

Princeton, New Jersey

July 1881

1886



THE
BIBLICAL REPERTORY

AND
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

CONDUCTED BY
AN ASSOCIATION OF GENTLEMEN
IN PRINCETON.

VOL. VIII.

PHILADELPHIA:
HENRY PERKINS—134 CHESTNUT STREET.

J. BOGART, PRINTER—PRINCETON, N. J.

1836.



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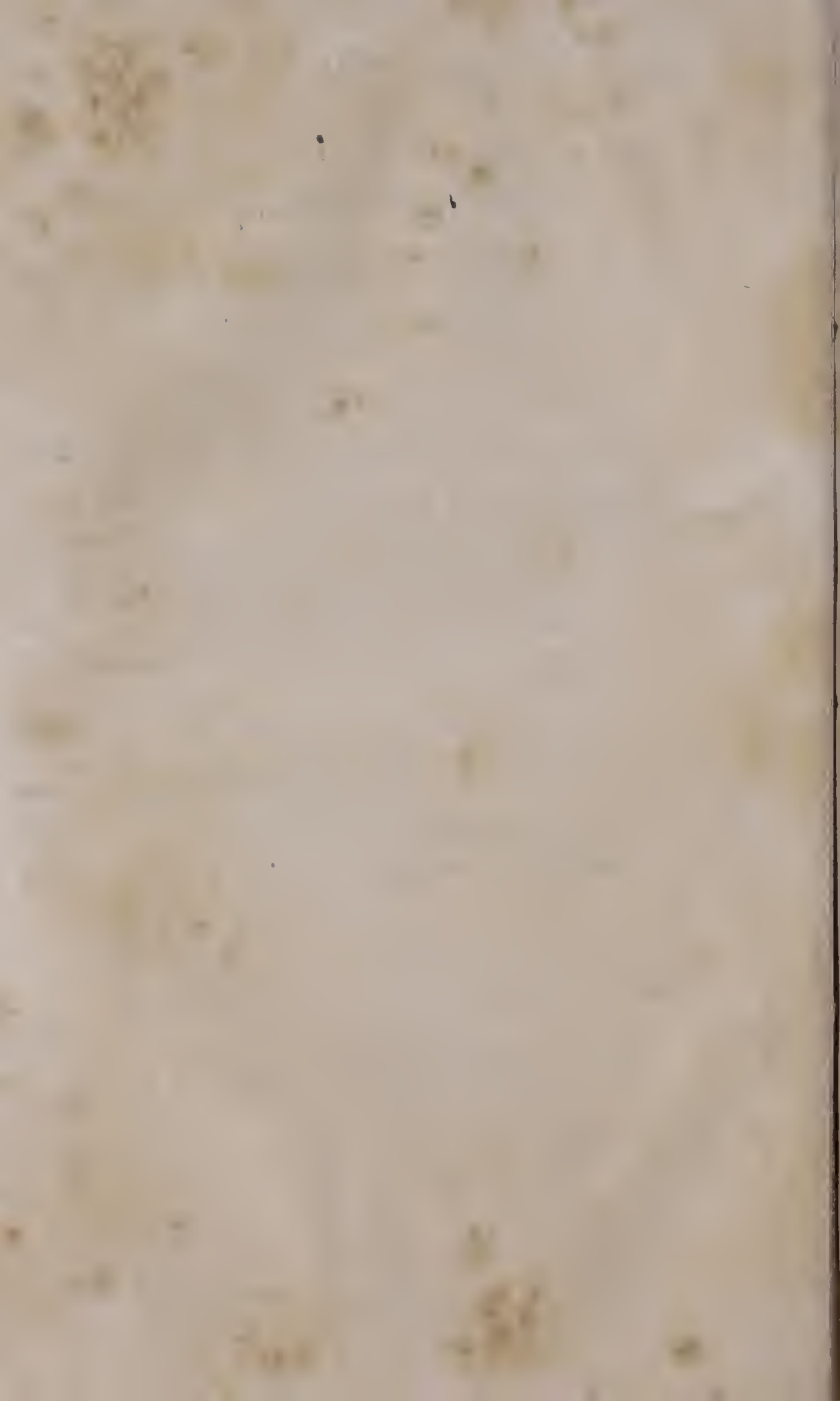
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THE
BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

JANUARY 1836.

No. I.

J. Addison Alexander

- ART. I.—1. Ernesti Friderici Caroli Rosenmülleri *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum*. 20 vols. 8vo. Leipzig: 1788—1829.
2. *Handbuch der biblischen Alterthumskunde*. Von Ernst Friedrich Karl Rosenmüller Vols. I.—IV. Leipzig: 1828—1830.

THESE are the titles of the two most important works of the late Professor Rosenmüller, neither of which was finished when he died. The name of this writer is at present so familiar to the scholars of America, that a brief sketch of his life and writings cannot be utterly devoid of interest. To those who know what the life of a laborious German scholar is, we need not say that his biography will exhibit little more than a chronological list of his publications.

This distinguished orientalist and biblical critic is often called *the younger Rosenmüller*, in order to distinguish him from his father, who was also an eminent Professor in the same University, and a labourer of note in the same general field, though in another subdivision of it. John George Rosenmüller, the father, born in 1736, was successively Professor of Theology in three Universities, Erlangen, Giessen, Leipzig. His local reputation, as a preacher and an ecclesiastical functionary, was extremely high; but his

general celebrity rests upon two works, the fruit of his academical labours. The one is a work on the history of biblical exegesis, published in parts during a period of nearly twenty years;* the other, his well known *Scholia in Novum Testamentum*. He died in 1815 at Leipzig, where he had preached and taught about thirty years.

Ernest Frederick Charles Rosenmüller was born at Hessberg near Hildburghausen, where his father was then pastor, on the tenth day of December, 1768. The rudiments of his education he received at home; but when his father became Professor of Theology at Giessen, he attended the *Pedagogium* in that place. When his father removed to Leipzig, he continued his studies in that famous University. Besides his father's lectures, he attended those of Morus, Dathe, Platner, Reiz, and Beck. In 1787, he received the degree of *Magister*, a title still retained at Leipzig, though disused in general at the German universities. Soon after this promotion, he laid the foundation of that popular and extensive work, on which his fame at present chiefly rests. His father's *Scholia* had proved so useful and convenient to students of the New Testament, that he was urged to extend his plan to the whole Bible. With these solicitations he intended to comply; but the pressure of his multiplied engagements would not suffer it. Unwilling to abandon the design entirely, he transferred the execution to his son, engaging to counsel and assist him. The younger Rosenmüller undertook the task, and thus became devoted for his whole life to biblical and oriental studies. The first part of the *Scholia*, containing only Genesis and Exodus, appeared at Leipzig in 1788. It was at once recommended to the public favour, by the peculiar features of its plan. As the author states in his preface, it was adapted to the use not of scholars but of students; and was therefore so constructed as, in some degree, to compensate for the want of well-stocked libraries. The great peculiar merit of the work appeared to lie in its copious quotations from ancient and modern commentators, Jews as well as Christians, and from modern books of travels. These strung together on a very slight thread of original remark, formed a motley compound, it is true, but one replete with useful information to the student of the Bible. The work, from first to last, did little credit to the original

* 'Jo. Geo. Rosenmülleri Historia Interpretationis librorum sacrorum in ecclesia christiana.' 5 vols. 8vo. Leipzig: 1795—1814.

genius of the author, but abundant honour to his industry and judgment in selection, combination, and arrangement.

The publication of the *Scholia*, in their original form, was continued till the year 1829, at which time all the books of the Old Testament had been expounded, with the exception of the historical books posterior to the Pentateuch. The plan of the work, as already described, and its being composed in Latin, soon introduced it into the foreign market, and the author's name became universally familiar among biblical scholars, both in Europe and America. While continuing the work, he still found time for the revision of the parts already published, so that a second edition of some, and a third of one or two, appeared with great improvements, long before the notes on other parts had seen the light at all. One interesting circumstance attending these recensions and republications, is the obvious change of sentiment on some momentous subjects, which is gradually developed. We cannot enter now into details, but may refer the reader to the change of tone apparent in the first and last editions of the *Scholia* on Isaiah and the Psalms, with respect to the subject of prophecy in general, but especially the Old Testament predictions of our Saviour. Though Rosenmüller, after all, fell far short of the truth, it does really appear that every addition to the depth of his knowledge and the maturity of his judgment, brought him further from the irrationalities of rationalism, and nearer to the wisdom of the "foolishness of God."

An early product of his oriental studies was his version of d'Arvieux on the customs of the Bedouins, with notes, and an appendix on the zoology of the Bible.* It is interesting to observe at what an early period in the studies of this unwearied scholar, he laid the foundation and collected the materials of his great work on Archaeology. Rosenmüller was a book-maker by profession; but he could not create the *matériel* of his art; and nothing can be vainer than the attempt to force a reputation by the mere manufacture of books, without previous training and accumulation. The admirable work on Biblical Geography could never have been what it is, without that early and perpetual study of ancient geographers and modern travels, of which we find traces in the author's first and humblest publications. Another important step in this course of preparation was his early

* 'Die Sitten der Beduinenaraber, aus dem Französischen des Ritters d'Arvieux.' Leipzig: 1789.

study and mastery of the *Hierozoicon*. Rosenmüller stood upon Bochart's shoulders, as all other moderns must do who desire to see farther than the erudite old Frenchman. That Rosenmüller's study of this excellent model was not merely superficial, he evinced by publishing a new edition with original improvements.*

In 1792, the younger Rosenmüller obtained the privilege of a *Privatim Docens* in the Leipzig University. To those who are not familiar with the organization of foreign institutions, we may state that there are three ranks of authorised teachers in a German University. A regular graduate who exhibits acquirements and abilities of a reputable order, is, on complying with certain formal requisitions, admitted to the station of a *Privatim Docens*. The qualifying adverb in this title has reference, not at all to the method of instruction, which is always as public as advertisements can make it, but to the fact that the teacher so entitled is not an office-bearer of the University, but as yet a mere adventurer, for whom the learned body is in no respect responsible, but who is merely permitted to try his luck under their protection. After years of experiment, the *Privatim Docens* sometimes succeeds in establishing a character, and receives invitations to remove. This, in the majority of cases, is the actual event, which accounts for the migratory lives of the German literati, till they at last obtain a permanent establishment. If the reputation of the teacher, however, has become so far connected with that of his University, that his loss would be felt, or that his presence is important, he is promoted to the rank of a *Professor Extraordinarius*. He is now a part of the University, though he has no seat in any faculty, and depends for his subsistence on his fees alone. It is only those whose services are looked upon as highly important, and whose names are names of renown, that can expect to attain the rank and the emolument of a P. P. O. (*Professor Publicus Ordinarius*) in any University of the better sort. Whatever may be said in opposition to this system, it certainly has the merit of providing for the perpetual succession of professors, and the filling of vacated chairs, not with novices or upstarts or universal geniuses (so called) but with men who have served long years of study and improvement, as apprentices and journeymen, before they even dream of setting up as masters.

* 'Sam. Bocharti Hierozoicon, sive de animalibus Sacrae Scripturae, recensuit notis adjunctis E. F. C. Rosenmüller.' 3 vols. 4to. Leipzig: 1793—1799.

In some, if not all, of the German Universities, no one is allowed to become an academical teacher of the lowest rank, without furnishing a public proof of competency by maintaining, in a solemn disputation, a thesis of his own, which has been previously printed. The dissertation which Rosenmüller thus defended, was on a subject belonging to his chosen field of study, and gave evidence of his zeal and accuracy in its cultivation.* Not so closely connected with his peculiar studies, yet so near akin as to promote their object, was his next literary task, a translation of Herbert Marsh's notes on Michaelis's Introduction†. The publication of this version was commenced at Göttingen in 1795, and gradually completed.

In the same year (1795) he was promoted to the rank of a *Professor Extraordinarius*. In most of the German Universities it is the modern practice to distinguish the professors, only by their *faculties*, and not by any particular branches which they may profess. Thus in Halle, Göttingen, and Berlin, all the members of the *Ordo Theologicus* are Professors of Theology; those of the *Ordo Philosophicus* are Professors of Philosophy, and each may traverse, if he will, the whole of his extensive field. In Leipzig, on the other hand, it is not unusual to bestow particular *professorships* on certain individuals. It was thus that the younger Rosenmüller, in the year last mentioned, became Professor Extraordinarius of Arabic. His continued application to the language which he was now called officially to teach, produced, in a short time after his promotion, a selection of Arabic proverbs, with a Latin translation, and notes partly original and partly selected from the Arabian scholiasts.‡

In 1797 he commenced the publication of his work on the *literatur* or bibliography of scriptural exegesis.§ This manual, which was completed in 1800, contains a critical description of the most important works in that department of learning, with numerous citations from the works themselves.

* 'Zohairi carmen templi Meecani foribus appensum, nunc primum ex codice Leydensi Arabice editum, Latine conversum, et notis illustratum.' 4to. Leipzig: 1792.

† 'Herbert Marsh's Anmerkungen und Zusätze zu J. D. Michaelis's Einleitung in die göttliche Schriften des Neuen Bundes. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von E. F. K. Rosenmüller.' Göttingen: 1795—1803.

‡ 'Selecta quaedam Arabum Adagia et Meidansii Proverborum Syntagmata, nunc primum Arabice edita, Latine versa, et illustrata.' Leipzig: 1796.

§ 'Handbueh für die Literatur der biblischen Kritik und Exegese.' 4 vols. 8vo. Göttingen: 1797—1800.

Here, as in his *Scholia*, Rosenmüller does a very valuable service to the ordinary student by making him acquainted with authors to whom he could not otherwise have access.

Two years later appeared another evidence of Rosenmüller's diligence in his calling as an Arabic Professor. This was his Arabic Reader, containing extracts both in prose and verse, the former relating to the ancient history and customs of Arabia, the latter consisting of extracts from *Hariri* and the *Hamasa*; the whole methodically arranged and accompanied with a glossary for the use of learners*.

In addition to these labours, it should be remembered that his *Scholia* on the Pentateuch were revised, in part rewritten, and all republished before the end of the century; that is, within twelve years from their first appearance. Nor should it be forgotten that the original edition of the *Scholia* was in progress in the midst of this recension. This, taken in connexion with the fact that several of the other works already mentioned were likewise progressive in their publication, will account for the circumstance, that no new work appears to have been issued for ten years after the appearance of the Arabic *Elementarbuch*. What had already been begun would seem to be sufficient for a lifetime. The *Ansichten von Palaestina*, or Views in Palestine,† consisting of original sketches by a German artist, with explanatory letter-press by Rosenmüller, while it evinced the continuance of his taste and zeal for oriental studies, served to render sacred geography attractive to ordinary readers. An English work in imitation of the one just named has been published in America, and will be mentioned in another place.

Though Rosenmüller's studies had been chiefly directed to Arabic and Hebrew, he had also given time to other oriental tongues, but always, it would seem, in reference to his main employment, that of expounding scripture. Of this we may mention an example in the year 1813, when he published his Dissertation on the Persian Pentateuch.‡ We have already had occasion to mention that, in Germany, an *ordinary* or regular professorship is not to be obtained by chance or importunity, but is, in almost every case, the hard-earned

* 'Arabisches Elementar und Lesebuch, mit einem Wortregister.' Leipzig: 1799.

† 'Ansichten von Palästina und dem heiligen Lande, nach Ludwig Mayer's Originalzeichnungen.' Leipzig: 1810—1812.

‡ 'De Versione Pentateuchi Persica.' 4to. Leipzig: 1813.

recompense of protracted labour and substantial literary merit. A stronger illustration of this general statement could not well be furnished, than the fact that Rosenmüller did not attain that station till the forty-fifth year of a life almost wholly spent in study, when his name had long been familiar to the learned throughout Europe, and when some parts of the work to which he owed this notoriety had reached a third edition. It was in 1813 that he was named Professor Ordinarius of the oriental languages at Leipzig.

We have already seen that Rosenmüller was patient of labour, not only in the business of original research and composition, but in the more uninteresting task of translating and editing the works of others. His editions of Bochart and of Marsh's Annotations were among his earliest publications; yet as late as 1815, we find him, in the midst of other labours, editing Lowth's Lectures, with Michaelis's Notes, and Annotations of his own.* This edition gives new value to the work of Lowth, by correcting his errors and supplying his defects; and giving a substratum of German erudition to the somewhat airy fabric of English taste and genius. Those who read Lowth at all, will find the book in this form, at once cheaper and more useful than in any other. The practice of reading him in English is ridiculous, except where the Latin is entirely unknown, and then we doubt the expediency of reading him at all. It would serve as a corrective to the anti-latin humbug, if our students of theology would read such books as those of Lowth and Calvin, in which the Latin is faultless, while the subject has an intimate relation to their studies. After all that has been said about practical usefulness and want of time, the two real causes of the decline of scholarship among our clergy are ignorance and laziness. The most industrious men complain the least of want of time, and the most enlightened are the last to speak contemptuously of that which is above them.

In 1817, the honorary doctorate of divinity was conferred on Rosenmüller by the theological faculty at Halle. In the following year he published his Arabic Grammar.† The *Elementarbuch*, which appeared in 1799, being out of

* 'Roberti Lowth de Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum Praelectiones, Academiae Oxonii habitae. Cum notis et epimetris Joa. Dav. Michaelis Suis animadversionibus adjectis edidit Ern. Frid. Car. Rosenmüller.' 8vo. Leipzig: 1815.

