experiment in religious liberty to be of still higher moment to the nations of the earth. Civil liberty may flourish under a limited monarchy with a free constitution; but religion under state patronage never can be pure, undefiled, and unspotted from the world; never can have free course and be glorified. How then is this moral influence to be preserved? Only by the prevalence of scriptural revivals. It is only by cultivating love to God and men, that we can keep the righteous from being sold for silver and the poor for a pair of shoes. It is only by the fear of God that the nation can be preserved from the sin of Jeremiah's time, when "every one neighed after his neighbour's wife." The grace of God alone can quench that febrile thirst, which pants "after the dust of the earth upon the head of the poor." Nothing but the fire of holy benevolence can effectually oppose the fire and the fury of fanaticism. It is not too late in the age of the world, nor in the history of America, for some master-spirit, filled with all deceivableness of unrighteousness, to gather around him an army of ignorant, infuriated fanatics, and go through the land, causing howling, lamentation and wo, and like a very tornado, making the land utterly desolate. Besides, there is at this time a most important discussion in progress in Europe, the chief force of which is derived, not from the galling effects of a hated establishment, nor from the manifest absurdity of the principles on which it is based, but from the example of America. The enemies of religious freedom are confounded by an appeal to things amongst us, but say. "Wait a few years, and you will see that religion in America is a sickly plant, not a flourishing tree under whose branches all the weary may find a quiet and cool retreat." In this state of things how unspeakably important that we should not spoil the pattern set for the world.

In the next place, nothing but such revivals as we have spoken of can cause genuine religion in this nation to keep pace with its rapid growth in some very important particulars. The growth of this nation in numbers is very great. We double our numerical strength in less than each space of 22 years. During the four years ending December 1832, more than 93,000 Protestant Irish entered the United States. That a large num-

ber of Catholic Irish entered our country during the same time, is at least very probable. But why mention particulars? Scotland, England, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Poland, Germany, Spain and Portugal, are pouring in tens of thousands of people every year. Besides, the increase of the nation by births has perhaps not been equalled by any other nation for centuries. Indeed, at the present ratio of increase, in far less than a century, the United States will contain a population of more than 100,000,000. Can religion grow with this growth except by glorious revivals?

The power of the nation, both in nominal and real wealth, is not less remarkable. Though our Atlantic States are growing amazingly in wealth, yet is wealth travelling to the west and south west annually by tens of millions. If religion be not promoted by glorious revivals, will not the wealth of the land soon be nearly all unsanctified?

The intellectual growth of the nation increases with no less rapidity. In some parts of our land the desire for general and thorough education amounts almost to a rage. And the catalogues and number of our academies, colleges, universities, seminaries, &c. declare an increase of studious persons that is really surprising. But should the head of the nation grow much, and the heart not at all, what a monstrous appearance we shall make!

In fine, the growth of the nation in numbers, wealth, intellectual power, and in some other respects, is such, that without remarkable, glorious and frequent displays of divine grace, the wickedness of the wicked, the lawlessness of the profane, the licentiousness of profligates, the fooleries of superstition, and the impieties of atheism, must ere long overrun all that is good amongst us. Our nation, if not sanctified, will be a moral and political Maelstrom that will swallow up the last and the best hopes of the patriot and the Christian in reference to our miserable world, or more than volcanic Vesuvius, whose burning lava will scathe and scald and deluge, not only the American people, but the inhabitants of the whole world. This is an appalling subject.

Without genuine revivals of religion it is impossible that our benevolent Societies can be sustained, much less increased in usefulness. It is a delightful fact that the world is in a moral posture far more advantageous for the spread of the Gospel than it has assumed for centuries. It is also true, that in benevolent exertions we have as yet but made a beginning. Indeed one half of the Christian army does not seem to have girded themselves to the battle. And yet there is "a cry among the nations," Give us books and send us men, that may tell us how we may avoid

an eternal hell and be happy forever. Some have heard this cry already; and it lasteth so long, and waxeth so loud, that even the dead, one would almost think, must soon hear it. It seems as if ere long the Christian church will be compelled to renounce her name and forsake her colours, or go to work in greater earnest than ever she has done since the Apostolic days. Of late a voice seeming to come from the angel having the everlasting Gospel to preach has, with unwonted urgency and imperiousness, summoned all our national societies to redoubled efforts.

In this state of things, the cause of benevolence must renew its strength, must mount up with wings like eagles, or as the sun, rejoice like a strong man to run a race. But whence can this cause derive alimant in sufficient quantities but from the rapidly growing numbers and devotedness of the sons of God? Indeed, without these glorious revivals of religion, our theological seminaries may be razed to the foundation, and their funds restored to the heirs of their donors, for they would soon be without converted inmates. Our sabbath schools must languish, and instead of our national union going on to bless a world, she will lose her ninety thousand teachers, and her six hundred thousand pupils, and her thousands of libraries at home. Our domestic missionary boards and societies will not be able to retain any confidence among the pious, for then the Spirit will have ceased to descend and convert thousands annually through their endeavours. Our Tract and Bible Societies will then have ceased to bless this land. There will not be holy men enough at their anniversaries to perform their funeral rites, and the world will slumber on in its vileness and guiltiness. Our Boards of Foreign Missions must cease their doings forever. There will be no more of the spirit of Foreign Missions, no Missionaries, no funds to send them. Such must be the appalling result, unless the American churches shall have a regular, a frequent succession of blessed revivals, times of the right hand of the Most High, seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord.

All the foregoing statements and reasonings derive much additional force and pointedness from the fact that, undoubtedly God's providence seems to designate America as one of the nations to bear a conspicuous part in the introduction of the latter day glory. Indeed President Edwards in his work on Revivals, chap. 5. sect. 3. has some reasonings by no means inconclusive, to show that the Sun of righteousness will rise in this western world, and roll his glories back on the old world. Whether these reasonings be true or false, one thing is certain. Nothing has occurred since the publication of that work, that opposes the

idea, while much has occurred to favour it. But dropping this idea, on which it were easy to enlarge, what Christian can doubt but America is to be one of those nations to whom is reserved the honour of filling the earth with the knowledge of God? O! how important then that in this land we have one glorious revival after another until the nation shall feel and think and resolve and act as one man. But we pass on to remark,

That beyond all doubt these persons, other things being equal, who are subjects of renewing grace in revivals, do make more solid and useful members of the church of Christ than those who are brought into the church at other times. On this subject we beg leave to introduce the testimony of one whose observation has been extensive, and we doubt not correct. Our countryman, Mr. Nettleton, has said\* in speaking of revivals and their subjects: "My heart has often been *refreshed*, when some Timothy has *brought me good tidings of the faith and charity of these young converts*. No tidings have been more '*refreshing*.' I have often had occasion to adopt the language of Paul, on this very subject; *what thanks can we render to God again, for all the joy wherewith we joy, for your sakes before our God*.

"During the leisure occasioned by my late illness, I have been looking over the regions where God has revived his work for the two years past. The thousands who have professed Christ in this time, in general appear to run well. Hitherto, I think they have exhibited more of the Christian temper, and a better example, than the same number who have professed religion when there was no revival." A few paragraphs further on he says, "When I look back on revivals which took place ten or fifteen years ago, I have been agreeably surprised to find so many of the subjects of them continuing to adorn their profession. Take the whole number who professed religion as the fruit of these revivals, and take the same number who professed religion when there was no general revival, and I do think that the former have outshined the latter. I have not made a particular estimate, but from what I have seen, I do believe that the number of excommunications from the latter is more than double in proportion to the former." This testimony is good not only for the excellence of revivals in general, but also for the purpose of proving that subjects of revivals, other things being equal, excel in graces and usefulness those who are born into the kingdom when the attention to religion is not general and solemn. All this too is just what we might expect. Any husbandman

\* Letter in Spirit of Pilgrims for Feby. 1829.



knows that a plant set in the ground during a time of general drought, even though it live, does not thrive and grow like one planted during a season of refreshing showers. The great difficulty with young converts is to get them in their thoughts to conceive, and in their hearts to adopt, a high standard of holiness. This standard is always higher in genuine revivals than in times of general languor in religion. Of course, they are more apt to surmount this difficulty. But reasoning is not necessary. The facts are admitted by all to whom this article will do any good. If then these and other things already stated be so, how important not only that we have large additions of real Christians to our churches, but also that these real Christians be diamonds of the first water, stars of the first magnitude, at least not men of the dwarfish stature of our modern race of believers. Then we must have these glorious revivals.