† 'Ernesti Friderici Caroli Rosenmüller Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Arabicae. Accedunt sententiae et narrationes Arabicae una cum Glossario Arabico-Latino.' 4to. Leipzig: 1818.

print, the publisher requested him to prepare a new edition. This he judiciously declined, upon the ground that the work was too scanty and imperfect to deserve a new impression, and also that the appearance of De Sacy's great work, since his own was printed, rendered it necessary to re-write the whole. He accordingly determined to prepare a Grammar, and with a soundness of judgment which might have been expected from so experienced an orientalist, he assumed Erpenius as the basis of his work, introducing the improvements suggested by De Sacy. The execution of the work is not as good as its conception. It is often obscure and sometimes incorrect; but with all its faults, it is probably the very best manual for beginners. It is already so well known to those who feel an interest in the subject, that we need not give a more particular description.

In the same year (1818) Rosenmüller began to reduce his stores of archaeological information into form, by publishing the first part of a work designed to illustrate scripture from the customs of the east.* The booksellers had applied to him to furnish a translation or recotion of Burder's *Oriental Customs*, which had then reached a fifth edition in England. The incompleteness of the English work rendered a mere translation inexpedient; he therefore determined to retain it as a basis, and to erect upon it as good a superstructure as he could. He retained, unaltered, the original arrangement, which is simply that of the passages explained; translated Burder with corrections where required, and enriched the whole by additions from those stores of oriental archaeology which for thirty years he had been gathering together. The object which he set before him was to illustrate every passage which could not be fully understood without a reference to the natural or artificial peculiarities of the eastern world. The work was completed in 1820, and contains a mine of curious information. Burder's plan, filled up by Rosenmüller's industry and learning, forms a whole which, in its kind, can scarcely be surpassed. The arrangement being that of the texts themselves, the student can turn to what he wants at any moment; while the signal perspicuity of Rosenmüller's

* 'Das alte und neue Morgenland; oder Erläuterungen der heiligen Schrift aus der natürlichen Beschaffenheit, den Sagen, Sitten, und Gebräuchen des Morgenlandes. Mit eingeschalteter Uebersetzung von Samuel Burder's Morgenländischen Gebräuchen, und William Ward's Erläuterungen der heiligen Schrift aus den Sitten und Gebräuchen der Hindus. Von E. F. K. Rosenmüller.' 6 vols. 8vo. Leipzig: 1818—1820.

style, the full conciseness of his statements, his minute exactness, and scrupulous precision in referring to the sources of information, give an extraordinary value to the work, as an authority, and at the same time make it a delightful book to read. Rosenmüller's Scholia is too mere a compilation to be pleasing to the reader, any further than by supplying what he wants at the moment of consultation. But in his German works, where the subject is one which he had long been digesting and reducing into form, he may, without extravagance, we think, be called a fascinating writer. Such is the effect of abundant knowledge, sound sense, simplicity of manner and personal interest in the matter handled. This effect is no doubt aided by the circumstance that although Rosenmüller's Latin style, compared with that of many others, claims no signal praise, but is perhaps exposed to censure, his German compositions are remarkable for clearness, directness, vivacity, and freedom from those odious, gratuitous and wanton convolutions which disgrace all German writers but the very best.

Though the remarks which we have just made were suggested by the work last mentioned (*das alte und Neue Morgenland*), they apply with still more force to the last great literary undertaking of the author's life. Having in various ways applied to useful purposes a part of his archaeological erudition, he at length began the important task of working it all up into a systematic whole. We have no doubt at all that for the composition of a perfect work on Biblical Antiquities, the living man best qualified was he who undertook it. His fitness resulted from a rare combination of natural gifts and acquired resources. His thirty years of labour would have failed to produce the effect, without that patience, perspicacity, sound judgment and good taste, as to matters of fact and minute details, which so wonderfully characterise the published volumes of the *Alterthumskunde**. The only topics treated of in these volumes are the preliminary ones of geography and natural history. The main body of the subject lies untouched, unless the papers of the author yield a richer harvest than the usages of Germany entitle us to hope. Of Rosenmüller's commentaries we are no admirers, though we duly estimate their value

* 'Handbuch der biblischen Alterthumskunde. Von E. F. K. Rosenmüller.' In four parts; the first three, comprising five octavo volumes, contain the *Biblische Geographie*; the fourth, consisting of two volumes, contains the *Biblische Naturgeschichte*. Leipzig: 1823—1832.

as repositories of collected learning. His *Archæology* we really do admire, not as a compilation, but as a work requiring, it is true, vast learning, yet requiring so much else, that not another man in Europe could have written it as well. This surely stamps it as a work of original merit, and we think that on the score of this original merit, the author's fame may well afford to part with that supposititious credit, which American and English ignorance has granted to the Scholia. The practice of quoting Rosenmüller's name as an end of all strife, when the passages referred to are avowed or tacit transcripts from the works of others, evinces the shallowness of criticism among us, and justly exposes us to transatlantic ridicule.

The subject of biblical geography has partially occupied the time of two distinguished Germans, still alive it is presumed, for some years past—Gesenius of Halle, and Ritter of Berlin. Both have promised the world something, and we hope to see it; yet we doubt whether all the biblical learning of the one, and all the geographical learning of the other—and each is, in his own sphere, *facile princeps*—will enable the one or the other to eclipse the merit of Rosenmüller's *Handbuch*. An imitation of the latter, including the volumes on natural history, with corrections and improvements from the works of others, will form some day a standard work for American clergymen and students, of capital and sterling worth. We shall then no longer have Calmet and Wells dished up anew as improvements in the science of geography.

The work of which we have just spoken was commenced in 1823, and continued at intervals in octavo parts or volumes of about three hundred and fifty pages each. It is printed in a large clear type, and so arranged as to admit of consultation, without that trial of the eyes and patience, so generally chargeable on German books. The only other publications of which we are aware, are the *Analecta Arabica*, two thin quarto numbers of selections in that language from unpublished works—and the abridgement of the Scholia, which is still in progress.* This latter work is executed by another hand, but hitherto under the inspection of the author. It is designed to reduce the original work within a manageable compass and a reasonable price. If this plan could have been executed by Rosenmüller himself, we have little

* 'E. F. C. Rosenmülleri Scholia in Vetus Testamentum in Compendium redacta.' Vol. I. (the Pentateuch) 1828. Vol. II. (Isaiah) 1831. Vol. III. (the Psalms) 1831. Vol. IV. (Job) 1832. Vol. V. (Ezekiel) 1833.

doubt that his experience, sobered judgment, and accurate information as to what was wanted, would have made the compendium better than the work at large. But the work exhibits obvious marks of juvenility, and though there is undoubtedly abridgement as to matter, the style is actually more diffuse than in the Scholia themselves. If this is to be charged upon Rosenmüller himself, it can only be ascribed to an increased scrupulosity in Latin composition; and a servile ambition to be classical at all points. The fault which we have mentioned is not equally apparent in all parts of the new work, but so far as we have examined, it exists throughout. Wherever it does appear, it is offensive; for of all possible books, a compendious commentary is the very last place for verbosity and verbiage. Nevertheless, the book is useful, and may well be recommended till we get a better. That this last contingency may speedily be realized, and that German exposition may no longer be inseparable from our Hebrew Bibles, we devoutly pray. We have entered so much into detail respecting Rosenmüller's works, that any general survey would be superfluous. With respect to his life, we have stated what we know. Others who have better or later information can supply our chasms. In person, Rosenmüller was above the common size, with prominent features, and an inexpressive face. Some natural impediment or infirmity of speech is said to have disqualified him, in a great degree, for oral teaching. As a lecturer, therefore, he had little influence; but this very circumstance no doubt contributed to his success as a book-maker, and his general reputation.

Samuel Miller

ART. II.—*Christian Union; or an Argument for the abolition of Sects.* By Abraham Van Dyck, Counsellor at Law. New York: Appleton and Co. 12mo. pp. 227.

THIS appears to be the work of a pious intelligent lawyer, who was removed by death a few weeks before it issued from the press. It is dedicated to "the Reverend *David Abeel*, American missionary to South Eastern Asia;" and breathes, throughout, a spirit of fervent attachment to the honour and kingdom of the Redeemer. No one, we think, can peruse this volume without receiving an impression of profound

respect for the piety and benevolence of the author. And while we suppose it impossible for a judicious mind to adopt all his views and anticipations; we are still willing to believe that what he has written cannot be read without some profit. His apparent soundness in the faith; his zeal for the honour and spread of true religion; and the animating hope which he cherishes of the speedy union of all who bear the Christian name, can scarcely fail of warming the heart of every reader who wishes well to the progress of the religion of Christ in our revolted world.

We do not differ from our author as to the desirableness and importance of "Christian Union." If the *invisible* Church consists of all those, throughout the world, who are united to Christ by faith and love; and if the *visible* Church consists of all those, also in every part of the world, who profess the true religion, together with their children, it must, in the very nature of things, be, that each is *one*. All *real* Christians belong to the former. All *professing* Christians belong to the latter. Now as there is but *one Christ*, and but *one true religion*, it is manifest that the "body of Christ" can be but *one*. We, *being many*, says the apostle, *are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another*. Again, he asks, *The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ. For we, being many, are one bread, and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread. Now ye*, adds he, in the same epistle, *are the body of Christ, and members in particular*.

Of course this unity, though in a sad degree marred, is not wholly broken by diversity of denomination. All who profess the true religion, however divided by place, by names, or by form, are to be considered as equally belonging to that great family denominated the Church. The Presbyterian, the Methodist, the Baptist, the Episcopalian, the Independent, who hold the fundamentals of our holy religion, and who, of course, "hold the Head," in whatever part of the globe they may reside, are equally members of the same visible community; and, if they be sincere in their profession, will all finally be made partakers of its eternal blessings. And the more closely they hold the "unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace" and love, the more decidedly they are *ONE*, and one in a sense more richly significant and precious than can be ascribed to millions who boast of a mere external and nominal union. They have one Head, one hope, one baptism; they "all eat the same spiritual meat, they all

drink the same spiritual drink," and will assuredly all meet in the same heavenly family. They cannot all meet together in the same sanctuary here below, even if they were disposed to do so; but this is not the worst. They are not all disposed thus to meet. They are not all *willing to acknowledge one another* as fellow-members of the same body. Yet, in spite of this blindness and infatuation in regard to their own relation to each other, they are still one, in a sense, and to a degree, of which they themselves are not conscious.

We also concur with the author of the work before us in our estimate of the sin and mischief of every measure which is unfriendly to this unity, or which tends to make "a schism in the body." "Nothing," says the eloquent *Robert Hall*, "more abhorrent from the principles and maxims of the sacred oracles can be conceived, than the idea of a plurality of true churches, neither in actual communion with each other, nor in a capacity for such communion. Though this rending of the seamless body of our Saviour, this schism in the members of his mystical body, is by far the greatest calamity which has befallen the Christian interest, and one of the most fatal effects of the great apostacy foretold by the sacred penmen, we have been so long familiarized to it, as to be scarcely sensible of its enormity; nor does it excite surprize or concern in any degree proportioned to what would be felt by one who had contemplated the Church in the first ages. Christian societies regarding each other with the jealousies of rival empires, each aiming to raise itself on the ruin of all others, making extravagant boasts of superior purity, generally in exact proportion to their departures from it, and scarcely deigning to acknowledge the possibility of obtaining salvation out of their pale, is the odious and disgusting spectacle which modern Christianity presents. The evils which result from this state of division are incalculable. It supplies infidels with their most plausible topics of invective; it hardens the consciences of the irreligious; it weakens the hands of the good, impedes the efficacy of prayer, and is, probably, the principal obstruction to that ample effusion of the Spirit which is essential to the renovation of the world."* In all this we heartily concur, and wish it were duly impressed on every mind in Christendom.

We of course, too, agree with our author in all the earnest wishes expressed by him for the perfect restoration of the unity

* *HALL's Works.* Vol. I. p. 289.

of the Church. To every Christian heart, the anticipation of that blessing is unspeakably delightful. *Behold, how good, and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity! It is like the precious ointment upon the head that ran down upon the beard; even Aaron's beard; that went down to the skirts of his garments; as the dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descended upon the mountains of Zion; for there the Lord commanded the blessing, even life for evermore.* Yes, when the time shall come, as assuredly it will come—when the followers of Christ shall *all speak the same thing*;—when there shall be *no divisions among them*; but when *they shall be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment*;—then every beholder will be satisfied that it is a blessing worth all the labour and importunate prayer which can be employed for its attainment.

But when Mr. Van Dyke proceeds to the consideration of the great problem, how the “Union,” for which he pleads, is to be brought about, and how difficulties which stand in the way are to be obviated, we cannot adopt either his confidence, or what we understand to be his plans. He seems indeed, in a great measure to overlook the fact, that although the preservation of peace and harmony among professing Christians is precious, and ought never to have been interrupted; yet that the great interests of *truth and righteousness* are still more indispensably precious. He seems, though he professes the contrary, not to have had an adequate impression of the character of that “wisdom which is from above, which is **FIRST PURE, THEN PEACEABLE.**” If we are not deceived, we desire to see the unity of the church of Christ perfectly realized, in all its beauty and power, as much as our author ever did, and as much as any of his most sanguine friends can do. Yet we could not, in conscience, recommend that all denominations of Christians, who profess to hold the fundamentals of religion, in present circumstances, and with their present views, convictions, habits and feelings, should throw down all the fences which separate them from one another, and unite all their heterogeneous materials under one name, and one organization. Even if that name and organization were our own, the proposal would still be revolting to our judgment. We should regard such an event with entire disapprobation, for the following reasons.

1. If the individuals composing this multifarious, united

mass, came together without any alteration of opinion or conviction; each entertaining his own former sentiments on all the points of doctrine and order which once separated them, and still resolving to unite, at every sacrifice, however vital, for the sake of a nominal and formal union;—what could be expected from such a dishonest coalition, but a curse instead of a blessing? Every attempt to reconcile differences among professing Christians, which involves the relinquishment of truth; or a compromise with important corruption, either in doctrine or worship; or giving countenance to what is deemed an injurious departure from what Christ has commanded, is, undoubtedly, criminal and mischievous. We are commanded to hold “fast the form of sound words” which we have received; nay, to “contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints;” and, no doubt, one great purpose for which a visible church was founded in our world, was that it might preserve pure and entire all such religious truth, worship and ordinances as God hath revealed and appointed in his word; that it might bear a faithful testimony against the introduction of error, by whomsoever attempted, into “the household of faith.” If so, to surrender any essential part of the trust committed to it, for the sake of peace, is to make a sacrifice which the word of God forbids. We are required “*as much as in us lies* to live peaceably with all men.” But there are those with whom we cannot live in peace without offending our Master in heaven.

2. Let us suppose, however, the case to be different; and then an objection equally strong against the union which seems to be contemplated, immediately presents itself. Let us suppose that the members of all the various denominations which agree to come together, do so under the impression that all their diversities of doctrine and order, as long as they do not affect the fundamentals of religion, strictly so called, are of no account, and ought not to forbid the most intimate union. What would be the natural effect of their settling down on this principle? Would it not be to discourage the study of Christian truth; to take away a large part of their interest in “searching the scriptures;” and to terminate, at a stroke, all that “contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints,” to which we just referred, as an expressly commanded Christian duty? We can scarcely conceive of any thing more adapted to take off the minds of men from discriminating views of truth, and thus gradually to undermine enlightened piety, than unreserved

union upon such principles. Show us a people, by whatever name they may be called, who, in regard to doctrine, content themselves with vague generalities;—who are equally satisfied with Calvinistic, Arminian, and Pelagian preaching; and who think it wrong to make any difficulty, or even inquiry, respecting the theological opinions of him who is called to minister to them in holy things, and we will engage to show you a people of small and crude knowledge; of superficial piety; and liable to be “carried about by every wind of doctrine,” and the “cunning craftiness of those who lie in wait to deceive.” Almost every chapter of our pious author shows, that, while he pleads for union with all who hold truth enough to become instrumental in saving the soul, he would have been himself altogether out of his element in listening to any other instruction than that which accorded with the precious system of free grace through the atoning sacrifice of our divine Redeemer. But, after all,

3. Supposing that such a union of all Christian denominations could be attained, without any dishonest sacrifice, and without any immediate mischief: *what would be the benefit of it?* What *solid good* would result from it, either to the body, or to the individuals who might compose it? Would mere coming together produce genuine Christian affection? Would those who were thus drawn together, necessarily, or even probably, love one another the more? We have no doubt that the profound and pious Dr. *Owen*, the learned Independent, spoke the truth on this subject, when he said, “I should be very sorry that any man living should outgo me in desires that all who fear God, throughout the world, especially in these nations, were of one way, as well as of one heart. I know that I desire it sincerely. But I do verily believe, that when God shall accomplish it, it will be the *effect* of love, not the *cause* of love. It will *proceed from* love, before it *brings forth* love. There is not a greater vanity in the world than to drive men into a particular profession, and then suppose that love will be the necessary consequence of it; to think that if, by sharp rebukes, by cutting, bitter expressions, they can but drive men into such and such practices, love will certainly ensue.” If half a dozen families should be drawn, by ardent attachment to each other, to take up their abode together in the same spacious mansion, they *might* live together in peace and comfort, because the previously existing affection which drew them together, would dispose them to overlook, or, at any

rate, to surmount, many of the difficulties of their new situation. But what man in his senses would think of prevailing on the same number of families, hitherto strangers to each other, and with no decisive congeniality of feeling, to abandon their separate dwellings, and all come under the same roof? If he were a thinking man, and at all instructed by experience, he would expect to find their peace, their real enjoyment, destroyed, instead of increased, by their local and nominal union. The fact is, Christian union in *name* and *outward form* is worthless, unless the spirit of Christian love accompany and pervade it. The nearer different denominations approach to each other without this, the more apt they will be to quarrel and fight. We have no doubt that one great feature of the "latter day glory" will be that the "watchmen on the walls of Zion," and the great mass of the people of God, will all "see eye to eye," and walk together in the love of God, and in the consolations of the Holy Ghost. But this harmony will be produced and maintained by love. Love will pervade the world, binding all its inhabitants together, and, *therefore*, all will "speak the same thing," and walk together in peace and concord. We hope that some now alive will see the day when all the different classes of Presbyterians in the United States, whether of the Dutch Church, the German Reformed, the Associate, the Associate Reformed, and the Reformed Presbyterians, shall be united with those of the General Assembly. In what manner it will be accomplished, whether by our joining *them*, or their joining *us*, we cannot predict; nor do we care; provided the great interests of truth and holiness be secured in the union. But we must say, that if it were now proposed by any one to commence a system of measures for bringing about such an event at once, we should be found in the *opposition*; not, of course, from unfriendliness to the object ultimately aimed at; but from a deep persuasion that none of the parties are yet ready to unite; that if they could be prevailed upon to come together, at present, it would be a calamity instead of a blessing; and that no union worth attaining can ever be formed, until all the parties shall be actuated by such a spirit of love, that they can no longer be kept apart. Then, and not till then, will their union be a real blessing; and *then* arguments and importunity to unite, will be wholly unnecessary.