The importance and necessity of genuine and numerous and mighty revivals will further appear if we will but consider that thus alone can we be prepared successfully to repress spurious revivals. We are aware that this is a subject of some delicacy, yet we presume that few will doubt but there are at least in some branches or sections of the American church spurious religious excitements, which do not advance genuine religion as much as they hinder it. We say not now where or when such excitements have occurred. We merely allude to their undoubted existence, and add, that those who promote them have no confidence in the reasonings of those, who know nothing of revivals by personal experience. Besides, a people who have enjoyed a genuine revival, will be the last to approve, in their taste at least, the silly doings of some of our modern revivalists. But we only meant merely to allude to this point, and pass on to two other points.

The first of the two is the argument drawn from the priceless value of the soul in favour of revivals. Verily any soul is of sufficient worth to demand the most fervent prayers and strenuous efforts for its salvation. Let us for a moment look upon the soul as capable of enjoyment and suffering here and hereafter. If regenerate, what carefulness is wrought in it, yea what clearing of itself, yea what indignation, yea what fear, yea what vehement desire, yea what zeal, yea what holy revenge, yea what ineffable love, yea what unspeakable joy. If unregenerate, it is the subject of tormenting fears, of unprofitable carelessness, of delusive joys, of wicked revenge, of unholy burnings, of tempestuous indignation, of mortal enmity to God, of vile ingratitude for mercies, and of dark forebodings of the wrath to come.

And in eternity the righteous soul shall flourish continually,

shall enjoy more than eye hath seen, or ear heard, or the heart of man conceived; shall go from glory to glory, being swallowed up in blessedness and in God; while the impure soul will be sinking deeper and deeper in ruin, and wretchedness, and guilt, and darkness, and despair, and remorse. In that state forlorn, passion will meet passion in "the fierce clash of sinful souls, until wrath and vengeance want a name." Comprehend all that is durable in eternity, all that is valuable in heaven, all that is horrible in hell, and all that is meant by the fierceness of God's wrath, and you will then know something of the value of a soul. The mightiest angels will require a whole eternity to learn the worth of one soul. How valuable then must those revivals be in which not merely one soul, or one score, or one hundred, but hundreds of souls are born unto God.

The last argument we shall hint at in favour of the importance of revivals is, that in nothing else earthly, can the glory of God be equally promoted. It is true, that at the creation of the material universe the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy. Yet do we not hesitate to declare our belief that loudly as the heavens declare the glory of God, yet a revival, yea a genuine conversion, speaks more to the honour of God than the whole material universe, considered as a mere physical structure. If this be true, the conversion of a thousand souls more loudly proclaims the glory of God than the creation of a thousand material worlds. There is a force, a clearness, a tangibility, a brightness about the manifestations of justice, holiness, love, mercy, truth, faithfulness, wisdom, and power in saving a sinner, which we in vain search for in the work of creation. No wonder then, that the Scriptures represent all holy beings in the unseen world, from the feeblest saint up to Him that sitteth upon the throne, as rejoicing at the conversion of even *one* sinner. It is a stupendous event. There will arrive a period in duration, when the brightest beams of the clearest summer sun would be but as darkness compared with the indescribable beams of glory that shall proceed from every one of the redeemed. Even our bodies, as Chrysostom says, will shine seven times brighter than the sun; or, as Paul says, they will be like Christ's glorious body. Thus, wherever the redeemed shall be, they will publish in a manner that mere dead matter, however organized could not, that God is just, is holy, is wise, is mighty, is love. Thus will be known unto principalities and powers in heavenly places by the Church the manifold wisdom of God, and that in all ages to come. If, then, we would promote God's glory in a wonderful manner, let us labour for revivals of religion, the religion of the Gospel of Christ.

ART. VII.—*A short Narrative of the extraordinary work of grace at Cambuslang in Scotland; in a letter to a friend. With proper attestations. Reprinted from the edition of 1742.\**

PREFATORY REMARKS.

THE Narrative which follows records one of the most remarkable instances of awakening and converting grace, which is contained in the annals of our church. It has often been published, but generally in periodical works of a more perishable nature. We have therefore deemed it advisable to give it a place in our volumes, as being a document of singular value, in the history of Presbyterianism. It will serve to show that the subject of revivals has been appreciated by our forefathers; that special efforts for the awakening of sinners are not without safe precedent; and that the doctrines of our ecclesiastical standards have been graciously used by the Holy Spirit for the conviction and conversion of multitudes.—*Ed. Bib. Rep.*

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SIR,—As the report of the good work at Cambuslang, which has for several weeks engaged the attention of numbers in this city and country in the neighbourhood, is now spread over a great part of the nation; it is no wonder that one who lives at the distance you do, should be curious to have a true relation of it. And as I would be glad of any opportunity to serve you, it

\* Attestation to the facts in the following narrative, by Mr. M'Culloch, minister at Cambuslang.

May 8, 1742.

I have perused the following short narrative, and can attest the facts contained in it; partly from personal knowledge, and partly from the most credible information. But I think it a loss, that it is not more full. I have seen a larger paper compiled by different hands, which, besides the facts related in this, contains several useful reasonings, tending to prove, that the favourable judgment formed by many, and even by some, who, through want of due information, hesitated at first about this work, is supported by all that kind of evidence that things of this nature are capable of in such a space of time. And consequently, that there is good ground to hope, that by the divine blessing, the confirmation arising from perseverance, will be daily increasing as hitherto it has been.

For my own part, I desire to join in hearty prayers with the people of God, that he may revive his work in the midst of the years, in this and in all the churches, and make it to triumph over all opposition; and conclude with the words of the prophet Zech. iv. 6, 7. Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit saith the Lord. Who art thou, O great mountain before Zerubabel [the Lord Jesus Christ] thou shalt become a plain, and he shall bring forth the head-stone thereof with shoutings, crying grace, grace unto it.

WILLIAM M'CULLOCH.

is very agreeable to me, to think I can gratify you in this matter; especially in what concerns the people in that parish, and some other parishes near it, having had opportunity to converse fully with the minister of Cambuslang, and with many of the people there, who are under this spiritual exercise, and also with some other ministers, who have several in their parishes that appear to be under the same happy impressions.

There is one thing in the entry I must apprise you of, viz. That I am to confine myself to a simple narration of facts, as the evidences on which the opinion of many concerning the present happy change that is wrought on that people, is founded; without entering into any reasonings, but leaving it to yourself to draw your conclusions from the facts, after comparing them with Scripture rules and instances.

I must also acquaint you, as it was natural to expect, when on a singular occasion of this sort, great numbers of people from adjacent towns and country, came flocking to a place that became so remarkable; that in such a promiscuous multitude some counterfeits would readily happen. It was the early care of ministers, who interested themselves most in that matter, to enter into a strict examination of those who appeared to be under a more than ordinary concern, so as to obtain satisfaction to themselves whether the work was solid, being justly apprehensive, that the powers of darkness would not fail to employ their devices, to bring contempt on what might tend so much to the honour of the Gospel.

In whose watchful endeavours it must be owned, that some imposters were found to have mixed with the sincere; but there is reason to bless God, that, so far as yet appears, they have been very few; and as these have been severely rebuked, so the most awful warnings have been given, against all such insincere pretensions, which warnings, there is ground to believe, have had very good effects.

Now, Sir, to give a short history of this matter:

The minister of that parish, in his ordinary course of sermons, for near a year before this work began, had been preaching on those subjects which tend most directly to explain the nature, and prove the necessity of regeneration according to the different lights in which that important matter is represented in Holy Scripture. And for some months before the late remarkable events, a more than ordinary concern about religion appeared among that people; one good evidence of which was, that about the end of January last, a petition was given in to the ministers, subscribed by about ninety heads of families, desiring a weekly lecture should be set up; which was readily granted, and the



day fixed on Thursday, as most convenient for the temporal interests of the parish.

On Monday the 15th of February there was a general meeting at the minister's house, of the particular societies for prayer, which had subsisted in the parish for several years before. On Tuesday there was another meeting for prayer there, the occasion of which was a concert with several serious Christians elsewhere, about solemn prayer, relating to the public interests of the Gospel; in which concert only a small number of people in Cambuslang were engaged at first, but others getting notice of it desired to join and were admitted. The people who met for prayer these two days, apprehended that they had been so well employed, and found so much leisure for it, that they had a third meeting on Wednesday. But on all these three days they returned timeously in the evening to their own houses, so far is it from being true that they rushed from some of these meetings to the church and continued there immured for some days and nights, as was reported.

Before Thursday, February 18th, they had week-day sermons only on Thursdays according to the above-mentioned desire of the parish; and before that day, though several particular persons came to the minister, from time to time, under deep concern about their salvation, yet there came no great number together.

But on that day after sermon a considerable number of people, reckoned by some present about fifty, came together to the minister's house, under convictions and alarming apprehensions about the state of their souls, and desiring to speak with him.

From this unexpected number, coming in an evening in so great distress, and the necessity of the minister's exhorting them in general, and conversing with many of them separately, you will easily perceive that it behoved him to spend that night with them, as he did most part of two or three more since this work began, which is now about twelve weeks.

After this, numbers daily resorted to that place, some to hear the word, some to converse with people who were under this remarkable concern, and others with different views. And the desires and exigencies of those were such, that the minister found himself obliged to provide them daily a sermon, a few days excepted, and after sermon usually to spend some time with them in exhortations, prayers and singing of Psalms, being especially encouraged thereto by the extraordinary success with which God was pleased, from time to time, to bless his own ordinances, in so much that, by the best information that could be

had, the number of persons awakened to a deep concern about their salvation, and against whom there are no known exceptions as yet, has amounted to above three hundred. And, through divine mercy, the work seems to be still making considerable progress every week, and more for some weeks of late than some times formerly.

Of the number just now mentioned the far greater part have given already, both to ministers and other serious Christians, a good account of what they have felt in their convictions and humiliation for sin, of the way of their relief by faith in the mercy of God through Jesus Christ, and of the change they feel in the prevalent inclinations and disposition of their hearts.

As to their devotion and other parts of their practice, which is that which chiefly attracts the attention and regard of this country, there are comfortable accounts given of it, by those who have the best and most frequent opportunities of knowing their daily behaviour.

The parish of Cambuslang being of so small extent, that most of the people live within a mile of the church, and some, who have the best intelligence, being almost every day with the minister, he and they have abundant opportunities to know the practices of such of the people I am speaking of, as live within their bounds, and the account they give of it is, that they appear to be in a very hopeful way; and the like good accounts are given by several ministers and others, of such of those people as belong to other neighbouring parishes.

Among the particular good fruits already appearing, both in Cambuslang and elsewhere, the following instances seem very encouraging. A visible reformation of the lives of persons who were formerly notorious sinners; particularly the laying aside of cursing, swearing and drinking to excess, among those who were addicted to that practice. Remorse for acts of injustice, and for violation of relative duties confessed to the persons wronged, joined with new endeavours after a conscientious discharge of such duties. Restitution which has more than once been distinctly and particularly inculcated in public, since this work began; forgiving of injuries, all desirable evidences of fervent love to one another, to all men, and even to those who speak evil of them; and among those people both in Cambuslang and other parishes, more affectionate expressions of regard than ever to their own ministers, and to the ordinances dispensed by them; the keeping up divine worship in families where it was neglected very often by some and entirely by others; the erecting of new societies for prayer, both of old and young, partly within the parish, where no less than twelve such societies are

newly begun, and partly elsewhere, among persons awakened on this occasion. And, together with all these things, ardent love to the Holy Scriptures, vehement thirsting after the public ordinances, earnest desires to get private instructions in their duty from ministers and others, with commendable docility and tractableness in receiving such instructions.

This thirst after knowledge is particularly remarkable in those who were more ignorant; several who cannot read, and some of them old persons, being so desirous to be better acquainted with the word of God that they are resolved to learn to read, and some of the younger sort actually putting themselves to school.

I would farther add, that these good impressions have been made on persons of very different characters and ages; on some of the most abandoned as well as the more sober; on young as well as old; on the illiterate as well as the more knowing, on persons of a slower as well as those of a quicker and more sprightly genius; and, which seems to deserve special attention, on persons who are addicted to scoffing at sacred things, and at this work in particular at the beginning of it.

The sum of the facts I have represented to you is, that this work was begun and carried on under the influence of the great and substantial doctrines of Christianity, pressing jointly, the necessity of repentance towards God, of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and of holiness in all manner of conversation; that it came after such preparatives as an extensive concern about religion gradually increasing; together with an extraordinary fervent prayer in large meetings, particularly relating to the success of the Gospel; that great and successful pains have been taken to discover and discountenance hypocritical pretences, and to warn people against what might have the least appearance of enthusiasm or delusion. That the account given by a very large number of people of their inward exercises and attainments, seems to agree with the Scripture standard; and are bringing forth in practice, fruits meet for repentance; comprehending the several branches of piety, and of the most substantial morality, that can entitle men to the regard of friends of religion and virtue.

And now, Sir, I have given you a plain and simple account of the most material facts relating to this extraordinary work at Cambuslang, and these awakened there belonging to other parishes; together with the proper documents by which these facts are supported, in all which I have avoided disputing and studied brevity.

I leave it to you to judge how far such facts make it evident,

that this work is from God; when (to use the words of a pious divine treating of a subject of the same nature.)\* “He that was formerly a drunkard lives a sober life; when a vain, light and wanton person becomes grave and sedate, when the blasphemer becomes a praiser of God, when carnal joy is turned into heaviness, and that professedly on account of their soul’s condition; when the ignorant are filled with knowledge of divine things, and the tongue that was dumb in the things of God speaks the language of Canaan, when secure sinners have been roused with a witness about the state of their souls, Luke xi. 21, 11, those who were ignorant can speak skilfully about religious things, and even the graceless are increased in knowledge, swearers drop their oaths and speak reverently of God; vain persons who minded no religion, but frequented taverns and frolics, passing their time in filthiness, foolish talking and jesting, or singing paltry songs, do now frequent Christian societies (for prayer) seeking Christian conversation and talking of soul concerns, and choose to express their mirth in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs; they who were too sprightly to be devout, and esteemed it an unmanly thing to shed tears for their soul’s state, have mourned as for an only son, and seem to be in bitterness as for a first born, Zach. xii. 10. And persons who came to mock at the lamentations of others, have been convinced, and by free grace proselyted to such ways as they formerly despised.

I am, Sir,

May 8. 1742.

Yours, &c.

It may be of use to readers, who live at a distance, in perusing the following attestations, to know, as to the situation of Cambuslang, that it lies about four miles from Glasgow. The several parishes, whose ministers, heritors, and elders sign most of the attestations, lie very near it, viz. the parishes of Kilbryde, Bothwell, old Monkland and Barony. That Mr. Matthew Connell and Mr. William Hamilton live but about three miles from Cambuslang, and are the oldest ministers of the Presbytery of Hamilton, in whose bounds that parish lies. That the two preachers who sign a joint attestation, and are young men of known probity, have frequently assisted Mr. M’Culloch of late; that Mr. Duncan resides in the parish, and Mr. Young has resided a considerable time in the Gorbals near Glasgow, where many of the awakened people dwell. Also that Mr. Willison and Mr. M’Kneight, who live at a good distance from Cambuslang,

\* See Mr. Finley’s sermon entitled, *Christ Triumphant*, &c.



spent some time there inquiring into this work as their attestations bear.