One of the great boasts of the Romish Church is that it is *one*. It reproaches Protestants as broken up into sects,

wholly inconsistent with unity; while it claims for itself to be a perfectly united body; and lays great stress on this alleged union, as one of the indubitable marks of the only true Church. But to what, after all, does their union amount? Is there more of real, Christian, scriptural unity among the Papists than among other denominations who bear the Christian name? Nay, is there any thing like as much? We utterly deny it. There may be more verbal, nominal, technical unity among them than among most branches of the Protestant body; that is, there may be more verbal acknowledgement of a kind of deified individual; more general agreement in praising and wondering after a human idol; more fixed staring of all eyes at the great central seat of idolatry, and of unhallowed dispensations. But is there more knowledge of the truth among them? more love of the truth? more love of one another? more love to the Saviour? more holy concurrence in honouring his law, his atoning blood, his justifying righteousness, his life-giving Spirit? Is there more enlightened, spiritual communion of saints, with their living Head, and with one another? Is there more of what the Scriptures denominate, all "eating the same spiritual meat, and all drinking the same spiritual drink?" This is the "unity of the spirit" which the Bible describes, and which alone either deserves the name, or is adapted really to bind the family of Christ together. Have the Papists more of this than the Protestants, whom they so studiously vilify? Let those judge who know what the Papacy is. This claim, like all their other claims, is founded in falsehood and deception. There is far more real Bible unity among many bodies of Protestants, with all their apparent discord, than among the members of that much larger family, who are forever boasting that they exceed all others in Christian unity, because they are all equally related by name to the "man of sin," the "son of perdition," who shall be consumed with the breath of the Saviour's mouth, and destroyed with the brightness of his coming!"

4. But we would go one step further. Not only do we believe that different denominations of Christians would find *no real advantage* in uniting, until they shall be drawn and bound together by such a spirit of love, as will make their union a source of pleasure and edification; but we are persuaded, that, as matters now stand, there are many advantages resulting both to themselves and to the civil community, from their remaining in a state of separation from each other. We

hope that in attempting to maintain this position, we shall not be misunderstood. We consider every schism in the body of Christ as a sin; and of course, can never commend or rejoice in it, in itself considered. But is it a new doctrine that the infinitely wise, and Almighty Governor of the world, continually overrules error, and even atrocious crimes, for good? That what ought never to have happened; yet, having happened, in the adorable providence of God—is often so bounded, controlled and disposed of as to result in much benefit on the whole? *Surely the wrath of man shall praise God, and the remainder of wrath he will restrain.*

If man were what he ought to be, it would be a great happiness to the world, if all Europe were one mighty monarchy. For then there would be one system of laws; one equitable, consistent mode of treating all mercantile and other sojourners; one uniform circulating medium over the whole continent. But taking man as he is, what a misfortune would it be to the world, if one such great overpowering empire governed that whole quarter of the globe! What systematic and wide-spread oppression would afflict the human family! Every other portion of the world would be held in terror. How the matter actually stood when our supposition was, many centuries ago, in a considerable degree, realized, all know who have any acquaintance with history. As it is, there are *many* powerful monarchies on that continent, which balance each other's power; which keep one another in check; and thus make it the interest of all to be mutually respectful, equitable and accommodating. It is true, these rival monarchies are often involved in painful and offensive conflicts. Their pride, their avarice, and their various hateful passions, lead to scenes of strife and war of the most revolting character. These are highly criminal, no doubt, and deeply to be deplored. But they are less evils than the unquestioned and gloomy reign of a giant tyranny, brooding over a continent; without check or balance;—without any even to say "what doest thou?"

A similar train of thought may be indulged with respect to the actual divisions in the Church of God. They *ought* never to have happened. They *would* have happened had it not been for the pride, the prejudices, the selfishness, and the ambition of depraved man. They were sinful in the outset. They are sinful still. There is more or less sin in their daily continuance. Yet all this may be so, and it may, notwithstanding, be certain and manifest that the Almighty King

of Zion is continually bringing good out of them. They exercise a watch and care over one another analagous to that which is exercised over each other by the members of the same church. They superintend, and, to a considerable extent, influence the movements of each other. They produce in each other, in various ways, a salutary watchfulness and emulation. Who does not know that the presence and influence of Protestants, when residing in large numbers, and bearing a respectable character, within the bosom of communities predominately Roman Catholic, have been visible, though not often in converting, yet always, in more or less, restraining and purifying the corrupt mass around them? Who can doubt that the Bible is more studied than it would otherwise be when rival denominations search its pages, day and night, to find support for their respective creeds and claims? Who needs to be told that the amicable efforts and struggles of different sects to maintain their peculiar opinions, have served to keep the world awake and active, and to prevent religious society from sinking into a stagnant and pestiferous apathy? There is every reason to believe that the established Church of *Scotland*, ever since the rise of the Secession body in that country, has been materially benefitted, in various ways, by the zeal, the strictness, and the exemplary piety which generally characterized the Seceders. And Dr. *John Edwards*, a learned Divine of the established Church of *England*, expressly declares, that—“If we would but open our eyes, we should see that we are beholden to the Dissenters for the continuance of a great part of our theological principles:—for if the High Churchmen had no checks, they would have brought in Popery before this time by their overvaluing pomp and ceremony in divine worship. So that if there had been no Dissenters, the Church of England had been long since ruined.” *Preacher*, II. p. 133.

Mr. Van Dyck, after urging union among Christians by the usual popular topics, which are, on the whole, well exhibited, and always with pious earnestness and ardour;—proceeds to answer *objections*. Accordingly, he takes up in order, and attempts to dispose of the objections against his scheme drawn from six sources—as “1. That, if the proposed union should take place, the *benefit of emulation* would be lost. 2. That it would involve a *sacrifice of principle* to unite with Christians who have not the same faith. 3. That divers denominations are necessary to *preserve the purity of doctrine*. 4. That divers denominations are necessary to

operate to advantage upon all classes of the people. 5. The danger of uniting church and state. 6. That if sects were abolished, the Church would soon be again divided." In reply to all these objections our author writes with unabated fluency, ardour and confidence; but in several cases, we must say, by no means to our satisfaction. Some of these objections, we acknowledge, are not very formidable in their import; but in regard to others, we are far from being as sanguine as Mr. Van Dyck, that they can be easily set aside. For example, what he says on the *first* objection, viz. that, "if the proposed union of all sects should take place, the benefit of *emulation* would be lost," appears to us of little weight. We are not prepared, with some, to condemn all *emulation* as criminal. If we do not mistake, the inspired *Paul*, in more than one or two places, in his Epistles to the Churches, tries to impel Christians to increased zeal and diligence in duty by setting before them what others had done, and expressing reluctance that others should outdo them in laudable zeal and effort. *Emulation*, we suppose, like *anger*, is *lawful* or *wicked*, according to circumstances, and according to its character. The greater part of the emulation in our world, we take for granted, is unhallowed and utterly indefensible. And even the greater part of that which exists and operates among professing Christians, we feel willing to unite in condemning, as corrupt in its origin, and corrupt in its exercise. But what then? We ask again, Is it a new thing for sin to be overruled for good? Can any man who has eyes to see, and ears to hear, doubt that different denominations of Christians have been impelled to make efforts, and to accomplish an amount of labour which would by no means have been attempted, if the presence and efforts of rival sects had not operated as a continual excitement? Condemn the motive and welcome. You have, in many cases, a right to do so. But we are so happy as to live under the government of Zion's Almighty King, who can bring good out of evil, and light out of darkness. The inspired apostle seems, as we understand him, to have felt and argued thus. *Some indeed, says he, preach Christ, even of envy and strife, and some also of good will. What then? notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, I will rejoice.* Now it is evidently no part of our duty to wish that unhallowed tempers may be indulged, because infinite wisdom and power can and does bring good out of them. But if we see

plainly, that one hundred thousand Christians, divided into *four parts*, will accomplish, and are accomplishing, *four*, if not *ten times as much* as the same number *would* accomplish if externally united, supposing the united body to have the same amount of *real piety* with the *best portion* of the divided body; we say, if this be manifest, while we ought to mourn over every thing unhallowed both in the separation and in the exercises of the respective divisions, we may surely rejoice, as the apostle did, in the general result; and pray for the gift of the Holy Spirit, that every thing, inconsistent with the will of God, may be taken out of the way.

But we are, if possible, still less satisfied with the manner in which our author disposes of the *second* objection, viz: "That it would involve a *sacrifice of principle* to unite with Christians who have not the *same faith*." We are quite ready to concede that there are doctrinal differences among Christians which ought not to keep them apart; and that even some doctrinal differences not destitute of *importance*, but short of *fundamental*, are entirely consistent with affectionate ecclesiastical communion. But still, when we find Mr. Van Dyck, after insisting on this—appearing to find no further difficulty, and to consider his argument as triumphantly made out, we must say, that thereat we do greatly marvel. The consideration of a single case, we think, demolishes all that he has advanced in support of this theory, and demonstrates that his plan is not feasible. A pious, conscientious *Baptist* fully coincides in his doctrinal belief with a pious, orthodox Presbyterian. They can listen to the same public instruction with cordial pleasure, and unite in the same prayers with unmingled fervour of devotion. In regard to all these things they are one in spirit, and could, without any sacrifice, be one in name and form. But the Baptist conscientiously believes that no baptism is valid but that which is administered to adults, and by immersion. He would be glad to be united with his Presbyterian brother whom he "loves in the truth," and to sit down with him at the same sacramental table. But he is prevented by a conscientious scruple which he can by no means dismiss. He verily believes that the Presbyterian is not a baptised man; and, of course, according to his view of truth and duty, he cannot commune with him. On the other hand, the Presbyterian has equally serious and immovable scruples. For although he has no doubt that his Baptist friend is a truly

baptized man, and can, therefore, without hesitation, admit him to occasional communion at his sacramental table; yet he is deeply persuaded that the Baptist doctrine and practice by which infants are shut out from all membership and privileges in the Church of Christ, are not merely unscriptural, and, of course, wrong; but amount to a most serious and mischievous error. He is honestly convinced not only that the Baptist system in relation to this point is contrary to Scripture; but also that its native tendency is to place children, who are the hope of the Church, in a situation less friendly to the welfare of Zion, and less favourable, by far, to their own salvation, than that in which they are placed by the Poedo-baptist system; and that its ultimate influence on the rising generation, on family religion, and on the growth and purity of the Church, must be deeply injurious. We ask, what is to be done in this case? It is evident there can be no compromise here, if the sincere and solemn convictions of each party be such as we have supposed. And yet such cases exist in great numbers, at the present hour. What would be the consequence if large bodies of Christian professors, thus differing, were to attempt to unite in a church-state! Could they commune together? Every one sees that it would be impossible. The Baptist could not indulge, however strongly his inclination might plead for it, even in occasional communion, with his Presbyterian friend, without relinquishing a deeply conscientious conviction, not about a speculative, but a practical matter. And even the Presbyterian, though not restrained from occasional communion with his Baptist friend, could not possibly unite with him in a regular church-state, without abandoning principles which he regarded as vitally important to the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom. Upon the plan of Mr. Van Dyck, we should be utterly non-plussed by such a difficulty. And yet we see not but that such difficulties must present themselves at every turn, in attempting to carry into execution the plan for which our author so earnestly pleads. But we have not room further to pursue the train of his reasoning.

When we first heard of the publication and character of the work before us, we were forcibly reminded of a hero in the same vocation, who flourished about a hundred and seventy or eighty years ago; who devoted more than half his life assiduously to the benevolent enterprize; and whose want of success, we fear, is destined to be again exemplified in the case of the benevolent American, labouring in the same

field. We refer to the celebrated *John Dury*, a native of *Scotland*, who was born about the beginning of the seventeenth century, and who, from 1631 to 1674, was constantly and laboriously engaged in bringing about a general pacification and union throughout the Protestant world. He devoted himself to this object with an ardour and a perseverance altogether without a parallel. He seems to have been an honest, amiable, pious, and learned man; but by no means remarkable for the soundness of his judgment. He conceived the plan of uniting all the Lutherans and Reformed in one great body. For this purpose he laboriously travelled through every Protestant country of Europe; wrote letters; personally addressed the clergy and the people of both communions; persuaded, entreated, warned, and, by every variety of means, exerted himself to terminate the strife and conflicts of Protestants, and to bring them all together under one general name and form. He took unwearied pains to engage in this enterprize, kings, princes and magistrates, as well as ecclesiastical dignitaries, and all others whom he could approach. Archbishop *Laud* at first approved and recommended his plan; but afterwards threw difficulties in his way; intending, it would appear, to use him only as far, and as long, as he thought he could employ him as an instrument for promoting prelacy. Bishop *Hall* also, and bishop *Beddell*, gave him and his enterprize their countenance and recommendation, in the beginning of his career; but how long they continued to encourage him is not known. Mr. *Dury* was bred a Presbyterian, and received, in early life, Presbyterian ordination. He was a member of the *Westminster* Assembly of Divines, and signed the *Solemn League and Covenant*. But was prevailed upon, on the principle that it might facilitate the attainment of his grand object, to submit to a re-ordination in the Church of England. He spent more than forty years in this benevolent enterprize; travelled again and again, with wonderful perseverance, throughout Great Britain and Ireland, and from one end to the other of the continent of Europe; consulted Universities, and when their answers were favourable, communicated them to the public. He published himself more than twenty books; some in Latin, for circulation throughout the continent, and others in English. After making, for many years, the union of all the Reformed and the Lutheran Churches his professed object, he extended his views, and seemed to think the union of *all professing Christians* practicable! He alleged, and

endeavoured to convince those whom he addressed, that all who could agree to receive the *Apostle's Creed*, the *Lord's Prayer*, and the *Ten Commandments*, ought to be united in one family. And finally, appearing to adopt the opinion, that all religion consisted in certain mystical feelings, which might be found in connection with almost any and every form of doctrinal belief, he seemed to consider scarcely any diversity of opinion as a sufficient ground for separation.

It is scarcely necessary to say, that Mr. *Dury*, in this enthusiasm of liberality, found few enlightened and respectable adherents. The majority of those who favoured his plan belonged to the Reformed Churches. The great mass of the Lutheran body opposed him throughout, and many of them with warmth and even violence. *John Matthiæ* and *George Calixtus* were almost the only conspicuous Lutheran divines who fell in with his plan, and appeared as its advocates. On the whole, there can be no doubt that *Dury's* enterprize rather increased alienation than promoted unity. He wore out his days in unprofitable toil; bore rebuffs, insults, and multiplied troubles with wonderful patience; until he finally died in obscurity and poverty, neglected by those who had once encouraged him to go forward in the prosecution of his utopian scheme. Nor was this all. The influence of what was done, on the Lutheran Church, was peculiarly unhappy. The publications of *Matthiæ*, under the title of the *Olive Branch*, were publicly condemned, as pestiferous, and, by a royal edict, excluded from *Sweden*, in which kingdom the author lived. And with regard to *Calixtus*, while he endeavoured, as *Mosheim* remarks, to free the Church from all sects, he was considered by great numbers of his brethren as being the father of a *new sect*, that of the *Syncretists*;—a sect which was considered as pursuing peace and union at the expense of divine truth. He became instrumental in throwing the whole Lutheran body into a most unhappy commotion, which was a long time in passing away.

Before taking leave of this work, we cannot forbear to speak of another review of it published in the month of September last, in a contemporary and highly respected periodical,* from the pen of the Right Rev. *B. B. Smith*,

* *The Literary and Theological Review*, conducted by the Rev. *Leonard Woods, Junior*.

Episcopal Bishop of *Kentucky*.^{*} Before reading the article we felt some curiosity to see how a gentleman, once somewhat known as a *low-churchman*, but since advanced to the prelacy, would speak of a work by a pious Dutch Presbyterian, pleading for the union of all Christians. We had not read far, however, before we perceived that the scope and evident purpose of the whole, though ostensibly liberal, and conducted throughout with great respectfulness and delicacy, is as purely *sectarian* as possible; and contains, though not in so many words, yet in spirit, a kind invitation of the whole world into the Episcopal Church. On the character of this article we take the freedom to make a few remarks, not in the polemical spirit; but that the imperfectly disclosed purpose of Bishop *Smith* may be distinctly understood; and especially as the periodical work which contains it circulates extensively among Presbyterians.

1. Our first remark in relation to the article in question is, that one of the most striking ecclesiastical incongruities we can think of, is to find a thorough-going "*high-churchman*" speaking with complacency, and with raised expectation, of "Christian union." By *high-churchmen* every one will understand us to mean, those members of the Episcopal Church who make high and exclusive claims in favour of their own sect; who maintain confidently that the power of ordination to the gospel ministry is *confined* to prelatial bishops; that ministers, not ordained by them, have no valid commission, and, of course, no right to administer gospel ordinances; and that, out of the Episcopal denomination, there can be no lawful ministers; no valid sacraments; in fact, no church, but all out of the appointed way of salvation, and given over to the "uncovenanted mercy" of God. That this doctrine is really held by considerable numbers, both of the clergy and laity of that denomination, will appear from the following distinct avowal, found in a manual extensively used and admired among American Episcopalians.