ATTESTATIONS, TO THE FACTS IN THE NARRATIVE, RELATING TO  
THE FRUITS OF THIS WORK.

*Attestation I. By Mr. Willison, one of the Ministers of Dundee.*

Glasgow, April 15, 1742

Rev. and Dear Brother,

SEEING some are desirous to have my thoughts of the work at Cambuslang, I am willing to own, that I have travelled a good way to inquire and get satisfaction about it. And having resided several days in Mr. M'Culloch's house, I had occasion to converse with many who had been awakened and under convictions there: I found several in darkness and great distress about their souls condition, and with many tears bewailing their sins and original corruption, and especially the sin of unbelief, and slighting of a precious Christ, and some who had been in this case for these several weeks past; yet I saw nothing in any tending to despair, but on the contrary their exercise pointed still at the great remedy, for oft they would be breaking out in hopeful expressions such as, "though he slay me I will trust in him."

Others I found in a most desirable frame, overcome with a sense of the most wonderful love, and loveliness of Jesus Christ, even sick of love, and inviting all about them to help them to praise him.

I spoke also with many who had got relief from their soul trouble, and in whom the gracious work of the Spirit of God appeared in the fruits and effects of it, according to my apprehension, such as their ingenious confessing of their former evil ways, and professing a hatred of sin; very low and abasing thoughts of themselves; renouncing the vanities of the world, and all their doings and righteousness, and relying wholly upon Christ for righteousness and strength; and expressing great love to Christ, to the Bible, to secret prayer, to the people of God, and to his image in whomsoever it was, without respect to persons or parties; and also love to their enemies; and when they heard of some who called the work at C——g a delusion of the devil, they showed no resentment against them, but wished their eyes might be opened, and earnestly wished they could bring all their enemies, and all the world to their dear Redeemer.

I conversed with some who had been very wicked and scandalous, but now wonderfully changed: though some were very

rude and boisterous before, they now had the mildness and meekness of the Lamb about them. When they spoke of their former ways they blushed and wept, and said none in all the country round were so vile as they, and earnestly desired to exalt free grace. And when I was cautioning them against new temptations and relapses, they showed a sense of their own weakness, and were afraid on that account to come near their old companions, though they would fain had them also brought to Christ. They said, they would wish rather to die than go back to their old sins, and if ever they should be left to any of them, they would incline to leave the country, because of the dishonor it would bring on the work of God, which they could not bear to see

Though I conversed with a great number both men and women, old and young, I could observe nothing visionary or enthusiastic about them; for their discourses were solid, and experiences scriptural; and all the comfort and relief they got from trouble, still came to them, by some promise or word of scripture cast into their minds, and it was pleasant to hear them mention the great variety of these words up and down the Bible. And some who could not read told their words of consolation, not knowing well if they were in the Bible or not, and when upon asking if they were Bible words or not, they greatly rejoiced to find they were.

I had heard much of this surprising work by letters and from eye-witnesses before I came, but all that made slight impressions on me, when compared with what I was eye and ear-witness to myself.

Upon the whole, I look on the work at Cambuslang to be a most singular and marvellous outpouring of the Holy Spirit which Christ hath promised; and I pray it may be a happy forerunner of a general reviving of the work of God in this poor decayed Church, and a blessed mean of union among lovers of our dear Jesus.

I am sorry I cannot stay to assist you further in this good work my business and circumstances oblige me to return homewards. May the Lord himself strengthen and encourage you in his work and graciously carry on what he has begun, and take to him his great power, that he may reign gloriously through all the land. I remain with all sincerity,

Your most affectionate brother, and  
servant in the Lord,  
JOSEPH WILLISON.

*Attestation II. By Mr. Connel, Minister in Kilbryde.*

Rev. and dear Brother,

Many have asked my opinion of the work at Cambuslang, which I freely gave (as I now write to you) that I looked upon it as a work of God's Spirit. When I compared the exercise of several persons that had been there, with the Scripture accounts of convictions and conversion, I have been under a necessity to conclude, that it is neither delusion nor imposture, as has been given out by those who are unacquainted with the dealings of God of that kind, or under the influence of party zeal.

Some I have seen crying out of the evil of sin, and of their danger by it, sadly bewailing their guilt and misery, expressing a most earnest desire of an interest in Christ, which they said they would value more than all the world, but bitterly complaining of want of love to him, want of faith in him, and undutiful carriage towards him through their past life, and if now it might be their attainments, for former coldness and deadness, to have love to Christ; for unbelief, faith in him; and for an undutiful behaviour towards him, a sincere and hearty embracing of him in the Gospel offer, and living the rest of their time to the praise and glory of his name. This they would account their greatest happiness, and the remedy of all the evils in their case; and for this effect, they begged the help of prayers.

Others I have seen who lamented their lost time and opportunities, and the vanity and the folly of their youth, saying, many good sermons and prayers they had heard, but all had been lost to them, and had no good effect upon them, being wholly carried away with youthful vanities and follies; but added now we are resolved in the strength of the grace of Christ (for said they of ourselves we can do nothing) to improve time and opportunities better, to value sermons and prayers, to read the Scriptures, to keep company with the fearers of God, and to shun fellowship with the wicked as much as possible, blessing God that he had not taken them away before they saw the necessity of all these.

Others I have conversed with, who like doves of the valleys, were mourning for their iniquities, principally because they did strike against God and wound their Redeemer, using the expression Psalm li. 4. and Zach. xii. 10. But with good hope through the merits of Christ and mercy of God in him that it would be well with them.

Others I have observed at one time much dejected and under a cloud, at another time possessed of a good measure of spiritual joys, as it happens with the best of saints.

Others I have heard cry, they had spent their money for that which is not bread, and their labour for that which did not satisfy, having given their time and strength to the world and the things of it, which now they resolved against, these being matters of greater moment, which they saw and were convinced they should be mainly taken up about.

And to trouble you with no more (for I could write you a volume on this subject,) a young woman, who after having given me a distinct account of her distress and outgate, said, I have lived about twenty years in the world, and all that time the devil had possession of my heart, and I am sure he is a bad guest, but blessed be God I hope he is now in a great measure dispossessed, and shall never, through the strength of Christ, recover the power over me that formerly he had. Meantime I observe to you, this person had all along been of a blameless life, and not chargeable with any scandal, but with tears regretted her careless way of going about secret duty, reading of the Scriptures, and hearing sermons, or neglecting these altogether; but with much humility and seriousness, in the strength of divine grace, expressed her resolution, that she would do so no more.

Upon the whole, in most of all I have seen and conversed with, I observed, and have daily occasion to observe, the effects of godly sorrow mentioned by the apostle 2 Cor. vii. 11.

Praying the pleasure of the Lord may more and more prosper in your hands, and begging the help of your prayers for me and this people,

I am, Rev. and dear brother,  
Yours, most affectionately,  
MATTHEW CONNELL.

*Attestation III. By Mr. John Hamilton, Minister of the Gospel in Barony.*

I understand it is expected from me, that I should declare my sentiments of the extraordinary work at Cambuslang, as a good many of my parishioners have lately been awakened there, to a great concern about their souls' happiness.

As soon as I was informed of their condition, I made it my business to wait on them, and found a good many persons under the deepest exercise of soul, crying out most bitterly, of their lost and miserable estate, by reason of sin, of their unbelief, in despising Christ, and the offers of the Gospel, of the hardness of their heart, and their former gross carelessness and indifferency about religion. And though some, them said, they had regularly attended the preaching of the Gospel, yet acknowledged,



with much regret, their misimprovement of it; how many sweet sermons they had heard without any benefit, and they came to church with no design to be instructed, but only, as they said, to see and be seen.

I have heard them expressing a great deal of sorrow for these things, and seemingly, in the most serious and sincere manner; and not so much, as some of have told me, from the fear of punishment, to which they had thereby exposed themselves, as from a sense of the dishonour they had done to God and the blessed Redeemer; and frequently aggravated their sins from this consideration, that they had been the betrayers and murderers of the Lord of glory.

And though I have seen some of them under extreme affliction and distress, I could never observe the least disorder in their judgments. But their complaints were always suitable to their condition. Neither have I observed any of them carried away with despairing thoughts of the mercy of God, but all of them seem to be seeking relief in the method the Gospel proposes; and expressed the warmest desires after an interest in Christ to obtain which said they would cheerfully lay down their lives, and part with every thing that was dear to them in the world.

I have at several different times conversed with many of these persons, and have received no small satisfaction from such conversations. When speaking of prayer, they have told me how much their duty had been neglected by them, and in what a cold, lifeless manner it was performed; from which therefore they neither did nor could reap any satisfaction; but now, they said, it was an exercise in which they found much sweetness and comfort.

Their love to the Holy Scriptures all of them express in the most lively and moving manner, frequently calling it a precious and invaluable treasure, greatly surprised how they could possibly slight it so much in time past, and declaring they now saw many things in it highly useful and comfortable to them, which they never before imagined had been there.

They express a great love to and desire after the public ordinances; when I have asked some of them if they had as much affection as the Psalmist speaks of in the beginning of cxxii. Psalm, when it was said to him, 'Let us go up to the house of the Lord,' they have told me that though it was quite otherwise with them before, yet now they found a vast pleasure in attending the Church and public worship of God, and a great unwillingness in them to withdraw from it when the service was over.

They are likewise exceedingly desirous of more private instruction in their duty, and take all opportunities of waiting on

those that can be of use to them, and such of them as are near at hand, do frequently come to my house, and receive my advice and assistance, and I never saw persons more docile than they are. I must own, indeed, that when I first conversed with them, I found some of them pretty ignorant of the principles of religion. But this was what they seemed deeply grieved and afflicted for, and much condemned their former sloth and negligence, and since that time have been making use of the proper means of knowledge, and I think I can say, with no contemptible success, considering the short time they have had.

Some of them seem to discover devout breathings of soul after God and the blessed Redeemer, and resolutions through grace to depend upon him in the worst of circumstances, often making use of these words of Job xiii. 15, 'Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.' I have been surprised to see how readily, nay even judiciously, some of them who have been formerly ignorant and unconverted, have spoke of some of the most important points of practical religion, and with what facility they had adduced passages of Scripture, very suitable to what they were speaking about.

There is another branch of Christian duty, that I do think they are likewise studying a conformity to, and that is love to mankind. I have heard them often wishing and desiring that all men might be brought to Christ and the knowledge of the truth, and particularly expressing a great regard for all that are the Lord's people. So far as I have yet access to know them, they seem to be of a meek and quiet spirit, and willing to forgive, telling me they desire to wish well, and to pray even for the happiness of those who had been injurious to them.

More might be said on this subject, but I choose rather to be sparing, till time make a clearer discovery of them.

The persons I have conversed with were of different characters. Some of them had all along been pretty sober and regular in their lives, and duly enough attended the ordinances of the Gospel, others of them were very careless this way, and addicted to many sins. But even those who were more blameless in their lives, have declared, that their hearts till now were never touched with anything they had heard from the word of God, that they had never lived under the influence of religion, and were grossly unconcerned about their salvation.

These now are the appearances I observe among some of my people, who were awakened to a concern about their souls at Cambuslang; which do strongly incline me to think that it is the work of God.

JOHN HAMILTON.

*Glasgow, April 26, 1742.*

*Attestation IV. By Mr. William Hamilton, Minister at Bothwell.*

Rev. and dear Brother,

I have seen the attestation by the Rev. Mr. Matthew Connell in Kilbryde, as also that by the Rev. Mr. John Hamilton in Barony. As I have no new thing to add, so I heartily join in the same sentiments with my above named brethren, both as to the reality of that extraordinary work at Cambuslang, being in very deed a gracious work of the Spirit of God, designed, I firmly believe, for the saving conviction and conversion of many perishing souls, not only in that parish, but in the neighbourhood. May the Lord, in his infinite mercy, shed abroad the influences of his saving grace through all the corners of the land.

There are a good number of my people, mostly young people, who have been awakened at Cambuslang, and have much the same account to give of them as my above named brethren. All of them are very serious and concerned about their soul's case, and are very solicitous to have others brought to acquaintance with Christ, and the way of salvation through him. Which has had, I hope, this blessed effect, that there seems to be a more than ordinary seriousness among a goodly number in several corners of this congregation, more conscience made of family worship in several families who made but too little account of it before; as likewise there are some new societies for prayer and Christian conference set up in this congregation, wherein several persons, besides these awakened at Cambuslang, have joined. I hope these things, through the blessing of God, may prove the beginning of much good, in this and in other places. May that blessed God, who has begun a good work, carry it on and perfect the same until the day of Jesus Christ!

May the Lord direct and assist you and all his servants to a right and faithful management of our great master's work amongst our hands. I add no more, but am, with the greatest sincerity,

Your affectionate brother,

and humble servant in the Lord,

W. HAMILTON.

*Attestation V. By Mr. William Hamilton, Minister in Douglas.*

Rev. and dear Brother,

WHILE I was with you, it gave me great pleasure to see so much concern upon people's spirits about the salvation of their precious and immortal souls, a thing very rare amongst us; some whom I had occasion to discourse with, appeared to be in the

utmost distress on account of sin, both original and actual, and that principally as it is that abominable thing which God hates. Others whose consciences God had awakened with a sense of guilt, but had now got believing views of Christ, as a most complete Saviour, both able and willing to save, and whom God had determined by the power of his Spirit to yield themselves to the Lord; they in a very strong manner expressed love to their God and Saviour, and to all his commands; and declared, that it was their firm purpose and resolution, through the assistance of the Holy Spirit, to walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless; and seemed more afraid of offending God, than of any sufferings they might be exposed to in the world. And their practices, as far as I can hear, are as yet agreeable to their resolutions; so that I not only hope but think I have good ground to believe, that work begun and for some time past carried on amongst the people of Cambuslang, and strangers that have resorted thither from many distant parts shall appear to the conviction of all good men, to be the work of God, from the after holy life and conversation, of not a few of these, whose consciences have at this time been awakened to a sense of their lost and undone state by nature. That the Lord may more and more assist, strengthen, and support you, and give you and all faithful ministers of the Gospel many seals of the ministry, is the hearty prayer of,

Your affectionate brother,

W. HAMILTON.

May 6th, 1742.

*Attestation VI. By Mr. McKnight, Minister at Irwin.*

Rev. and dear Brother,

As I had by information from letters, conceived a good opinion of the extraordinary and surprising work at Cambuslang before I went thither, upon an invitation from you, to preach there last Sabbath; so my said opinion has been very much confirmed by what I was an eye and ear witness to, during my abode with you, from Saturday to Tuesday last; being still more and more persuaded, that it is the real work of the Spirit of God.

While I joined with your congregation in public worship, I observed amongst the vast numbers that flocked to hear the Gospel preached at Cambuslang, not only the serious looks, the grave deportment, and the close attention of the multitudes to what was spoken, but also the weeping eyes of many that appeared to be in the greatest distress and trouble.