"The Judge of all the earth will indeed do right. The grace of God quickens and animates all the degenerate children of Adam. The mercy of the Saviour is co-extensive with the ruin into which sin has plunged mankind. And, 'in every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him.' But where the gospel is proclaimed, communion with the Church by

* We are aware that commenting on an *anonymous* review might be considered as unusual, and of questionable delicacy. But, in the present case, as the writer gives his name to the public, we suppose there is no more impropriety in referring to it, than in animadverting on any other publication made under the author's name.

the participation of its ordinances, at the hands of its *duly authorized priesthood*, is the *indispensable condition of salvation*. Separation from the prescribed government, and regular priesthood of the Church, when it proceeds from involuntary and unavoidable ignorance or error, we have reason to trust, will not intercept from the humble, the penitent and obedient, the blessings of God's favour. But when we humbly submit to that priesthood which Christ and his apostles constituted; when, in the lively exercise of penitence and faith, we partake of the ordinances administered by them, we maintain our communion with that Church which the Redeemer purifies by his blood, which he quickens by his Spirit, and whose faithful members he will finally crown with the most exalted glories of his heavenly kingdom. The important truth which the universal Church has uniformly maintained, that, to experience the full and exalted efficacy of the sacraments, we must receive them from a *valid authority*, is not inconsistent with that charity which extends mercy to all who labour under involuntary error. But *great is the guilt*, and *eminent the danger*, of those who, professing the means of arriving at the knowledge of the truth, negligently or wilfully continue in a state of separation from the *authorized ministry of the Church*, and partake of ordinances administered by an *irregular and invalid authority*. Wilfully rending the peace and unity of the Church, by separating from the ministrations of its authorized priesthood; obstinately contemning the means which God, in his sovereign pleasure, hath prescribed for their salvation, they are guilty of *rebellion against their Almighty Lawgiver and Judge*; they expose themselves to the awful displeasure of that Almighty Jehovah, who will not permit his institutions to be contemned, or his authority violated with impunity.*

In plain English, the scope of these, and similar passages in writings of acknowledged authority in that denomination, is, that the Episcopal "*priesthood*" is *the only authorized ministry*;—that their sacraments are *the only valid sacraments*;—that those who are out of the Episcopal body, are no part of the Christian Church; that they have no hope founded on "*covenanted mercy*;" but, however penitent, humble, and deeply spiritual they may be, the fact, that they are not in communion with the Episcopal Church, proves that they are "*aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenant of promise.*"

In full accordance with this representation, Mr. *Grant*, the Episcopal high-church historian, of England, does not scruple to avow the doctrine which has been stated, in all its length and breadth. "*This opinion,*" says he, "*supposes a charm, a secret virtue, by which—to state an extreme case—a vicious minister of the Church of England can confer something necessary to salvation, as a sacrament is; while the same office performed by a pious sectary, who has in his heart devoted himself to God, is an absolute nullity.*" After stating the case in this strong and unequivocal manner, he

* *Companion for the Altar*, by J. H. HOBART, afterwards Bishop HOBART. 1804. p. 202—204.

does not hesitate to declare that, in his opinion, the fact is really so. "*Truth* is sacred and immutable," says he, "and must be received, whatever inconvenience may attend its reception."^{*}

There are, indeed, some high-churchmen whose mode of stating their opinions in reference to this subject, is somewhat less offensive in terms. They do not undertake decisively to exclude all others but themselves and the Romanists from the "covenanted mercies of God;" but they refuse to *acknowledge* any others. Their language is, "we *know* that *we* are right, and on safe ground; but we do *not know* that others are. We do not positively deny that they are true churches; but we cannot see our way clear to *recognize* them as such." There is still a third portion of the general class of high-churchmen, who, maintaining the Popish doctrine that lay-baptism is valid, and that any body of baptized persons may properly be called *a church*, do not deny the title of churches to Presbyterian assemblies. But while they concede this—on most erroneous ground as we suppose—they deny that these churches have any *authorized ministers*, and contend that all the claims and acts of such ministers are usurpation and rebellion.

These are the opinions to which popular parlance has assigned the title of *high-church*. The title is just. They are not only revolting, but really schismatic in their character. We do not pretend to know how extensively such opinions are cherished by the ministers and members of the Episcopal Church in the United States. We have no doubt that many of the best of both, cordially reject them, and cultivate toward other churches a fraternal spirit. Nor do we intend, at present, to enter into an inquiry whether these revolting opinions are correct or not. We, of course, believe them to be both absurd and unscriptural. But that is not, at present, the question. The question is, can it be considered as congruous for a man who holds these opinions to talk or think of promoting "Christian union;" of holding out the olive branch, in any intelligible sense, to other denominations, when he regards them all as out of the way of salvation? Now we happen to know that Bishop *Smith*, freely states it as his opinion, that *non-episcopal ministers have no commission*; no authority whatever to administer gospel ordi-

* GRANT'S History of the Church of England, and the Sects dissenting from her. Vol. II. 7, 8.

nances. *His* plan of union, then, is, that all other denominations are at liberty, if they please, to turn Episcopalians; and that, if they do, he will *then*, and *not till then* regard them favourably, and acknowledge them as Christians. This is surely a wonderful sacrifice at the shrine of "Christian union!" The Papist could say this; and he could say no more.

2. Our second remark is, that Bishop *Smith's* views of "Christian union" are such, that he is constrained to regret that the reformers ever separated from the Church of Rome. He is such a worshipper of the *form* of ecclesiastical communion, without its *power*, that he seriously asks, "whether one of the grand mistakes of the Reformation, was not separation *from* the Church, instead of reformation *in* the Church?" As if effort after effort to reform the Church, without going out of it, had not been actually made by one noble minded man after another, for nearly two hundred years before that time, without success. As if hundreds of men, some of them among the best on earth, had not been hurried to the stake, for daring to whisper a doubt concerning the pure and scriptural character of the dominant Church. As if most of the Reformers had not been violently *cast out* of the Church, instead of first *departing* themselves. Nay, as if, when Christ the Lord, had been virtually taken away from the Headship of his Church, there was any scriptural object to be gained by continued "union" with such a body. We have no doubt that Bishop *Smith*, in the multitude of his yearnings towards what appears to be his idol—the Episcopal succession—wishes there never had been a severance of connection with the Church of *Rome*. He feels probably a little as Archbishop *Laud* did, when he said, "I do believe the Church of Rome to be a true Church. Were she *not* a true Church, it were hard with the Church of England, since from her the English bishops derive their apostolic succession." For our part, we think the Reformers did wisely in "coming out from among the Romanists, and being separate." We cannot doubt, that, in abandoning the habitations of gross superstition and idolatry, they took the only feasible course. Necessity impelled them to it. Duty required it. The Church of Rome, not the Reformers, was the *real schismatic*, since she required the friends of the reformation to obey man rather than God, or go to the stake or gibbet, or go out from her pale. In this case, we may say of "union" as our blessed Lord does of the holy sabbath. Union was made

for man, not man for union. It ought to be sacredly and inviolably maintained as long as it can be made subservient to the great purpose for which it was appointed; mutual edification in faith and holiness. But when it becomes an alliance to corruption, idolatry, and misery, it has lost both its purpose and its value. It is, undoubtedly, a sin to sacrifice every thing to the *name*, when the *substance* is gone.

3. Our third remark on Bishop *Smith's* Review, is, that he seems to hold a doctrine in regard to the *essential nature* of the "union" for which he pleads, in which we can by no means concur with him. "What sort of union" he asks, amongst the followers of Christ, should be proposed? Shall they be called upon to unite in some way or other, as they now stand divided; or are they bound to agree in one outward form of Christianity? Mr. *Van Dyck*, and multitudes with him, appear to entertain no other idea of union amongst Christians, than an agreement that they shall not bite and devour one another. For our part, we most explicitly avow our conviction, that every attempt to put a stop to the dissensions and subdivisions which distract the Church, must forever prove futile, until Christians are agreed IN ONE OUTWARD FORM OF CHRISTIANITY. To talk about union in feeling and spirit, whilst there is disunion in fact, is about as wise as to exhort those to love one another, between whom occasion of deadly feud actually exists."

We acknowledge that we do not take exactly this view of the subject. Conscientious and firm as our persuasion is, that the Presbyterian form of government and of worship, was the form actually adopted in the apostolic Church, and which *ought* to be the universal form;—yet we are very far from thinking the adoption of this form, or of any other single form, by the different existing denominations, as essential to Christian union in its best sense. We think "THE UNITY OF THE SPIRIT," the most important part of this whole matter. We confess, indeed, that we love to see union among the followers of Christ complete in all its parts, external as well as internal. We love to find large communities of Christians all "speaking the same thing," and walking by the same rule and order. But we cannot doubt that there may be much love, much of the real precious communion of saints, where there is considerable diversity of external order. We are perfectly persuaded that there was more scriptural, practical "unity of the spirit in the bond of peace," between the Church of *England*, and the Presbyterian Churches of

France, Holland, Germany, Geneva, and Switzerland, in the days of *Bucer, Martyr, Bullinger, Calvin, Cranmer, &c.* than there is, at this hour, between the different portions of the English establishment. What pious Presbyterian would find the least difficulty in cherishing the most delightful Christian fellowship with such men as the late Mr. *John Newton*, Dr. *Scott*, and other similar worthies of the Church of England? He would certainly take more pleasure in the conversation and ministry of such men, than in those of some men belonging to his own nominal communion, of less zeal and spirituality. We do, indeed, anticipate that when the Millenium shall open on the world, there will be greater uniformity in the outward aspect, as well as in the interior of the Church of God, than has ever yet been seen. But we do not feel quite sure that the uniformity, with regard to external order, will be perfect and universal. However this may be, we are perfectly satisfied in cherishing the assurance that the favoured believers of that age will be "of one heart and of one way," in love to the Saviour; in love to one another; in bearing one another's burdens and infirmities; and in seeking to promote their common happiness, and to glorify their common God. We do not believe that a conflict or a thought will ever arise in the minds of the Christians of that generation respecting ecclesiastical *rank* or *succession*. Let any one glance at the Apocalyptic delineations of that happy period, and say whether a single stroke of the pencil of inspiration appears to point to matters of that kind. The glory of the blessed Redeemer, and the affection of his people to him and to one another, evidently occupy and adorn the whole picture.

4. Again, Bishop *Smith* asks, "whether effacing the scriptural and primitive distinctions between *clerical* and *lay* officers in the church, has not, by lessening the respect for the sacred order, and fostering a spirit of misrule and insubordination, greatly tended to the multiplication of sects?" Whatever influence this thing may have had in affecting either the peace or unity of the church, we can think of no sect to which the query more strikingly applies, than to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. We know of scarcely any other denomination than theirs, in which the ecclesiastical assemblies of which, *laymen* are permitted to sit and give votes, which may be absolutely controlling, without the least semblance or plea, even on their own showing, for divine authority in the case. It is well known that

the ruling elders of the Presbyterian Church occupy a place in all their ecclesiastical assemblies. But, then, they are not, strictly speaking, in our estimation, *laymen*; that is, we consider them as spiritual officers, appointed by Christ to bear rule, and, therefore, just as much authorized to sit and act in the place assigned to them, as any minister in the whole Church.* But our Episcopal brethren, if we understand their system, introduce into all their assemblies, from the Vestry to the General Convention, numbers of mere laymen, invested with high authority, and yet in whose behalf they do not pretend to plead any divine appointment or institution. We cannot but think, therefore, that it is with a very ill grace that Bishop *Smith* singles out this feature in modern times, as favourable to the multiplication of sects, and the production of insubordination and disorder in the Church. If he be deliberately of this opinion, he ought to exert himself to alter, as soon as possible, the constitution of his own Church. But we have no such apprehension from this source as he appears to entertain. We cannot think of any prominent sect in our land that was commenced, or even planned, by *laymen*. No, the *clergy*—we repeat it—the *clergy* have been, in almost all cases, the disturbers and corruptors of the Church; and we verily believe that the greatest danger is now to be apprehended from *them*. If the *leaders* and *guides* of all denominations were all deeply imbued with the humble, charitable, disinterested, and truly benevolent spirit of their Master, we cannot doubt that the greatest obstacle to “Christian union” would be taken out of the way.

5. We have but one more remark, or rather query, to offer on the view which Bishop *Smith* appears to take of the subject. Assuming that there can be no valuable or effectual unity, without a concurrence *in some one external form of organization*;—that this is not only important, but essential; he professes, in one place, the most entire indifference “in what *direction* these principles may guide him.” “With us,” says he, “it would *matter nothing* to which of the existing denominations they would conduct; or what modifications they would demand of each.” Yet he, evidently, in another place, gives us to understand what denomination he thinks ought to be adopted, and would be adopted, if proper principles presided over the choice. At this partiality to

* It is well known that in the early Church, soon after the apostle's days, all Church officers, from the highest to the lowest, were called *clergymen*, to distinguish them from the body of the people.

his own sect, we are not surprised; nor should we be disposed to criminate him for it, had his declaration in its favour been much more pointed and positive. The leading principle which he supposes ought to regulate the choice of this universal denomination, is that which he quotes from *Tertulian*—"whatever is first is true; whatever is more recent is spurious." We accede to the general principle; and have no more doubt that the most faithful "induction" of historical, and every other kind of testimony, would show that Presbyterian doctrine, government and worship was "first,"—was the truly primitive and apostolic form, than we have that the same "inductive" testimony would show that in the first century, there were Christian Churches planted in *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, *Rome*, and *Philippi*. On this, however, we shall not insist. We will suppose, for argument's sake, that the Episcopal form of Church order were universally adopted in our country in all its parts; that all the denominations in the United States were prevailed upon, without one perverse "dissenter" interposing his veto, to assume the name, and adopt the government and formularies of that denomination. Suppose this to be done; and suppose the whole body, when thus united, to bear the very same character, as to piety, zeal, humility, and diffusive Christian benevolence, which the body actually distinguished by that denomination *now* bears. Would our country be the better for it? Would the interests of "pure and undefiled religion" be really promoted? Would a greater amount of evangelical labour be likely to be accomplished? Would the poor neglected wanderers "in the highways and hedges" be more likely to be brought in? Would the conversion of the whole world to God be likely to be more speedily effected? What would be its probable influence on the civil government of the country; on the rights of conscience; and on all the privileges of the citizens? Would such a community, judging from all experience, be wakeful, active and enterprising in its religious character; or sunk in the torpor and formality which usually characterize those bodies from which emulation is gone, and where there are none to call in question the course pursued? We should have no fear, as to any of these points, if the "latter day glory" had begun. The universal prevalence of true religion would be the best universal conservative. But the supposition is, that all sects were merged in one, and the whole remaining, in every other respect, just as they are. Would the country be safe

under such a transformation? Would religion be safe? Would the interests of the world be safe? We trow not. If the denomination in question were our own, we should say—By no means!

Bishop *Smith*, in sketching the union, which he seems to contemplate, speaks of each denomination giving up something for the sake of harmony. It may excite a smile in some of our non-presbyterian readers, when we say, that, in casting about, in our own minds, what peculiarity Presbyterians might reasonably be called upon, and feel willing to surrender, as a tribute to "Christian union," we felt deeply at a loss to specify a single particular. There is not, we will confidently affirm, a denomination of Christians in the United States, or in the world, more free from offensive claims; more ready to unite with all other denominations in communion or in effort; or having fewer peculiarities to keep us asunder from our neighbours. We freely acknowledge the Church character, and the validity of the ministrations of Congregationalists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Baptists, Lutherans, and, in short, of all sects who hold the fundamentals of Christianity. We repel none of them from our communion; and in all our private and public ministrations we insist, almost exclusively, on the great duties of "repentance towards God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and holiness of heart and of life, in which all evangelical Protestants profess substantially to agree. Where one sectarian claim or statement is made in our pulpits, we may safely venture to say, that fifty are made in the pulpits and writings of our Baptist, Episcopal, and Methodist brethren. What then, in the proposed mutual concession for the sake of "union," shall we give up? Our exclusive claims? We have none. Our abuse of other denominations? We have none. We are every where loaded with calumny; but have never yet engaged in any other warfare than that of the purest *self-defence*. Even our most mild and respectful self-defence, we know, is made matter of accusation and reproach; but be it so. We cannot surrender this right. Shall we give up our endeavours to maintain a *learned ministry*—which was, for a long time, matter of accusation with more than one sister denomination? We cannot consent to do this. As it is, our ministry has far too little learning; and those very churches which once reproached us for our requisitions in regard to this matter, are now adopting similar plans, and are following close at our heels, in the maintenance of the same system. Shall

we consent, for the sake of universal ecclesiastical amalgamation, to give up all our rules and efforts for maintaining *purity of doctrine*? Here again we must demur. We contend only for that precious system of grace and truth, which all the leading Reformers, both in Great Britain, and on the continent of Europe, uniformly maintained. In struggling to defend and propagate the pure doctrines set forth in our venerated Confession, we contend for no new or doubtful theories. We contend for the same system of doctrine which was taught by the *Cranmers*, the *Hoopers*, the *Lattimers*, and the *Whitgifts*, as well as the *Luthers* of the sixteenth century, and for which several of them laid down their lives. We believe that, important as the government of the Church may and ought to be considered, the maintenance of pure gospel truth is a thousand fold more important; and that to compromise its interests out of regard to any question of ecclesiastical order, would be a high offence against our Master in heaven, and against all the interests of his kingdom.