Again, in the evenings, after public worship was ended, and when I had occasion to converse with several of these afflicted



persons, I found their wounds and anguish of soul, together with their tears, did proceed not from a whimsical and enthusiastic imagination, but from a deep conviction of the great evil and demerit of sin, original and actual, particularly of their sin of unbelief, and slighting precious Christ, and the gracious offers of salvation by him; and when I exhorted and directed them to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, as the Apostle Paul did the convinced and trembling jailor, Acts xvi. 31, they answered, Lord help me to believe, gladly would I believe but I cannot. However, while under their soul exercises for sin, and because of God's wrath, I heard them expressing ardent desires after Christ, and an interest in him, and salvation by him; and a great thirst after the word, the knowledge of God and of divine things, and after a saving faith in Jesus, gave me ground to hope our Redeemer would soon accomplish these desires in relieving them from their distresses, of body and mind.

Likewise I conversed with others, who were under piercing and deep convictions of sin; and have felt the sharp arrows of the Almighty sticking fast in their souls, and to whom the Spirit of God had, upon their believing in Jesus Christ, applied his precious blood to heal these wounds, and hereon hath granted them relief and comfort, hath delivered their souls from death, their eyes from tears, and their feet from falling; for which distinguishing mercies, they were exalting free grace, saying with the Apostle Paul, It is by grace we are what we are, and blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ.

They, when I conversed with them, declared distinctly the way and manner, how their convictions began and wrought, and how the relief they got from soul troubles came to them. They also discovered the gracious work of the Spirit of God upon their souls, in their confession of sin with shame, sorrow and blushing; in their professing a hatred of it, and loathing themselves on account thereof, crying out behold we are vile, we abhor ourselves and repent in dust and ashes, in their love to God, and his ordinances, in renouncing their own righteousness and relying wholly on Christ for righteousness and strength, in their high esteem of, and ardent love to, their dear Redeemer, in their charity and love to one another, and to all Christians, and especially to those who are the real disciples of the Lord Jesus, and bears the image of their heavenly Father; in their tender sympathy with, and affectionate concern for those that fall under distress and anguish of spirit for sin; and in their endeavours to relieve them, by good advices and proper exhortations, and to comfort the dejected and disquieted in mind, with the consolations wherewith they

themselves had been comforted. These are a few of the good fruits of the Spirit of God, I observed among several I conversed with at Cambuslang.

Therefore I cannot but bear a testimony, that in my apprehension, the surprising work with you, dear brother, for these several weeks past, is of God. And if the work be of God, then neither the devil, nor all his agents shall be able to overthrow it; yea, I hope through the divine blessing on the seed sown, and to be sown, to hear more of its remarkable success with you. As I desire to join you in giving thanks to God, for this remarkable countenancing your sacred ministrations to many in your parish and neighbourhood; so I intreat you may constantly remember me, and my flock at the throne of grace; and join with us in earnest and repeated prayers to God, that the like observable outpourings of the Holy Spirit may visit my congregation and the neighbouring parishes; to revive his work in this west country; and may it not only spread through all the churches in Britain and Ireland, but throughout all the churches in the world, for building up Zion; yea, that the heathen may be given to Christ for his inheritance, and the utmost ends of the earth for his possession.

That a rich and powerful blessing from heaven, may crown your ministerial labours with more and more success, is and shall be the earnest prayer of,

Your affectionate brother,  
and servant in the Lord,  
Irvine, May 6, 1742. W. M<sup>c</sup>KNEIGHT.

*Attestation VII. By John M<sup>c</sup>Laurin, one of the ministers of Glasgow.*

May 12th, 1742.

HAVING had occasion not only to converse with several in this city, who have been lately awakened at Cambuslang, to a deep concern about salvation; and upon inquiry to get good accounts of their behaviour; but also to bestow some pains, in conversations and inquiries of that kind, in the parish of Cambuslang itself; by these means I am in a condition to affirm on good grounds, several of the most material things in the above narrative and attestations. But in regard of the intended brevity of this paper, I judge it proper to avoid too particular repetition of things already attested by so many good hands.

By the accounts which several of these people give of their impressions of eternal importance, with great appearances of sincerity, supported by the accounts given by others of their conduct, they seem in the judgment of charity, to be persons to

whom the following Scripture characters agree, viz: That they are of broken hearts and contrite spirits; that they come to God through Jesus Christ as the way, the life, and the truth; that they endeavour by the grace of God, to give all acceptation, to the true and faithful saying, that Christ come to save sinners, that they have the love of God shed abroad in their hearts, and earnest desires to have his laws written on their hearts. While they are still deeply sensible of the remainders of evil that cleave to them and others in this imperfect state.

By the accounts given of their practice, by those who have the nearest view of it, they appear to have forsaken the sins to which they were addicted, to delight in the duties from which they were averse, to watch against temptations, to which they formerly yielded; and instead of separating one part of religion from another, to have a strict regard to the precepts of both tables of the divine law. Herein exercising themselves to have consciences void of offence toward God and toward men.

From the best observations I could make on their disposition and behaviour, compared with the observations made by others, they seem, in a particular manner, to excel in meekness, humility, self-denial, and charity. In the wisdom from above, described in Scripture (James iii. 17,) as first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, &c. in aversion from things that tend to strife rather than to edification; and in ardent desire of the conversion and salvation of others.

I would not be understood to assert such things of all whom I know to have pretended to seriousness about religion, on this occasion; being particularly concerned to attest from personal knowledge, in conjunction with Mr. M'Culloch, that part of the above narrative which relates to pains taken, with some success in detecting deceivers. A correspondence having been set on foot, and being indeed kept up still, and several here having begun and resolving to continue a proper scrutiny from time to time, in order to such discoveries.

Mean time, whatever ungrateful discoveries may have been made already, which indeed are not many, or may hereafter be the result of such inquiries; people of candour will own, that the faults of a few particular persons ought not to be charged on a body of serious people, who to other evidences of sincerity, add that of a hearty concern, that deceivers or backsliders may be detected, admonished, and by the divine blessing reclaimed.

Whereas an unknown person very lately wrote a letter to Mr. M'Culloch, dated April 29th, (in which was enclosed another letter with a twenty shilling note to Mr. J. J. merchant in this

city, on account of wrong done to his father of two or three shillings value many years ago) and that unknown person desires that in the printed account, that was expected of the work at Cambuslang, there might be some instructions about restitution; it is thought sufficient, in regard of the shortness of this paper, to refer that person and others, to the Scriptures cited in our Larger Catechism, where it treats of the eighth commandment; and to approved commentaries on the ten commandments in general, asserting and proving the necessity of that duty.\*

While the friends of religion will judge themselves obliged to desire, that all who have been awakened to a serious concern about it, may prove real converts, persevering to the end, they and others should remember, that though several should backslide, which God of his mercy prevent, it can be no argument against the sincerity of the rest.

So far as we have credible accounts of works to which this bears a resemblance, it does not appear, by what I can recollect or learn from persons well skilled in church history, that ever there were so great numbers awakened to so deep concern about their souls, attended with so promising evidences, as these mentioned in the above narrative and attestations, without a happy issue. It appears therefore agreeable to the rules of charity and just reasoning, to hope for the like good issue as to this present case.

It consists with my knowledge, that as to such of the people whom this paper treats of, as seem to have attained to joyful hopes, on which some particular Scripture promises appear to have a remarkable influence, care is taken to examine them, and to direct them to examine themselves about the essential evidences of interest in Christ, and so all the promises in general.

JOHN M'LAURIN.

*Attestation VIII. By two Preachers to the success of the Gospel at Cambuslang, for several weeks past.*

May, 1742.