We think we do no injustice to any other portion of Protestant Christendom, when we say, that we are confident no denomination of Christians exceeds the Presbyterian Church in genuine Christian liberality, and in a readiness to unite in Christian effort with all classes of credible professors of Christianity. Our system is absolutely less exclusive, and more pacific than any other in our country, which admits the importance of truth at all. We are really almost the only denomination of Christians in the United States whose views of truth, of the gospel ministry, and of ecclesiastical order, present no obstacle to our communing and co-operating with any and every denomination who hold fast the essentials of true religion. Nor can we hesitate to assert, that the most conspicuous and edifying examples of such union and co-operation, within the last twenty years, have been actually presented by the Presbyterian Church. Why, then, it is, that we are every where calumniated as eminently *sectarian* in our character; why the most mild and respectful attempts to defend our own opinions, and to show to our members our reasons for differing from sister denominations around us, are stigmatized as violent and unprovoked attacks; and why these charges happen to be most clamorously urged by those of our neighbours whose *sectarism* is acknowledged on all hands to be the most rampant and exclusive in the land; are questions, the responsibility of answering which, we are glad does not lie at our door.

We agree with Bishop *Smith* in the opinion, that the spirit of sect is more rife and more powerful at this time than it was some years ago. We think this has grown out of some of the very measures prematurely and unwisely adopted to produce the diametrically opposite effect. And we are persuaded that much that is now written and done, with the intention of promoting union, is adapted to retard, rather than promote, the great object recommended in the volume before us. We lament that such should be the case, but we cannot close our eyes against the fact. Were we to attempt to offer a set of counsels as to the best means of promoting "Christian union"—we should say—"Be much more engaged in cherishing a spirit of charity and concord, than in urging different denominations to come together. Let the strain of preaching be practical, affectionate and strictly scriptural, rather than controversial. Be more intent on describing and inculcating the religion of the heart, than on pleading the cause of a particular form of external organization and order. Let each denomination maintain its own peculiar opinions, with regard to doctrine and discipline, meekly, and candidly, but with firmness, without compromising a single dictate of conscience. Study to cultivate intercourse with other denominations, to converse and pray together, and co-operate in every pious and benevolent enterprise, as far as may not be forbidden by conscientious peculiarities. Be very sure that what is made a term of communion be something distinctly and clearly taught in the word of God. Let none imagine that the "Christian union," so much sought after, and so truly desirable, can be reached at once, or by rapid movements; it must be the work of time, and brought about by gentle means; just as the gradual change of a nation's character or language is effected by almost insensible degrees. And, in the mean while, it is not wise to be forever harping on the duty of "union." All the world knows that, if we wish to produce in any mind strong emotions, either of love or hatred, the true way to succeed is not to employ our time in directly exhorting to the exercise of this emotion; but in presenting such views of the object in question, as are adapted favorably to excite and impress. No one was ever induced to love an object by being scolded and reproached for *not* loving it. And they are surely the worst enemies to "Christian union," who, while they declaim against *sectarism*, and paint in strong colours the sin and mischief of multiplied religious denominations, are constantly "compassing sea and land"

to make proselytes to their own sect, and representing all others as "aliens from the covenant of God."

That our views in relation to this interesting subject may not be misapprehended, we will close our protracted remarks by the following brief summary of the conclusions, in relation to it, to which we have come, and which we regard as most scriptural, rational, and safe.

1. All who profess the true religion, in its essential characteristics, belong to the visible Church catholic, notwithstanding the diversity of forms and names by which they are externally separated; and ought to be so regarded by all who believe that Christ is one, and his religion one. Of course,

2. Entire concurrence in the same outward form of Christianity is not essential to Christian union, or to the real communion of saints.

3. Yet every thing that tends to divide the body of Christ, or to interfere with entire harmony among the members of his body, is sinful, and ought to be avoided.

4. The day is coming, and is probably not far distant, when all the professing people of God will be so united, if not in every point of external form, yet in spirit, in cordial affection, as to feel that they are "one body in Christ, and every one members one of another."

5. The *mere* quiet, formal *coalition* of all sects into one body, and under one name, would not be "Christian union."

6. We cannot look for the consummation of this desirable outward union, nor even reasonably *wish* it to take place, unless and until the *spirit* of sectarianism shall be *previously* slain, and the spirit of universal charity shall become triumphant in every part of the Church. Were the union contemplated to come *before* the establishment of this, it could not live, much less diffuse its appropriate blessings. Therefore,

7. All attempts to break down the barriers which now divide professing Christians into different denominations, anterior to the pouring out upon them the *spirit of love*. will be of little or no efficacy in promoting the great object contemplated; perhaps may even retard its approach. *A community of goods* once existed in the Christian Church, and may, possibly, exist again, when the spirit of pure and fervent love shall pervade the Church; but if a proposal were made to restore that community *now*, when the prevailing spirit of Christendom is so remote from it, it would be

considered as doing discredit, rather than honour to the cause and the proposer.

8. Those denominations of Christians which stand aloof from other Christian Churches, or which refuse, on grounds not supported by the word of God, to commune with them, are chargeable with schism. The dominant powers in the Church of England, in *ejecting two thousand of the very best ministers of that Church*, in 1662, because they refused to conform to unscriptural ceremonies, were the real schismatics, and not the ejected ministers themselves. Mr. *Locke* pronounces that event "fatal to the Church and religion of England, in *throwing out* a very great number of worthy, learned, pious and orthodox divines." *Letter from a person of quality.* Works. Vol. IX. 202.

9. The volume before us has appeared a number of years *too soon* for the prompt adoption of its principles. We are not yet prepared for the "abolition of sects." When this precious blessing shall be vouchsafed to the Church, we have no expectation that it will be brought about by some great man, by discovering the *causes* of the opposite evil, and proposing some new and wonderful *remedy*. It will be the result of the same power, which, when the disciples were tossed on the heaving sea, and filled with fear, said to the raging winds and waves, "Peace, be still;" and there was a great calm. There will probably, however, be no miracle, in the common sense of that word; but the same gracious agency which blesses the Church now, given in a much larger measure. Before the Christian community can be ready for a movement of this kind, the Holy Spirit of sanctification and love must be poured out upon churches to an extent, and with a power, hitherto unknown, since the day of Pentecost. The spirit of those who are constantly "scrambling for proselytes;" who are far more anxious to convert men to their own denomination, than to the knowledge and love of holiness; and especially the spirit of those who "HATE THE GOSPEL, while they LOVE THE CHURCH," must be brought to yield to the genuine spirit of Christian charity. The miseries of a perishing world must bear with a hundred fold more weight than they now do, on the hearts of Christians; and they must feel, with a force and tenderness of which they at present know little, their supreme obligation to send the simple, pure gospel to every creature. They must be absorbed in the great work of converting the world to God. Then, and not till then, will sectarianism gradually expire. Then, and not till then, will

the exclamation of the early ages be renewed, "BEHOLD HOW THESE CHRISTIANS LOVE ONE ANOTHER!" The Lord hasten in his time a consummation so devoutly to be wished! Every Christian heart will say—Amen!

Charles Hodge

ART. III.—*Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Römer. Von L. J. Rückert. Leipzig: 1831.*

Commentary on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans. By L. J. Rückert. Leipzig: 1831.

THIS is, on the whole, one of the best German commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans. The author is, or was, as we understand, a teacher in the Gymnasium at Zittau; a circumstance to which he owes much of his excellence, and some of his faults, as a commentator. The qualifications for a good commentator are so numerous, that it is perhaps vain to expect to find them all united. We must be content to have the deficiencies of one supplied by the excellencies of another. Rückert has given a very good view of the requisites for an accomplished exegete. He should, in the first place, be a philologist, possessing not only a knowledge of languages, but of history; he should be a logician, and a man of imagination. This last demand, though rather startling, is still reasonable in the sense in which he uses the term. It is now acknowledged that the only safe foundation of scriptural interpretation is grammar; a knowledge of the force of the several words, and of the laws which regulate their connexion. In reference to the New Testament writers, the first question is, what the simple Greek, agreeably to the usage of classic writers, means? and then what is the usage of the Hellenistic writers, especially those of the New Testament itself? It is a difficult question how far the classic usage should be allowed to predominate over the Hellenistic. Rückert complains that commentators give the apostle far too little credit for a knowledge of pure Greek, and, consequently, resort to the usage of the Hebrew where it is altogether unnecessary. His principle is to adhere to the usage of pure Greek, except in cases of absolute necessity. It must be admitted that the Hebraic character of the Greek of the New Testament was a long time allowed to give a latitude and looseness to the interpretation especially of the

particles, destructive of accuracy and certainty. There is danger, however, of going to the opposite extreme. Nothing is more natural than that men, whose vernacular language was Hebrew (or Syro-chaldaic), whose knowledge of Greek was, in a great measure, derived from the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, should exhibit many traces of Hebrew idiom and usage in their Greek style. Few things, therefore, are more generally admitted, or in fact more obvious, than that the Greek of the New Testament does, in a multitude of particulars, depart from classic usage, and conform to the peculiarities of the Hebrew. We think that Rückert's principle and practice are both wrong in reference to this matter. He adheres to the classic usage, except in cases of *absolute necessity*; that is, except in those cases where the passage, when interpreted agreeably to the force of the words in pure Greek, makes no sense at all. Now we think it altogether reasonable, that in all those cases where an interpretation, founded on a well ascertained Hellenistic or Hebraic use of a term, gives a sense better suited to the context, more agreeable to parallel passages, it should be confidently adopted. There are very many instances in the work before us in which, as we think, the writer adopts a very unnatural interpretation, rather than depart from the authority of his favourite classics. Paul was far more likely to write after the manner of the Septuagint, than after that of Xenophon.

In demanding historical knowledge in an interpreter, he of course requires that he should be acquainted with the character, opinions and circumstances of the age and nation to which the writer, who is to be explained, belongs. In this respect the recent commentators have in general an advantage over the earlier ones; though here also they have been guilty of excess in often taking it for granted that the opinions of Jews, living some centuries after the apostles, might, in all cases, be brought forward in illustration of the doctrines of the sacred writers.

One of the most important qualifications of an interpreter of the epistles of the New Testament undoubtedly is the power of tracing the connexion of thought and the course of the argument. The philological commentators have, to a great extent, been annotators rather than commentators, and from the fragmentary character of their expositions have failed to throw as much light on the sacred text as the old logical and doctrinal expositors. Most of the recent commentators who acknowledge the value of the qualification

of which we are speaking, content themselves in a great measure with showing the connexion between one verse and another. Even Rückert, though he remarks on this defect, and though he is superior to most of his predecessors in this respect, is very far from satisfying an inquiring mind. He gives no clear and satisfactory analysis of any one extended passage.

When Rückert requires that a commentator should be a man of imagination, he means that he should have the power of transferring himself to the age and circumstances of the sacred writers; to lay aside the views and modes of thinking peculiar to his own times, and see with the eyes, and think, as it were, with the mind of those who lived when the New Testament was written. With regard to the Epistle to the Romans, for example, he must place himself in the situation of its author, remember his history, his training, his feelings his opinions, and allow all these to influence his interpretation, and not the views, opinions, or modes of thinking of the nineteenth century.

Besides these intellectual qualifications, our author demands of a commentator that he should be perfectly impartial. 'The interpreter of the New Testament has, and can, as an interpreter, have no system, whether of doctrine or feeling; he is, as far as he is an exegete, neither orthodox nor heterodox, neither Supernaturalist, nor Rationalist, nor Pantheist, nor any other *ist*; he is neither pious nor impious, neither moral nor immoral, neither sensitive nor obtuse; because he has but the one duty of searching out what his author says, and giving the result over as a simple fact to the philosopher, theologian, moralist, or ascetic.' There is a good deal of truth in all this, though it is rather extravagantly stated. It is indeed the simple duty of the interpreter to find out and report what the sacred writers say; but it is surely not a matter of little moment, even in reference to his qualifications for this task, whether he is able to sympathize with his author or not. It is no new doctrine that the feelings of piety enables a man to understand the language of piety; that the perceptions of the understanding are greatly influenced by the state of the heart. How different is the import of the Psalms to a devout spirit, from their meaning to a man of the world. Let any one read De Wette's commentary on that portion of the sacred writings, and he will see what an impartial *historical* commentator makes of some of the most pious and delightful effusions of the holy Psalm-

ist. The whole medium through which the writer looks is false, and his own position is false. He regards David altogether as such a man as himself; he cannot enter into his feelings, nor understand his language. Nor is it less obvious that the opinions which are entertained of the origin and authority of the scriptures, must influence the commentator's views of the several parts of them. An interpretation, for example, of some of the prophecies of the Old and New Testaments which is perfectly natural on the assumption of the inspiration of the sacred writers, becomes absurd and impossible if that inspiration is denied. How can the man who regards the ancient prophets as popular orators and demagogues, take the same view of their meaning as the man who believes that they spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and that they were appointed to testify beforehand of the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow? It is therefore absurd to say that it is a matter of no moment whether a commentator is a Rationalist or Supernaturalist. It makes all the difference in the world. The *general* principles of interpretation of such men are the same, but their different views must modify essentially these principles. Both acknowledge that the interpreter must endeavour to find out what the author intended to say; but who is the author? a man of the same limited knowledge and faculties with ourselves? or a man whose field of view is so enlarged as to take in the future as well as the present? Nothing can be plainer than that a man who denies the possibility or the fact of inspiration, cannot be a competent interpreter of an inspired book. Real impartiality, therefore, does not place all classes of men on a level, nor render all opinions and feelings alike matters of indifference to a commentator; but it secures the due influence of all the facts in the case, of all the real peculiarities of the sacred volume, and allows the inspired writers to explain themselves.

It may be asked, how has the author fulfilled these requisitions for a good commentator, which he himself demands? This is a question which he of course leaves to his readers, and which they, we presume, will answer, in the general, much to his satisfaction. The commentary has a great deal to recommend it. It is accurately philological; it is concise and to the point; it has neither the violent interpretations of many of the avowed Rationalists, nor the sublimations of the more recent philosophical commentators. The author gradually and naturally evolves that sense which he considers to

be correct, and then states and briefly examines the views of his predecessors. It is very difficult for an American to appreciate either a German book or a German man. The influences under which their respective characters and modes of thinking are formed, are so different, that it is not easy for the one to understand the other. There are few better illustrations of the principle so often inculcated, that in order to judge correctly of any one writer, we must be familiar with the whole spirit of the age and nation to which he belongs, than is afforded by the present race of German authors. Their whole training, their philosophy, their terminology are different from ours. We should, therefore, be constantly led into error and injustice if we were to measure them by our own standard, or interpret their language by the light of our own systems. We very much question whether the world has ever seen a Christian community in such a state as modern Germany exhibits. The teeming mind of that branch of the Teutonic race, instinct with the mystic spirit of the east, and entirely emancipated from all restraints of authority, of popular opinion, or even deference for the revelation of God, has shot up a multitude and variety of opinions, such as we believe the world has never before witnessed among any one people. There are the flat and bald common sense philosophy and Deism of the English and French school of the last century; the transcendentalism of Kant; the idealistic Pantheism, of Fichte, Schelling and Hegel, with every modification of Christianity. There are pure specimens of all these forms of opinion, and these elements exist in all conceivable combinations, mixed in every possible proportion, and giving rise to an indefinite variety of results. It would be difficult, therefore, to find any two men occupying exactly the same ground, or exhibiting the same phase. Had these men to act together, Babel would be a scene of order in comparison with a convocation of German theologians and philosophers. But as they have nothing to do with each other, and as the government concerns itself as little with their opinions as with the fashion of their dress, there is perfect peace in the midst of the most complete discordance. The theologians being one of the largest and most influential classes of the literati, exhibit their full proportion of diversity and extravagance of doctrine. Some are simple Deists, unphilosophical and unimaginative; others call themselves Supernaturalists, because they admit something above the course of nature, either in the revelation or confir-

mation of Christianity; some believe in the New Testament, but reject the Old; some admit the authority of Christ, but deny that of the apostles; some acknowledge the general divinity of Christianity, but deny that it has any fixed form of doctrine, assuming that it is rather an element of spiritual life than a system of objective truth; others again, though claiming to be Christians *par excellence*, are atheistical Pantheists, the Sufies and Budists of Christianity; while others are simple orthodox believers.

To which of these numerous categories does our author belong? It is hard to say. He has so well acted out his principle that an interpreter should be neither Rationalist, Supernaturalist, Pantheist, nor any other *ist*, that a man may read almost his entire book without making the discovery. Here and there, where the apostle's doctrines are a little too strong for him, he enters a caveat lest his readers should infer that he himself believes all that he makes Paul teach. It is not, however, until we get to the introduction, which is at the end of the volume, and which he begs may not be read until the whole commentary has been studied, that we learn any thing very definite as to the author's own opinions. We there discover that he considers himself a Christian, professes a reverence and love for the gospel, and confidence in its truths and promises; that he has an exalted opinion of the apostle Paul, regarding him as a high-minded and liberal Jew, greatly in advance of his age, but a Jew still, as much behind this century, as he was before his own, and necessarily subject to the errors and prejudices incident to his peculiar situation. We present the reader with a few extracts from this portion of the work before us.

In Section IX. of the introduction, speaking of the value of this epistle, he says, 'Even in the earliest ages, it was highly esteemed, and has been so ever since. And it deserves to be thus estimated. Any one, indeed, who seeks only doctrinal decisions, and these, according to his own mind, who after his own principles has cut out a system and who is unable to appreciate any thing that does not accord with it, who measures antiquity by the standard of the nineteenth century, who looks upon the east with western eyes, and who neither can nor will assume any other point of view than his own, must find the Epistle to the Romans a constant stumbling block. Here are doctrines which he cannot believe, a doctrine of atonement inconsistent with reason; here every thing is attributed to faith and nothing to works; here is the

doctrine of eternal election and reprobation presented with a severity which is almost revolting; here are expectations cherished which later ages have long since rejected as unfounded; in short, to many a theologian this epistle has been a cross and a rock of offence; many have estimated it as of little worth because they knew not what to make of it, and many have wished it well out of the bible. I acknowledge freely and openly that there are many declarations in this epistle with which I can by no means agree, I discover more than one difficulty in Paul's system, and here and there observe traces that the author was a Jew and not a philosopher, a son of antiquity and not of modern days. Yet I can assert that all this neither lessens my esteem for the man, nor lowers my estimate of the value of his work.' Again in the following page, 'If this epistle is regarded with the eyes of the nineteenth century, and of a man of general scientific culture, much may be discovered which is purely national, much which may appear very narrow minded; but let any one place himself on the level of the apostle's age and nation; compare him with his cotemporaries and fellow apostles; regard, not so much what still adhered to him, as what he had cast off, and he cannot fail to entertain a different opinion. How much was necessary to enable a Jew to acknowledge the call of all nations to the attainment of salvation; to lead a Pharisee to see the insufficiency of legal virtue; how much was required to bring a man, educated in Jewish opinions, to regard the requirements of the law as a restriction to the soul, the law itself as a fetter from which he must be freed before he could really flourish. All this must be taken into view to estimate the liberality of Paul aright, and to see that in any other stage of culture, he would, to the same degree, have excelled his cotemporaries in the freedom of his views, and in the unfettered exercise of his mind.'

On page 669, he says, 'In reference also to doctrines, the Epistle to the Romans has great value. Admitting that the view here expressed of the person of Christ, the doctrine of the atonement as a vicarious satisfaction (*stellvertretender Darbringung*), the doctrine of predestination contain as many contradictions as you please; admitting that it is impossible to reconcile one's own views with those of the apostle—on this point every one must be left to his own judgment—I have long since freely expressed my own. All these matters, and others of a similar nature, belong to speculation, and must ever excite different views, they do not concern the essence

of Christianity. The substance of the gospel (having all along in my exposition kept the theologian silent in order to give the interpreter free scope, I may be allowed, at the close, to assume the former character for a few moments) is contained in this epistle. The fundamental doctrine of the whole system, that of the corruption of men, on which the necessity of redemption rests, is there fully presented; man is sinful, exposed to punishment and worthy of death; all mankind are destitute of any thing by which to secure the favour of God; there is no speculation on human nature, such as would belong properly to the schools, to determine whether it can attain an excellence satisfactory to God, but the simple fact that neither in Heathenism nor Judaism has such excellence been attained, is held fast, and our nature is represented as deeply sunken and in need of redemption. Even under the law, where it has a clear rule as to what should be done, it falls far below the mark; in the heart of every man there is hidden a sinful disposition which prescribes another law more powerful than the divine, which it constrains him to obey, whence arises an inward conflict, which renders him far more miserable than he would have been without the law. This is the substance of Paul's doctrine concerning sin, as presented in the Epistle to the Romans. It is possible that it may not please every one; but I acknowledge openly that I am not ashamed of it, for it is the doctrine of experience, it is what all ages have felt, and every man who earnestly examines his own heart, will find to be true as regards himself.

‘From this misery, as Paul teaches us, God delivers us through Christ. What the law could not do, that God has effected through him. He delivered him unto death for our redemption, and removes from our hearts the load of guilt, makes us his children, and gives us his spirit which produces the assurance of his love, leads us into all good, and fills us with hope and confidence. All personal merit is removed, for none such exists, salvation is the gift of free grace; the only condition is, that we should, with sincere, firm and humble trust, believe that God has provided salvation for us through the death of Christ. If we have this faith, we have peace of conscience, are free from condemnation, and the heirs of eternal life through the grace of God. This is the substance of the doctrine of redemption, as taught in this epistle. The question, How the death of Christ has effected all this? is answered by Paul as the matter must have appeared to a Jew; to others the subject may appear differently, but the

substance is what we have stated above. And with this view every understanding must agree, and every heart that feels its own necessities, can find them here supplied. It may not, indeed, flatter those who are of a proud heart, but the gospel is for the humble; it may little suit those who are confident in their own virtue, but Christ only came to call sinners to repentance, and to heal such as are of a contrite heart. The whole need not a physician, but they that are sick. To such, therefore, Paul's Christianity may be allowed to remain; others may seek a different fountain of life, if they think they can find one.

‘The redeemed believer is freed from sin, in order that he may henceforth serve God, and devote to this service all the powers of his soul and body, as the only thank-offering that God requires. He is able to do this, for his old, corrupt nature is removed, he is dead to sin, and lives with Christ a new life. The sense of guilt no longer oppresses him, the Spirit of God in his heart destroys fear, and sustains his weakness. This is the doctrine of sanctification. In these three points consists the essence of Christianity. We may, therefore, assert that the whole Christian system in its substance is contained in the Epistle to the Romans, and, if this is the case, it must, in a doctrinal view, be worthy of our highest esteem. May every reader acknowledge its value, and derive from it the benefits it is adapted to afford!’

We think these extracts present the author in a very interesting light. Here is a man, who has evidently never been either taught or induced to bow to the authority of the New Testament as the ultimate standard of truth. He believes only what he sees and feels to be true in the light of his own reason and experience. Much that Paul teaches does not accord with his views and feelings, and he, therefore, rejects it as the residuum of Jewish error which the apostle had not succeeded in removing from his own mind. Much, however, commends itself to his understanding and heart, and he embraces and delights in it. He no doubt regards Christianity as a revelation from God, the communication of which to the world, however, was committed to honest and enlightened, but still fallible men. He has, therefore, no means of separating the divine from the human element but his own reason and feelings. What is true to him is divine, what is not true is human, Jewish and erroneous. This is by no means a solitary case; perhaps the majority of educated Germans are in the same situation. They admit no infallible

objective standard of truth. The consequence is, that there is comparatively little, of what is called speculative faith in the gospel among them. They believe its doctrines no farther than they experience their power. The evils connected with this state of things are numerous and serious. There may be much zeal, piety, and correct opinion, because all those who are made the subjects of the grace of God are brought to feel the adaptation of the whole Christian system to their nature and necessities, and they, therefore, embrace it in all its essential features. But those who are not thus affected, are in a great measure emancipated from its influence. To them it is not true, and has not the authority of truth. Nothing, however, is more obvious than that the speculative and hereditary belief in the divine origin of the gospel, and in the truth of all its doctrines, prevalent in most Christian countries, has, in various ways, a most beneficial influence. The very admission that these doctrines are absolute truth, is an admission that the belief of them must be salutary, and their rejection injurious; for no opinion can be more monstrous than that error is as healthful in its operation on the mind as truth. Appeal on this subject may be confidently made to experience. Let two communities be compared, the one educated in the knowledge and belief of Christian doctrines, and the other in the disbelief of them, and the result will show how valuable in the formation of human character, is even speculative faith.

Besides this, the moment that the truth begins to operate on a skeptical mind, it is encountered by a multitude of difficulties. Error, prejudice and misconception surround, weaken and pervert it; and should it retain its hold, it is still so hampered that its effects are distorted and unnatural. We see, therefore, among the class of persons to which we have referred a modicum of truth working like leaven in the midst of a heterogeneous mass, and giving rise to all manner of portentous forms of doctrine, grievously injurious even to those who are sincere Christians. Such persons, too, accustomed to rely solely on themselves for their convictions, vacillate in faith as they vacillate in feeling. When their pious affections are in lively exercise, all seems clear and certain; but the moment their feelings cool, old errors, like the ghosts of murdered friends, crowd upon their minds and resume their former mastery. We cannot, therefore, estimate too highly the advantage of having a firm and rational faith in the authority of the scriptures as the fixed and ulti-

mate standard of truth, to which we may constantly refer, and on which we may rely. When this is relinquished we are in a pitiable situation; the doubtful and changing phases of our own minds become our only guide; and we are constantly wandering on the uncertain confines of light and darkness, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other. The evil heart is its own master; and every form of error, which suits the idiosyncrasy of the individual, is invested for him with all the majesty and authority of truth.

There is another point of view in which the extracts given above possess peculiar interest. We see a commentator possessed of uncommon qualifications for his work, making Paul teach doctrines which the author himself cannot receive. It is presumable, therefore, that these doctrines are in fact very clearly taught. Such is Rückert's reverence for the apostle that it is with evident regret that he represents him as teaching error. He would gladly present his favourite apostle in a more favourable light; but his conviction that it is the duty of an interpreter to be the mere reporter of the meaning of his author, constrains him to acknowledge that Paul does teach doctrines which, in his estimation, are contrary to reason. He makes him teach the doctrine of the supreme divinity of the Saviour in Rom. ix. 5. He examines and rejects as entirely unnatural the arbitrary interpretations which Socinians and others have given of that interesting passage.* He represents him as inculcating, in the strongest and clearest manner, the doctrine of election and reprobation. He mourns over this, but cannot avoid saying that the doctrine is so clearly taught that nothing but a determination not to allow the apostle to say what his commentator could not believe, could lead any interpreter to doubt or deny the fact. The testimony of such men as Rückert is adduced, not as decisive evidence of what the scriptures teach, but as collateral proof in favour of an interpretation which, on other and far higher grounds, is adopted as correct.

With regard to the doctrine of atonement also, we have seen, that he understands Paul as teaching, not only the fact that the death of Christ secures the pardon of sin, but also the mode in which it produces this result. It is not by its moral influence on the heart of the sinner, nor by its being

* We do not know whether Rückert himself rejects this doctrine or not. He does not include it in his enumeration of the essential doctrines of the gospel, and he refers to it in connexion with other doctrines which he says are matters of speculation, about which he says, every man may think as he pleases.

an exhibition of the divine character designed to impress the whole rational universe, but because it was a substitution and a satisfaction. This is not the author's, but Paul's doctrine. He considers himself as taking a philosophical, and the apostle a Jewish view of the subject. He thinks Paul wrong in the manner in which he presents this important doctrine, but he does not attempt to pervert or deny the simple meaning of the sacred writer. How much better is this method of dealing with the scriptures, than that which leads the commentator to fritter down their statements, and to allow them to mean no more than he, in his philosophy, holds to be true. There seems to us to be no medium on this subject. We must either consent to receive the doctrines of the bible *as* they are taught there, and *because* they are there taught; or we must deny the plenary inspiration of the sacred penmen and admit their doctrines no further than we can prove and feel them to be true. It is in violation of all rational principles of interpretation that, while acknowledging their authority, we refuse to take their language in its simple and full meaning, and reject the form while we profess to receive the substance of their doctrines. Paul not only teaches us the fact that the death of Christ saves us, but also that it saves us a sacrifice in the Jewish sense of that term. The Socinians deny this, and while they admit the fact that the death of Christ is the means of our salvation, and even that it is a sacrifice, yet they insist that the true idea of sacrifice is not that of an offering designed as a satisfaction to divine justice, but of a rite intended to produce a sense of ill-desert or a persuasion of the mercy of God in the mind of the offerer. The real doctrine of atonement, therefore, they say, is that Christ died to lead men to repentance, and convince them of God's mercy. Our new-school brethren, on the other hand, have a different view of the philosophy of a sacrifice; they suppose that it is not only designed to make a moral impression on him who presents it, but to be an expression of God's displeasure against sin. They, therefore, tell us that the true doctrine of atonement is that Christ's death is a 'governmental' display of God's hatred of sin designed to prevent the evils to his moral government which would arise from gratuitous pardon. Need any thing be said to show that this latter view is as purely a philosophical speculation as the former? That it neither is nor pretends to be the scriptural form of the doctrine? It is the opinion of the nineteenth century on the nature and design of sacrifice; it makes no attempt to show

that it is the opinion of antiquity, and especially of the Jews, on this subject. For ourselves we have no hesitation in saying, that we regard Rückert's manner of treating the sacred writers as not only more manly and rational, but as more satisfactory and safe, than the way in which they are treated in such miserable books as Jenkyn on the atonement, and in a large class of similar works, which circulate freely among our churches, and whose authors profess much more deference for the authority of the scriptures. We are convinced that we shall never be able to retain the doctrines of the bible, unless we consent to receive them not only in *substance*, but in the very form and fashion in which they are there presented.

ART. IV.—*The Man of Faith, or the Harmony of Christian Faith and Christian Character.* By John Abercrombie, M.D. New York: Van Nostrand and Dwight. 1835.

Archibald Alexander

THIS is a delightful little book. It is short and sweet. Dr. Abercrombie is already a favourite with the public, as an author. His works, on Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, have been extensively read, and well deserve the popularity which they have acquired. Even in those works it was not difficult to discern, that the author was no infidel or enemy to religion, but one who feared God and believed the gospel. Till we saw this little volume, however, we were not aware that his mind was so thoroughly imbued with the genuine spirit of Christianity.

It is very pleasant to have the most familiar truths set before us in a new dress; especially if they are exhibited in a simple and lucid style. Professed theologians are so accustomed to certain *common-place* phrases, that they can scarcely write any thing without using their technical language. It is, therefore, desirable, that other men, such as do not pursue theology as a profession, should occasionally discuss religious subjects; and it cannot but be advantageous to the cause, when a gentleman of so accomplished and cultivated a mind, as Dr. Abercrombie, employs his pen on themes of this kind.

This short essay, composed without the formality of

chapters and sections, is a sort of lecture on 2 Pet. i. 5, 6, 7. "And besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity."

On each of the particulars in this passage, the author comments in a style of great beauty, simplicity, and spirituality. His remarks are not only just, but discriminating, and often original. On such a subject we do not expect new ideas; it is sufficient if the writer presents to us truths well known, in a concise, distinct, and pleasing form. Dr. Abercrombie appears to possess the gentle and amiable spirit which he so persuasively recommends; and we can hardly conceive how any well-disposed person can peruse this small volume, without sensible pleasure and real profit. To those in whom a refined taste is combined with a pious disposition, such a discourse must afford a delightful entertainment. Short essays suit the spirit of the times. Most persons are too busy, or too indolent to venture upon even a thick duodecimo, unless it be altogether a work of fancy, intended only for amusement. The work here recommended, can be despatched in two readings of an hour each; and some, who never pause on what they read, would finish it in a single hour.

In the latter part of the essay, when the author comes to the word "charity," he brings in appropriately, St. Paul's beautiful and striking description of this grace, in the 13th chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians, and descants on each particular, showing the relation of one part of this amiable character to another. But we must permit the reader to judge of the style and spirit of the author, for himself. Our first extract shall contain our author's views of the nature and operation of "*faith*."

'This is at once the source of spiritual life, and the supporting element of moral health; and, until a man be firmly established in this great principle, it is vain for him to expect to make any progress in the cultivation of Christian character. When we thus consider faith as the source or primary moving cause, essential to the culture of every sound quality of the mind, and to every regulation of individual conduct, we have to view it in two aspects, in its relation to truths regarding things not seen, and more especially and peculiarly in its relation to the offers or promises of the gospel of peace.

‘In considering the operation of faith in regard to the truths which relate to things not seen, we have to keep in mind the peculiarity of the situation in which we are placed in the present state of existence. In our connection with the things of the present world, we are surrounded by physical or material objects; with those we communicate by means of our bodily senses; they are continually obtruding themselves upon our attention, with little, or no exertion of our own, and therefore they exercise over us a constant and extensive influence. But these are not our only relations:—as moral and responsible agents, as immortal beings, we have to do with objects as real as those which are presented to our senses, though of a very different nature. The truths by which we ought to be influenced, respecting them, are addressed to a different part of our constitution, and are to be received upon a separate kind of evidence. They do not come under the cognizance of any of our senses, but are addressed directly to the mind; and their due influence upon us is produced through that mental process which we call faith. In the exercise of this important operation of the mind our first object is, by a process of judgment, to satisfy ourselves of the authenticity of the statements which are thus addressed to us; and this we do by an examination of the evidence on which they rest. When we are thus convinced of their truth, the farther operation of faith is to place them before us in such a manner, that they may exert the same kind of influence over us as if the things believed were actually seen, or the events expected were taking place in our view. This corresponds with the definition given by the apostle: “Faith is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen;”—that is, faith is that exercise of the mind by which things which are future, but expected to take place, influence us as if they were present,—and things not seen, as if we saw them.

‘The truths which it is the office of faith to place before us with all the vividness of present existence, are those which relate to the character and perfections of God,—the great concerns of a world unseen,—and the awful realities of a future judgment, and a state of endless being. When these overwhelming truths are really believed, and the thoughts are consequently directed to them in a degree at all proportioned to their momentous importance,—the mind is in the exercise of faith; and its operation is to keep the truths before us as regulating principles in the mental economy,—and

governing principles in the whole character and conduct. It causes them to exercise the same kind of influence over us as if they were objects of sense,—as if the Deity in all the splendour of his attributes were disclosed to our view, as if we were present at the dread hour in which he shall appear in all his sublime and terrible majesty as a righteous judge.'

This is excellent, and communicated with a conciseness and perspicuity which serve to exhibit the truth inculcated to the best advantage. Without the incumbrance of formal definitions and technical distinctions, we have here the nature of faith so briefly explained, that every attentive reader may at least understand it theoretically.

If we should go on to quote all that pleases us in this little volume, we should transfer a large portion of the work to our pages; but our design is to recommend the work, not to transcribe it, therefore we pass over many beautiful and striking passages which we have marked, and give the author's views on the subject of prayer.