HAVING had access to examine several persons that have been awakened to a serious concern about salvation by means of the ministrations of the Gospel there, we find with many of them what we cannot but construct, in the judgment of charity, to be promising appearances, or hopeful beginnings of a good work of

\* See Mr. Durham on the Ten Commandments.



grace; such as a deep sense of their sinful and guilty state, and apprehension of the extreme need of the Saviour Jesus Christ, to be justified by his blood, and sanctified by his Spirit. Their plain confession of their great ignorance, and blindness in the things of God, and mysteries of his kingdom, and earnest desire to know the truth as it is in Jesus; and laborious diligence to be better acquainted with the first principles of his doctrine; deeply lamenting their heart pollutions and abominations, as well as their great neglect of God's worship, and careless regard of the great salvation formerly, and with some their gross vices and scandalous profanations of God's name and day; their frequent complaints of the sin of unbelief in Christ, and of the deadness and hardness of their hearts, and anxious concerns and prayers to have them softened with the spiritual views of Christ as crucified, into the exercises of godly sorrow and repentance, and reduced in captivity to the obedience of the faith. Their cautious guard against sin and temptation; their tender circumspection over themselves, lest the corrupt conversation of others, the hearing of which sometimes is unavoidable, might stifle their serious concern, and extinguish religious impressions. Their frequent watchfulness unto the duties of worship, reading the scriptures as it becomes the oracle of the living God, hearing the Gospel preached with serious attention as the voice of Christ speaking to them; praying to God as the Searcher of hearts and trier of the reins, humbly supplicating him with a deep sense of their own unworthiness and demerit, as the father of all mercies, and God of all grace in Christ, and making conscience of having him frequently in their thoughts, and being tenderly sensible when the Spirit breathes on their souls in such exercises, as a Spirit of life and liberty, and anon when he withholds his sensible influences and consolations of grace, their hearts are troubled.

And when we consider that the young are early inquiring the way to Zion, seeking the Lord with weeping and supplication, that sinners are taught God's ways, and transgressors converted to him, the openly profane and profligate, who were running head-long in the paths of the destroyer, and enticing and corrupting others into the same pernicious courses, stopped in their hot career, and reformed by sovereign victorious grace, frequenting Christian fellowships, and abounding in Christian conference, and heartening and encouraging others to walk in wisdom's ways which are pleasantness and peace. We have good grounds to rejoice at this remarkable success of the Gospel, and to bless the name of God for giving such a sensible testimony to the word of his grace, and to plead in prayer to him, filling our mouths with this argument. That as he has begun to lift up

a cloud of his gracious presence on this spot of his vineyard that he would spread it far and wide, so that in many places the gathering of the people may be to our Shiloh, and many may be observed to fly unto him as clouds and as doves to their windows, even to fly for refuge from the wrath to come, and lay hold on the hope set before them.

JAMES YOUNG.

AL. DUNCAN.

*Attestation IX. By Mr. D. Connel, Preacher of the Gospel.*

YOU desire some account from me, of what I have observed or know with regard to the work at Cambuslang, which I shall give without art or disguise.

I have conversed with a good many in this parish that have been affected there. Some have told me that by what they heard in sermon, they had great desires raised in their minds to be burdened with sin, that so they might come to Christ. And then have got so great a sense of sin and guilt as they could well bear. Others that have come to me in great distress, when I asked them how they came to me in that condition? answered, that while they were hearing some private exhortations of the minister, a great many of their sins were brought to their remembrance. They thought they had been doing nothing but sinning all their days; that they were empty of all good, and that they were undone without Christ. Some have told me, they met with great opposition in going to attend upon the ordinances, but they became resolute and went. And what places of Scripture first fastened any sense of sin upon their minds; how this was more and more increased, and what text kept them from despair amidst the greatest terror one could readily be under. Others, that all things in the world were now become tasteless to them, seeing the danger their souls were in. I have seen some sitting all alone in tears, and when I asked them what was the matter, they said, they were afraid lest their convictions should go off without any good effect; and expressed a strong desire after Christ. Others that seemed to be under great concern, being asked what they wanted, said, conviction of sin and faith in Christ. I have been greatly surprised to hear such a distinct account of the provoking nature of sin, and the terms of our acceptance with God, given by those that are reputed the most ignorant, and who I believe knew scarce any thing at all of religious matters till this work began. I cannot say, that among all I have conversed with here, I have

found one in despair, but have heard them expressing a great sense of their inability to believe.

I have heard them expressing the highest esteem of the mercy of God, and the mediation of Christ; the most earnest desire after an interest in him; and telling the promises and declarations of mercy, and representations of Christ in the Scripture, that were the foundation of their hope, and praising Christ as one altogether lovely.

I have heard them expressing a sense of the evil of sin, and their own vileness by it; earnest desires after perfection in holiness, and fears lest they should fall back in their former sinful state; mentioning the promises that supported them under these fears, and telling what love and joy and praise these produced when cast into their minds.

Their earnest desire and diligent endeavours after more knowledge, the deep sense and a sweet relish of divine truths they seem to have, their readiness to apply what they hear to themselves, even these things that discover more of the corruption of their hearts, or errors of their lives to them, the pouring out of their souls to God in prayer, which they speak of, the perplexity and dejection I have seen them in, when, as they told me, they have not been able to do this, the steadiness and fixedness of their minds on spiritual things not only in stated duties, but when about their worldly affairs, that they inform me of. Their grief when vain thoughts fill their minds, and restlessness till they recover their former spirituality, their charitable disposition towards men, of which I could give variety of instances; their great care to do the will of God, and fear lest they trust in their own righteousness: These and other things I have observed in, or heard from them, and about them, puts it out of doubt with me, that the finger of God is in this work, which I pray may more and more appear.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

DAVID CONNELL.

Kilbryde, May 14th, 1742.

*A true account of the wonderful conversion at Cambuslang, contained in a letter from a gentleman in the Gorbles of Glasgow, as a satisfactory answer to his friend at Greenock.*

Sir,

The work at Cambuslang is so differently spoken of with us, that serious people are at a loss what opinion to entertain about it; and even people who went from this place to Cambuslang, on purpose to satisfy themselves, differ after they are come

home; some calling it mere delusion; others judging it a glorious work of the Spirit of Almighty God. So, for my and others of your acquaintances here, their satisfaction, I have troubled you with this missive, desiring you may favour us with your opinion of the affair. In giving it freely, you will oblige,—Sir, your humble servant.

A. B.

Greenock, March 28th, 1742.

Sir,

In answer to yours in few words, take the following account of the work at Cambuslang. Notwithstanding of all the slur cast upon it, I can take it to be nothing but the mighty power of God concurring with the means of grace of God's own institution and appointment, and making a preached Gospel mighty through God to the pulling down strong holds, &c. And after strict and impartial inquiry and examination into its first spring and rise, I tell you that Mr. M'C—h hath for a considerable time past, been praying fervently for a revival to decayed religion, and that God might glorify himself in the conversion of sinners, be the instruments how they will. And after he had preached long upon the new birth, he was observed one day in prayer to express himself, 'Lord who hath believed our report? or to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?' Where is the fruit of my labours among this people? Upon his expressing these words, several of the congregation instantly cried out publicly. I must likewise observe to you, that the people there have been wonderfully given to private, secret and social prayer, and religious conferences, assembling themselves as the manner of some is, and considering one another to provoke to love and good works. And, as there has been unusual wrestling and pouring forth of their hearts in prayer, intercessions and supplications, it appears evident to me, that the hearer of prayer hath heard in heaven, his dwelling place, and turned their prayers into their own bosom; and, as they have been unusually exercised, there's unusual fruits now following thereupon. For,

1st. The Rev. Mr. M'C—h, or some other for him, hath preached daily, Sabbaths and week days, these five weeks last past; and several days he and another both.

2dly. These public ordinances have been attended with people in the parish, and out of the parish from distant places, thirsting after the sincere milk of the word.

3dly. Either before or after public worship, and ordinarily both, the people convened in the manse, the church, or other convenient places for prayer, praising, reading the Scriptures,



solving cases of conscience, religious conferences, and the like godly exercises.

4thly. At public ordinances there has appeared amidst the whole congregation great and unusual awakenings among the hearers, insomuch that several have been pricked in their hearts, and cried out like Peter's hearers, men and brethren what shall we do to be saved? Others lamenting their lost state, adding: They have been despisers and rejecters of a crucified Christ. And others unable to conceal great raptures of joy in their believing, and using all friendly offices to administer consolation and comfort to those in soul trouble.