'The disposition of mind which we have thus considered, as being included under the term godliness, may be the habitual exercise of the duly regulated mind. But there are certain special means by which it is encouraged and promoted; and the chief of these is prayer. Not that the Eternal Omniscient One requires to be informed either of our wants or our desires. All our necessities are better known to him than they are to ourselves; and the most secret thoughts and inclinations of the heart are naked and open before him. But he has specially appointed the exercise as a mean of communication with himself, and through which he is pleased to dispense the blessings of his grace. In addition to these considerations, the exercise of prayer is calculated to bring a special and peculiar benefit to ourselves. In the midst of our ordinary engagements in life, indeed, we may elevate the soul to God; but, surrounded by the distractions of external things, this must be done in a partial and unsatisfactory manner. Our feeble and imperfect nature, so much under the influence of the objects of sense, requires every possible aid to enable us to feel the due impression of the things of faith. It requires us to withdraw from external things, and in solitude and silence, and by solemn acts of devotion, to bring ourselves, as it were, into the immediate presence of God. There is a power in the mind by which it thus brings down upon itself an influence from the inner sanctuary, a special impression of the perfections of that in-

comprehensible One, who is thus disclosed to us, as if by his more immediate presence. We realize his omniscient eye, and stand in awe under the truth, that he understandeth our thoughts afar off. We feel the impression of his holiness, and bow beneath the sense of our own depravity and guilt. We feel the influence of his love, and throw ourselves upon his mercy. We commit ourselves to his grace to supply all our wants out of his fulness,—to conduct us in safety through the dangers, the difficulties, and the evils of life, and to carry us forward in the course which leads to eternal peace. Would we seek to know our own moral condition, and to fix the deep impression of an inquiry of such eternal importance, we cannot use a mean of greater efficacy, than putting it into words, in the presence of Him, to whom it is better known than it is to ourselves. Is there any mental or moral habit which we feel to have acquired a mastery that puts in peril the safety of the soul, we cannot assail it in a more efficient manner, than by fully confessing it before Him who seeth in secret, and asking from him a might which alone is able to rescue us from its power. Such is the province, and such the efficacy of prayer. It maintains our intercourse with things which are not seen. It is the life, the strength, and the nourishment of the soul; and it will be diligently cultivated, not as a mere duty to be performed, but as a mean of spiritual life, by every one who feels the deep import of the truth, that all the graces of the Christian character must be founded upon and supported by godliness.'

The observations which immediately follow, on the subject of *brotherly-kindness*, are so excellent, that we cannot refuse to our readers who may not have the book, the gratification of perusing them.

'The mental condition, which has been referred to in the preceding observations, does not waste itself in monkish solitude, or even in the exercise of sublime contemplation. It tends at once to lead the man who is the subject of it to the relation in which he stands to his fellow-men, and to the various important duties which belong to the situation in which he is placed. While it leads him to seek after purity of heart, it also produces a character and conduct calculated to promote the good of others,—the happiness and comfort of all those with whom he may be brought into contact, in his passage through this state of trial and discipline. Following out this, as the natural or necessary result of a healthy moral condition within, the apostle next inculcates, that to

temperance, patience and godliness, is to be added *brotherly-kindness*. This seems to include the highest exercise of all those affections which bind man to his fellow-men; leading us to feel towards each other as brethren,—to study the wants of others,—to enter into their feelings, and, in as far as we have power, to relieve their distresses. It tends to promote a conduct distinguished not only by the highest degree of integrity, but by habitual complaisance, sympathy, and kindness; and this is not to be regulated by the condition of men as to the things of this world, but by the high and broad principle, that, whatever may be their lot as to external things, they are the children of the same Almighty Father with ourselves, inheriting the same nature, possessed of the same feelings, and soon to enter on the same state of eternal existence, when all the distinctions which exist in this world shall cease for ever. It thus leads us to bring ourselves, as it were, to the same rank and the same situation with them, and with a brotherly interest to view their wants and their feelings as if they were our own. The principles of conduct which arise from this interchange of tender affections is applicable to every situation of life, and to all those exercises of justice, benevolence, forbearance, and friendship, which may be called forth by our various relations to our fellow-men. It sets aside those artificial distinctions by which, on the principles of the world, men are kept at such a distance from each other; and it sets aside, what is more powerful still, the principle of selfishness, by which men are made so acutely alive to every thing that concerns their own wants and their own feelings, and so cool in what relates to the wants and feelings of others. It goes farther still; for, according to the sublime maxims of the gospel, it teaches us even to love our enemies, to bless them that curse us, to do good to them who despitefully use us. The benevolence of the gospel thus raises us above the highest principles to which we are led by the mere feeling of human kindness;—it leads to do good to the evil and the unthankful, and this is impressed upon us by the highest of all motives—the imitation of him who is the Giver of all good. Such a character is exemplified, in the most striking manner, in the whole life of Him, who for us, and for our salvation, humbled himself and became a man of sorrows. He humbled himself that he might mingle with mankind,—that he might enter into their wants,—that he might know their feelings,—that, having suffered being tempted, he might succour them that are

tempted. He has left us an example that we should follow his steps; and he has left us precise instructions respecting the course by which this may be done, and the objects whom he has specially committed to our care. These are the hungry, the naked, the stranger, the sick, and the prisoner. He has even left us the solemn intimation, that, at the last and great day of account, our moral condition will be estimated by the actual influence which has been habitually manifested in our relations to our fellow-men, as done from a principle of love to him and of devotedness to his service. While we retire, therefore, from the influence of external things, and devote ourselves to the high undertaking which relates to the culture of the moral being within, while we feel the supreme importance of cultivating temperance, patience, and godliness, as the qualities which are essential to our own moral condition, let us constantly bear in mind that the direct tendency of these is to lead us forth to our fellow-men, to seek them in their hour of need, to minister to their wants, to relieve their distresses, to instruct the ignorant, to reclaim the wanderer, to soothe the wounded spirit. For this exalted exercise, wealth is not necessary; the humblest of those who breathe the spirit of the Redeemer, may show much kindness and do much good to others as humble as themselves.'

Having introduced extracts of unusual length from this little volume, there will not be occasion to add much in the way of further commendation, except to say, that the pious of all denominations may derive both pleasure and profit from this essay. It contains nothing which can be offensive to any one who has imbibed the pure and peaceful spirit of the gospel. Real Christians, of different denominations, are not so far apart in sentiment and feeling, as it would sometimes seem, when the flames of contention are enkindled between them; for we find that they relish the same practical works, and are equally edified by them. O that the time were come, when they shall all be of one heart and one mind, and when they shall no longer bite and devour one another, but, as brethren of the same family, live in peace and love! Even now, much may be done by kindness and courtesy, to mitigate the asperity of party-zeal, and to cultivate that "CHARITY" *which suffereth long and is kind—which envieth not—which vaunteth not itself—is not puffed up—doth not behave itself unseemly—seeketh not her own—is not easily provoked—thinketh no evil—rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth—beareth all things—*

believeth all things—hopeth all things—endureth all things. This is the virtue which exceedeth all others, and never faileth; for though knowledge be precious, and prophecy, given by divine inspiration; yet these shall “fail and vanish away;” for our imperfect and dim knowledge acquired here, shall be changed into clear and open vision; and when the light of eternity shall dawn upon us, even inspiration shall cease; for we shall then “know as we are known.” While here, “Faith, Hope, and Charity,” must be our ornament and armour; but though all these are inestimably precious, and indispensably necessary, yet **THE GREATEST OF THESE IS CHARITY.** After this, therefore, should we follow, as after that which is superior to all gifts as well as to all other graces. This is the more excellent way which Paul has so beautifully delineated, and which, he assures us in another place, is **THE BOND OF PERFECTNESS.**

J. Addison Alexander

- ART. V.—1. *Christologie des Alten Testaments und Commentar über die Messianischen Weissagungen der Propheten.* Von E. W. Hengstenberg der Philosophie und der Theologie Dr. und der letztern ord. Professor an der Universität zu Berlin. (Vol. III.) 8vo. Berlin: 1835.
2. *Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments.* Von Heinrich Ewald. Zweite Auflage. 8vo. Leipzig: 1835.
3. *Corani Textus Arabicus ad fidem librorum manuscriptorum et impressorum et ad praecipuorum interpretum lectiones et auctoritatem recensuit indicesque triginta sectionum et suratarum addidit* Gustavus Fluegel Philosophiae Doctor, &c. Lipsiae, typis and sumptibus Caroli Tauchnitii. 4to. 1834.
4. G. W. Freytagii *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum.* Tomi Tertii Pars Prior—Pars Secunda. 4to. Halle: 1834.
5. *Tausend und Eine Nacht Arabisch. Nach einer Handschrift aus Tunis herausgegeben.* Von Dr. Maximilian Habicht, Professor an der Königlichen Universität zu Breslau, &c. (Vol. VI.) Breslau: 1834.

WE have here placed together a few recent publications from the German press, connected only by their common

relation to the wide field of biblical and oriental learning. We shall make a few remarks upon them one by one.

Hengstenberg's Christologie.

This important work, which has been seven years in a course of publication, is at length completed. It grew out of the author's lectures on the Old Testament prophecies of Christ, and is in fact a highly valuable commentary on those parts of scripture.

The first volume, published in 1829, contains, under the title of a General Introduction, an historical and exegetical account of the doctrine of a Messiah, as it appears in the books of Moses and the Psalms. This is followed by dissertations on the divinity of the Messiah; on the doctrine of a suffering and atoning Messiah; on the nature of prophecy; on the principle which determines the application of a prediction to the Messiah; and on the *litteratur* or bibliography of this whole subject. The want of exact order in the arrangement of these topics is to be explained by the origin of the work as already stated. The latter part of the first volume expounds the *Messianic* predictions of Isaiah.

The second volume, which appeared in 1832, contains a copious commentary upon Zechariah, and an exposition of the seventy weeks of Daniel.

The third and last volume, which has recently appeared, contains an exposition of the *Messianic* prophecies in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Micha, Haggai, and Malachi. The particular passages examined and expounded in the whole work are as follows.

Genesis iii. 14, 15; ix. 26, 27; xlix. 10.

Numbers xxiv. 17.

Deuteronomy xviii. 15—18.

Psalms ii. xvi. xxii. xl. xlv. lxxii. cx.

Isaiah ii. iii. iv. vii. viii. 23; ix. 1—6; xi. xii. xlii. 1—9; xlix. 1—9; l. 4—11; lii. 12—15; liii.

Jeremiah iii. 14—17; xxiii. 1—8; xxxi. 31—40; xxxiii. 14—26.

Ezekiel xi. 14—21; xvii. 22—24; xxi. 30—32; xxxiv. 23—31; xxxvi. 22—32; xxxvii. 22—28.

Daniel ix. 24—27.

Hosea i. ii. iii.

Joel i. ii. 1—18; ii. 23; iii.

Amos ix.

Micha i. ii. iii. iv. v.

Haggai ii. 6—9.

The whole of Zechariah.

Malachi ii. 17; iii. 1—6; iii. 13—24.

Of the general character and merit of the work, it is needless now to speak. We hope that the translation which Professor Keith has promised will be soon completed, and that a mass of invaluable criticism will thus be placed within the reach of all American theologians.

Ewald's Hebrew Grammar.

A new edition of the smaller Grammar has at length appeared. It is somewhat enlarged, but not materially altered as to those points which, in our opinion, give it all its value. We mean the exhibition of the parts of speech in their relation to each other, and their modes of derivation. The *Orthography and Orthoepy*, which was obscure before, is in some respects still darker; and though the general arrangement of the work is somewhat bettered, it is, in several particulars, altered for the worse. We are particularly struck with the incongruity of giving an extensive and abstruse disquisition on the nature and relation of consonant and vowel sounds, syllables, &c., with constant reference to Hebrew examples, before the introduction of the Hebrew alphabet, which makes its first appearance in §. 139. Yet the author enjoins the reader in his preface to peruse the book in order, before he dares to form a judgment. From this fact, together with the augmented effort to philosophize on every point,* it is evident that Ewald aims at the applause of those who are hebraists already, with little practical regard to the necessities of mere beginners. Hence we cannot believe that even in Germany his grammar will become a favourite school-book. It will still be highly prized, no doubt, by exegetical writers, on account of its ingenious combinations and suggestions, and the light which it unquestionably throws upon some parts of lexicography and grammar. But as an elementary work, it can hardly supersede the smaller Grammar of Gesenius.† A book combining what is masterly in

* E. g.—'In the roots or primitive words of the language, every sound, whether consonant or vowel, is significant, as the expression of some particular emotion.' p. 96.

† The eleventh edition of the book last mentioned appeared at Halle in 1834, with much improvement in the elementary part.

both, without the faults of either, is what *we* need. Such a book, however, must be formed not by mere mixture, but by a digestion of the principles of both, so far as they are sound, into a homogeneous mass.

The only other particular that we shall notice in this new edition, is the fact that Ewald has again changed the names of the *Preterite* and *Future*; they are now no longer the *First* and *Second Mode*, but the *Perfect* and *Imperfect*. These are terms which he had previously introduced in Arabic,* and we must confess that though the new names do not strike us as remarkably appropriate, we should be glad to see the old ones superseded, as they certainly betray the Hebrew student into numberless mistakes, and have had an unhappy influence on the English Version, in the poetical books of the Old Testament. It is not only a false but a pernicious principle, that the Hebrew has no present tense, but only past and future. In a very large proportion of the Prophets and the Psalms, more especially the latter, the present tense occurs more frequently than any other. The overlooking of this fact has marred the native beauty and obscured the real meaning of some very important passages. As both forms of the verb very often have this meaning, they should not bear names which exclude it altogether.

We may add that we have the best authority for stating that Professor Ewald has abandoned his intention to republish his larger grammar in its original form, having endeavoured to make the new edition of the smaller so complete as to supply its place, and has formed the plan of converting the larger work into a comparative Grammar of the Hebraic or Semitic dialects.

The Tauchnitz Koran.

The indefatigable enterprize of Tauchnitz, having filled the learned world with cheap and accurate editions of the Greek and Latin Classics, and supplied the biblical student with a cheap and elegant Hebrew Bible,† has entered now upon a new field of exertion. The idea of republishing the Koran was suggested, it appears, by Böttiger, a teacher of some eminence in Dresden, who also recommended, as an editor, Mr. Gustavius Flügel, a disciple of De Sacy, and Von

* 'G. H. A. Ewald Grammatica Critica Linguae Arabicae.' 2 vols. 8vo. Leipzig: 1831—1833.

† Published in 1832, and edited by Hahn.

Hammer. The only editions of the Koran which have hitherto been in common use are those of Hinckelmann (4to. Hamburg, 1694) and Maracci (folio, Padua, 1698.) The text of both, especially the latter, is, according to Fluegel, very inaccurate, a defect which he has laboured to remove on critical principles, to be detailed in certain *Prolegomena* which he designs to publish. Besides the two, well known editions above mentioned, there are several others, of more recent date, not so generally known. One of these was printed at St. Petersburg, by the order of Catharine II. for the use of her Mohammedan subjects, and afterwards reprinted, we believe, in a cheaper form. Another edition is said to have been long in press at Casan, under the care of Obeidallah Mohammed Rahimu Yunusuf, the Tartar Consul at that place. To these may be added an edition at Calcutta, and another printed by lithography at Shiraz. Some of these editions must no doubt be highly prized as literary rarities; but for beauty and convenience, nothing more can be desired than has now been furnished in the Tauchnitz Koran.

The editor informs us that his first care was to secure a proper type, in order to which he obtained from Von Hammer, in Vienna, a variety of specimens of Oriental Writing, executed at Constantinople. These were carefully collated, and after many consultations and experiments, the type was cast, on which the present work is printed, and which we think will satisfy the most fastidious eye. It is very justly stated by the editor himself, that while the forms and proportions of the characters are beautiful, the ligatures are as perfect as if traced with a pen, and the position of the vowels is correct throughout. It is in the two particulars last mentioned that the difficulty of Arabic typography consists. The paper is good, and an Oriental aspect is given to the volume by a neat red border around every page and an ornament of the same kind at the head of every chapter. We welcome the appearance of the book, because it promises to excite an interest in the study of the language, which has been much retarded by the want of books, and by the appalling ugliness of some which were in use.

Freytag's Arabic Lexicon

Two numbers of this work, published in 1834, have reached us, extending to p. 348 of the third volume. The

first volume appeared in 1830, the second in 1833, each containing about 540 pages in large quarto. As the last numbers extends into the letter *Fa*, three-fourths of the work may be considered as complete. It may be described as a reprint of Golius, with extensive additions from the Arabic lexicographers and scholiasts, from the manuscript notes of Reiske and Schultens, and from the general reading of the author, a professor at Bonn, well known for some years past both as a teacher and an editor of Arabic. The value of the book, as a copious *thesaurus*, is unquestionable; but in Germany it has been severely handled on account of an alleged deficiency in logical method and philosophical acumen. Ewald, in particular, has assailed it with much acrimony,* and among the adherents of his school of philology, destroyed its reputation, except as a mere storehouse of materials. Knowing, as we do, however, what the Germans mean by the philosophy of language, we are disposed to be contented with the raw material of philology, upon which we may refine and philosophize at leisure. Whatever may be the fault of Freytag's work in point of philosophical arrangement, there can be no doubt that it will give an impulse to the study of Arabic, by furnishing a lexicon of convenient form and of acknowledged fulness. The book is printed at Halle, under the direction of Roediger, himself a distinguished Orientalist. We have been informed that he is, at the same time, printing, on the same type, an abridgement, for the use of learners, and of those who have not access to the work at large. If this be so, the completion of the plan will be a welcome fartherance to Oriental study, even in this country, as the Tauchnitz Koran and the smaller Arabic lexicon will leave almost nothing for beginners to desire.

The Thousand and One Nights.