5thly. There have been several drooping and disconsolate persons, after swooning amidst the congregation, carried to the manse, and attended closely there several days and nights by Mr. M'C——h, and other ministers or preachers, and known experienced christians, approved by them, who have been at all pains imaginable with them, praying with and for them, solving their doubts and administering consolation to them on scripture grounds.

6thly. Persons thus exercised have consisted most of illiterate folk, or of those formerly of no very great note for christian knowledge, profession, or practice of religion, yet now, by all that appears to the minister and other solid judicious experimental christians, there is a real, thorough, and universal change wrought upon them, and the converts are mostly, though not altogether, young ones.

7thly. I am credibly informed, that the apparent change wrought at Cambuslang, by means of a preached Gospel, doth prove itself to have been real by the fruits and good effects that have followed thereupon in their lives after they have gone home, particularly their spending spare time in secret retirements, pouring forth their hearts in prayer, and by their being strict and circumspect in their afterwalk and conversation.

8thly. As the work holds on, and some persons are newly awakened, which were not known to be concerned before, so Mr. M'C——h seems to renew his strength; and notwithstanding of extraordinary fatigue and toil, both in season and out of season, he seems to be more than ordinary lively, prompt and extemporary in all the parts of his ministerial work.

And though I am neither to say that all who have been convicted have actually been converted, nor that the convictions of all have been alike deep, durable, and genuine, yet I assure you there has been days of power there, and such days as I take to be in answer to the prayers, wishes and wrestlings of such as seek the face of the God of Jacob with their whole hearts desire, even yet

in this day of upsittiness, deadness and formality. But such as are otherwise minded, they will oblige me if they answer the subsequent queries.

Q. 1. Where doth it appear that satan ever promoted the interest of his kingdom purely by the preached Gospel, since it is the very device infinite wisdom hath contrived for its overthrow?

Q. 2. Where can we instance that satan wrought in people an earnest desire and thirsting after the ordinances as new born babes after the breast.

Q. 3. If it be not rather one of the depths and devices of satan to lull people asleep in security and thoughtlessness about a future state, rather than to prompt them jointly with exercised folk to awake, when others sleep, in praying, wrestling, praising, religious conference and proposing doubts and fears about their spiritual state.

Q. 4. Doth it not appear evident that it is the Spirit of the Lord poured down, when we see young ones not come to age to discern betwixt the right hand and the left in religious concerns, having the gift and the grace of prayer, as appears by their fervent expostulations, importunate wrestlings, and, in the tongue of the learned, speaking words in season to christians of old standing?

Q. 5. Granting there may be hypocrites among them, if some have been brought savingly to believe the report, can any deny that the arm of the Lord hath been revealed?

Q. 6. Is it not the manner of God in dealing with adult persons, to begin the saving work of their conversion with convincing them?

Q. 7. Whether or not it were better conduct to be thankful for such revivings in a day of deadness, under the ordinances, than entertaining groundless prejudices and false aspersions, be the raisers of them who will?

Q. 8. Ought we not to construct it as a token for good at the hand of God, when, at this extraordinary work, it is evident he is supplying his servant with extraordinary supports both inwardly and outwardly?

Thus, sir, I have endeavoured to satisfy you in answering your letter.

I am your humble servant,

M. O.

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### THEOLOGICAL.

Quakerism versus Calvinism, being a reply to Quakerism not Christianity, or reasons for renouncing the doctrine of Friends, by Samuel Hansen Cox, D.D. Pastor of Laight street Presbyterian Church, and for twenty years a member of the Society of Friends. By David Meredith Recse, M.D. New York.

On the Extent of the Atonement in its relation to God and the universe. By the Rev. T. W. Jenkyn, of Oswestry. London.

The Dangerous Doctrines of the Baptists Refuted, and Infant Baptism proved from Scripture and antiquity. By a Graduate of Oxford.

The Infidel's Own Book; a statement of some of the absurdities resulting from the rejection of Christianity. By Richard Treffry, jun. London.

New volume of Bampton Lectures. The Analogy of Revelation and Science, established in a series of lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, in the year 1833. By Frederick Nolan, LL.D. F.R.S., Vicar of Prittlewell, Essex.

Letters on the Divine Origin and Authority of the Holy Scriptures. By the Rev. James Carlile, minister of the Scots' Church, Dublin. 2 vols.

Lectures on Theology. By the late Rev. Rev. John Dick, D.D., of Glasgow, Professor of Theology to the United Secession Church. 4 vols.

Christian Ethics, or Moral Philosophy on the principles of Divine revelation, in nine lectures, with Notes and Illustrations. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D.

A translation of the Epistles of Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and Ignatius; and of the Apologies of Justin Martyr and Tertullian; with an Introduction, and Brief Notes, illustrative of the Ecclesiastical History of the first two centuries. By the Rev. Temple Chevalier, B.D., late fellow and tutor of Catharine Hall.

Reply to the "Travels of an Irish Gentleman in search of a religion." In a series of letters addressed to the Editor of the British Magazine, and reprinted from that work.

A Popular View of the Correspondence between the Mosaic Ritual and the Facts and Doctrines of the Christian Religion. In nine discourses. By the Rev. William Greswell, M.A.

The Gospel of the Old Testament: an explanation of the types and figures by which Christ was exhibited in the legal Dispensation. Re-written from the original works of Samuel Mather. By the Author of "The Listener, &c.

Parochial Lectures on the Law and the Gospel. By Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia.

The Works of Jonathan Edwards, A.M., with an Essay on his genius and writings, by Henry Rogers. And a Memoir by Sereno Dwight, revised and corrected by E. Hickman. 2 vols. London.

An Exposition of the Parables and of other parts of the Gospels. By the Rev. Edward Greswell, B.D.

Controversy between the Rev. John Hughes of the Roman Catholic Church, and the Rev. John Breckinridge of the Presbyterian Church, relative to the existing differences in the Roman Catholic and Protestant religions.

The Principles of Christian Philosophy, containing the doctrines, duties, admonitions and consolations of the Christian religion. By John Burns, 12mo. Carey, Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia.

A Body of Practical Divinity, in a series of sermons on the Shorter Catechism, composed by the reverend assembly of divines at Westminster. To which is appended Select Sermons on various subjects; including the Art of Divine Content-

ment, and Christ's various Fullness. By Thomas Watson, formerly Minister at St. Stephen's, Walbrook. London.

The Christian Rule of Marriage. An Essay by Howard Malcom, A.M.

Hints on the Portable Evidences of Christianity, by Joseph John Gurney; to which is prefixed an Introductory Essay by F. Wayland, President of Brown University.

Christian Baptism; an Examination of Professor Stuart's Essay in the Biblical Repository, April, 1833, on the "Mode of Baptism." By Henry J. Ripley, Professor of Biblical Literature in the Newton Theological Institution. Boston.

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The Cottage Bible and Family Expositor, containing the Old and New Testaments, &c. By Thomas Williams, with various additions to the American edition, by Rev. William Patton. New York. Conner & Cooke, 1833. 2 vols.

Exposition Dogmatique et Morale de l'Épître de saint Paulaux Romains, à l'usage, tant des Chrétiens que des Israélites disposés à la foi Chrétienne: par M. Moulinié, pasteur. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris.

Conversational Exercises on the Gospels. In two small volumes, adapted for families and schools. London.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

The Christian Library, Vol. II. Part VII. contains the conclusion of Heber's Bampton Lectures, and the first part of the History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the sixteenth century; by Thomas M'Crie, D.D.



The Arians of the Fourth Century: their doctrine, temper, and conduct, chiefly exhibited in the Councils of the Church, between A. D. 325 and 381. By John Henry Newman, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.

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The History of the Church of England. By J. B. S. Carwithen, B.D., of St Mary Hall, Oxford. 5 vols.

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