Next to the Koran, as an universal book among the Arab races, stands *The Thousand and One Nights*, but with this important difference, that while the former is an unalterable standard, the latter is in no two manuscripts alike. For an edition of this famous book in Arabic, we are indebted to the following circumstances. Professor Habicht, now of Breslau, while studying in Paris, was the fellow-lodger of an

* In the Göttingen *Gelehrte Anzeige* for 1831. The review is reprinted in the first volume of Ewald's *Abhandlungen*, pp. 12—52.

educated Mussulman from Tunis. When the latter returned home, he sent his Christian friend a number of Arabic manuscripts, and, among the rest, an African copy of the Thousand and One Nights, in ten volumes of the octavo size. The text of this manuscript Habicht began to edit in 1825, collating other copies of a part of the collection. Vol. II. appeared in 1826, Vol. III. 1827, Vol. IV. 1828, Vol. V. 1831, Vol. VI. 1834. The work is printed in 16mo., on a clear, neat type. To each of the first four volumes is appended, in the form of notes, an explanatory index of the words not to be found in Golius and the other printed lexicons. In the fifth and sixth volumes this appendix is omitted, and the editor announces his intention to furnish, at the close of the whole work, a general glossary of such words, in alphabetical order. This, when once completed, will be far more convenient to the reader, but he will feel the want of it until it does appear.

This work may be regarded as another valuable aid to oriental students. There is nothing which lets us so completely into the interior of society in the east; and as the Koran is the best book for beginners, so the Thousand and One Nights will be an excellent chrestomathy for those who have begun to read without the points. It is proper to add, that this, so far as we know, is the first attempt to publish the whole work in the original language.

Samuel Miller

ART. VI.—*The most suitable Name for the Christian Sabbath.*

THE design of this brief article is not to demonstrate the *obligation* which lies upon us to sanctify the Sabbath; nor to define the *manner* in which it ought to be sanctified; but simply to inquire, what is the most approved *title* of that consecrated day. Names have more influence than is commonly imagined. Many are *governed* by them; and all, perhaps, attach quite as much importance to them as they ought. A little discussion may, perhaps, enable us to decide which of the various titles commonly given to the first day of the week, is most in accordance with the nature of the institution, and with the habit of the people of God in all ages.

The people called *Quakers*, refuse to give this day any other title than that which is founded on its *numerical*

order among the days of the week. They suppose that all days are alike in sanctity; that the law of the *Sabbath*, as contained in the fourth commandment, is no longer obligatory; that this being the case, to call any day "the Lord's day," is adapted to mislead; and that the title of *Sunday*, being of Pagan origin, ought not to be employed by professing Christians. They, therefore, uniformly designate it, in all their communications, as the *first day* of the week.

On these positions we shall not stop to offer many remarks. We think it easy to prove that those who maintain them are in error. That one day in seven is set apart, by divine authority, as a day of rest from worldly care, and of consecration to the service of God, we hold to be not only a fact, but also a most important fact, a fact of vital interest to the church and the world. And as to the scruple about using the title of *Sunday*, because it was originally applied to the first day of the week by Pagans, if carried out to its legitimate extent, it would proscribe a multitude of terms, in all modern languages, besides those which are applied to the days of the week, and which designate the months;— terms which Quakers use, in common with all other members of the community, without reserve or hesitation.

The title of *Sabbath* has also been seriously objected to. It is alleged, that, as this was the title of the Jewish day of rest; and as we deem it important to distinguish between the Old Testament rest on the *seventh* day of the week, and that of the *first* day of the week under the New Testament economy; so we ought to employ a different word, in all cases, to designate the latter day. This objection seems to have very little foundation, either in reason or scripture. It is undoubtedly true, that, in the second and third centuries, we find the Christian writers carefully distinguishing between the Jewish "*Sabbath*," and the "*Lord's day*;" because, when the change in the day occurred, it was insisted by many of the Jewish converts, who formed the great body of the first Christians, that the *seventh* day ought still to be consecrated to the worship of God. The Gentile Christians, therefore, in order to conciliate the Jews, and allure them into the church, honoured their Sabbath; so that, for several centuries, both the *seventh* and the *first* days of the week were considered as holy days, and devoted to religious purposes, through the greater part of Christendom. The eastern and western churches, indeed, were not entirely of one mind as to the precise character of that celebration of the Jewish

Sabbath, which ought to be adopted by Christians. Among the *eastern* Christians, the *seventh* day of the week was generally observed as a *festival*, as well as the *first*, because the Jews, from whom they received it, were very numerous in the east, and always considered and treated it as a *festival*; and also because *Marcion*, the heretic, in order to testify his aversion to the God and the religion of the Jews, always kept the seventh day of the week as a *fast*. This led the eastern churches generally, for the purpose of showing their abhorrence of *Marcion*, always to keep that day as a *festival*. In the *western* church, also, the Jewish Sabbath seems to have been kept as a *festival* for more than two centuries after the apostolic age; but in the third or fourth century, for reasons somewhat doubtful, the practice was altered, and the seventh day of the week has ever since, by the Romish church, been kept as a rigid *fast*.

This diversity of practice, and the degree of collision which grew out of the diversity, rendered it not merely convenient, but absolutely necessary, that a distinction between the Jewish Sabbath and the Lord's day should be constantly maintained. Hence, Ignatius, in writing to the *Magnesians*, exhorts them "no longer to observe the Sabbaths (i. e. the Jewish Sabbaths), but to keep the Lord's day, on which our life was raised from the dead." *Origen* also carefully distinguished the Lord's day from the Jewish Sabbath, to which he says it ought by all means to be *preferred*.

But when the early Christians had occasion to speak to the *Pagans* concerning this sacred day, they commonly called it *Sunday*, the title by which it was most familiarly known to the mass of the heathen population. Thus *Justin Martyr*, in his *Apology*, addressed to the heathen Emperor, says, "We all meet together on *Sunday*, on which God having changed darkness and matter, created the world, and on this day Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead." Thus also *Tertullian*, who wrote soon after *Justin*, in reply to the accusation of the heathen, that the Christians worshipped the sun, says:—"We do, indeed, make *Sunday* a day of joy, but for other reasons than that of worship to the sun, which is no part of our religion. At other times, when the same father is speaking to his fellow Christians, he commonly uses the title of "the Lord's day," more especially, when it is his purpose to distinguish it from the Jewish Sabbath. In like manner, the first Christian emperors use the names *Sunday* and *Lord's day* interchangeably, according

as it was their purpose to address Pagans or Christians. Of this we have a remarkable specimen in the language of the Emperor *Valentinian* the younger, after the empire became Christian, when he says, "On *Sunday*, which our forefathers very properly called 'the Lord's day.'" In short, it is perfectly evident from the earliest and most authentic records, not only that the first day of the week was statedly observed by the Christian church, from the time of the apostles, as a holy day; but also that the favourite title by which they spoke of it, was "the Lord's day;" and that when they called it "*Sunday*," it was in accommodation to the popular usage of the Pagans around them, who, in adopting the measure of time by weeks, and in giving names to the days of the week, gave the name of the day of the sun (*dies solis*) to the first. This day was also sometimes called, by the early Christians, "the day of bread," (*dies panis*) because the "breaking of bread," as a memorial of Christ, or, in other words, administering the Lord's supper, in many churches, made a part of the stated service of every Lord's day. This is the account given of the matter by *Bingham*, the learned ecclesiastical antiquary of the Church of England, who is considered as one of the best authorities, on subjects of this nature. See his *Antiquities of the Christian Church*. Book XX. Ch. II. and III.

Some of the early writers, indeed, went so far as to enjoin an equal regard, as Christian festivals, to the "Lord's day," and to the Jewish "Sabbath." Thus *Gregory Nagianzen* calls these two days, two companions, for which we should cherish an equal respect. And the *Constitutions of Clement* enjoin that both these festivals be observed in the Church; the "Sabbath day" in honour of the creation; and the "Lord's day," as exhibiting to our view the resurrection of the Saviour of the world.

Lord Chancellor *King* gives the same account with *Bingham* of the reason why the early Christians frequently gave the name of *Sunday* to the first day of the week. "The Lord's day," says he, "was the common and ordinary title of this blessed and glorious day; though sometimes, in compliance with the heathen, that they might know what day they meant thereby, they called it, in their phrase, *Sunday*, so termed, because dedicated to the Sun." *Inquiry*, &c. p. 124.

The venerable Bishop *White*, of *Pennsylvania*, in some valuable Letters addressed by him, several years ago, to the

Editor of the "American Quarterly Review," in relation to the subject of *Sabbath mails*, makes the following remark:

"It is an unequivocal fact, that, throughout Christendom, the only bodies of professing Christians, who apply the term 'the Sabbath,' to the first day of the week, are the Church of Scotland, the Dissenters in England, and their descendants in America. In that application, it is unknown, not only by all the Roman Catholics, and by all the Greek Churches, who, in this, have uninterrupted tradition on their side; but by the Church of England, by all the Lutheran Churches, and by all those which are Calvinistic, on the Continent of Europe. The deviation in Great Britain was begun by a certain Dr. *Bound*, in the reign of Charles I. It fell in with those prejudices of the Puritans, which ended in the prostration of the Church and of the State; and the error had an influence on the proceedings of the Assembly which framed the Westminster Confession." *Protestant Episcopalian*. Vol. I. p. 391.

Two things here invite our attention, viz. 1st. The *historical statement*; and 2dly, the opinion implied with regard to the propriety of applying the name "Sabbath" to the first day of the week.

With regard to the *historical statement*, it is most incautiously and inaccurately made. The terms "Sabbath" and "Sabbath day" are undoubtedly applied to the first day of the week, in the Homilies of the Church of England, (*Place and Time of Prayer*); in the *Acts of the Synod of Dort*, which every one knows, speak the authoritative language of the Church of *Holland*; in the writings of the learned *Voetius*, of *Holland* (*Polit. Eccles.* Par. I. Lib. IV. *Tract* IV. Cap. I.), of the venerable *Ursinus*, of Germany (*Corpus Doctrinae*), of Dr. *Andrew Willet*, of the Church of *England* (*Synopsis Papismi*), of the learned *Szegedin*, of *Hungary* (*Loci Communes*); and, among a host that might be mentioned, in the works of Bishop *Horsley*, of Bishop *Porteus*, of the eloquent *Wilberforce*, of Dr. *Thomas Scott*, the pious and excellent Commentator, of *Dean Milner*, of Dr. *Samuel Ogden*, of Bishop *Mant*, of Messrs. *Jones*, of *Nayland*, *Robinson*, of *Leicester*, *Cooper*, of *Hamstal Ridware*, the *Christian Observer*, of *London*, all of the Church of England; and a number of other English Episcopal, and Continental writers of the most elevated character. So far, then, as Protestant authority goes, the use of this title, as applied to the first day of the week, is far

from being confined as Bishop *White* alleges. The suffrages in its favour, from the established Church of *England*, and from the foreign Reformed Churches, are widely extended, and of unquestionable weight and respectability.

As to the opinion which seems to be implied in Bishop *White's* remarks, with regard to the propriety of applying the title of "the Sabbath" to the first day of the week, we are constrained to dissent from it as strongly as from his historical statement. He seems to assume, as a conceded point, or, at least, as one on which he feels warranted in pronouncing with great confidence, that the fourth commandment is abrogated, and, of course, is no longer obligatory on Christians. "From that date," says he, (*i. e.* from the close of the Jewish dispensation) "the fourth command in the decalogue is *defunct*, as well in substance as in name." To this opinion we are constrained seriously to object. We do not consider the fourth command as fixing the precise day, in order, which ought to be observed; but only as requiring that, after six days of labour, the seventh should be a day of rest, and be kept holy. Strictly speaking, then, there is a sense in which the Christian Sabbath is as much the seventh day as the Jewish Sabbath was; that is, it is as much the *seventh part* of the week, and succeeds to six days of labour as really as the Hebrew Sabbath did. The fourth commandment, then, far from being repealed or altered, is, in substance, as much in force as ever, and applies as perfectly to the New Testament Sabbath, as to that of the ceremonial economy; and, of course, ought to be considered as establishing the moral and perpetual obligation to devote one day in seven to the service of God, just as indubitably as other parts of the same code render obligatory, at this hour, and will forever render obligatory, abstinence from idolatry, venerating Jehovah's name, honouring our parents, or refraining from theft or murder.

In this opinion, the profound and learned Bishop *Horsley* seems decisively to concur. "To the general question," says he, "what regard is due to the institution of a Sabbath under the Christian dispensation? The answer is plainly this: Neither more nor less than was due to it in the patriarchal ages; before the Mosaic Covenant took place. It is a gross mistake to consider the Sabbath as a mere festival of the Jewish Church, deriving its whole sanctity from the Levitical law. The contrary appears, as well from the evidence of the fact, which sacred history affords, as from the

reason of the thing, which the same history declares. The religious observance of the seventh day hath a place in the *Decalogue* among the *very first duties of natural religion*. The reason assigned for the injunction is general, and hath no relation or regard to the particular circumstances of the Israelites, or to the particular relation in which they stood to God as his chosen people." *Horsley's Sermons on the Sabbath*. In fact, if the fourth commandment is abrogated, it is not easy to see with what propriety or consistency those who use the Liturgy of the Episcopal Church, can say, when this command is repeated, "Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law."

The Dr. *Bound*, to whom Bishop *White* refers, lived considerably earlier than he represents. His book on "*the Sabbath*," was first published in the year 1595, long before *Charles I.* came to the crown; and, of course, long before that unhallowed coalition of Papists, hot-headed enthusiasts, of various sects, and ambitious soldiers, by which the establishment, both in church and state, was finally prostrated. This book we have never seen; but *Neal* tells us, that the author "maintained the morality of a seventh part of time for the worship of God; that Christians are bound to rest on the Lord's day as much as the Jews on the Mosaical Sabbath, the commandment of rest being moral and perpetual; that, therefore, it was not lawful to follow secular studies, or worldly business on that day, nor to use such recreations and pleasures as were lawful on other days, such as *shooting, fencing, bowling, &c.*" "This book," Mr. *Neal* adds, "had a wonderful spread among the people, and wrought a mighty reformation; so that the Lord's day, which used to be profaned by *interludes, may-games, morrice-dances*, and other *sports and recreations*, began to be kept more precisely, especially in corporations." The Puritans generally fell in with this doctrine, and commonly spent the day in public, family, and private devotion. The governing clergy were greatly opposed to this view of duty in regard to the sanctification of the Lord's day. They declaimed against it as an abridgement of Christian liberty, and insisted that the *sports and recreations*, which *Bound's* book opposed, were not forbidden by any law of God.* They perceived that, if the title

* This statement of *Neal* is the more credible, since it is notorious that the dominant clergy, a few years afterwards, in the next reign, openly favoured the famous *Book of Sports*, which encouraged public *dances*, and other *public games* on the Lord's day. This book was drawn up by Bishop *Morton*, and en-

of "the *Sabbath*" were given to the first day of the week, it would naturally connect with the observance of the day more strictness than they wished to encourage; and they also feared that, if so much was made of the sanctification of the Lord's day, it would be putting on that day "an unequal lustre," as *Neal* expresses it, to the detriment of the other *festivals*, in which they so much delighted, and also to the prejudice of the Church's authority in appointing them. Many seemed desirous of inculcating and establishing the doctrine, that the fourth commandment was repealed, and the *name* therein employed for the weekly rest, no longer proper or applicable; that the observance of the Lord's day was rather a matter of agreement of the Church, than founded on divine warrant; and, of course, that the observance of the Church *festivals* carried with it the same obligation as that of the weekly day of rest.

Mr. *Neal* suggests the possibility that *Bound* might have carried his notions of the *manner* of observing the Lord's day to an austere and over-rigorous length. Certain it is, that Archbishop *Whitgift* called in all the copies of his book, and forbade its circulation. After the death of the Archbishop, however, *Bound* published a second edition of the work, in 1606, with large additions, which was very extensively circulated, and exerted a very sensible influence. Whatever might have been the real character of his doctrine,—of which, at this distance of time, it is not easy to judge,—it cannot be doubted that the sanctification of the Sabbath, as delineated by some Puritan writers, many years afterwards, was pressed to an extravagant length. So, at any rate, thought the venerable Dr. *Owen*, who, in a work which he published on this subject nearly three quarters of a century after *Bound's* book appeared, expressed his decided disapprobation of those writers "who had pharisaically and superstitiously heaped observance upon observance, for every hour, and almost minute of that day; so that a man could scarcely in six days read over all the duties proposed to be observed on the seventh; and who, moreover, had laboured more to multiply directions about external duties, giving them out, as it were,

forced with much zeal by the leading clergy of the establishment. The avowed object of the unhallowed measure was to put a stop to the growth of Puritanism, and to silence the objections of the Papists against the *strictness* of the reformed religion. *Heylin* advocates this awful profanation of the Lord's day, by authority, on the principle, that elevating the *Sabbath* in public estimation tended to depress the *festivals* appointed by the Church; and that the indulgence of the popular love of sports on that day was necessary to preserve the people from Popery.

by number and tale, than to direct the mind to a due performance of the whole duty of the sanctification of the day, according to the spirit and genius of gospel obedience."

We honour the candour of Bishop *White* in expressing his regret, that the English Reformers, in framing the Liturgy of his Church, adopted the title of "Sunday," instead of the "Lord's day," and in acknowledging that he would have preferred the latter. We certainly concur with him in judgment; and deeply regret this, as well as a few other things, in a Liturgy, which contains so much that is truly excellent, and worthy of the deepest veneration.

We are now prepared to answer the question, "What name ought to be given to this weekly season of sacred rest, by us, at the present day?"

Sunday, we think, is *not* the most suitable name. It is, confessedly, of Pagan origin. This, however, alone, would not be sufficient to support our opinion. All the other days of the week are equally Pagan, and we are not prepared to plead any conscientious scruples about *their* use. Still it seems to be in itself desirable that not only a *significant*, but a *scriptural* name should be attached to that day which is divinely appointed; which is so important for keeping religion alive in our world; and which holds so conspicuous a place in the language of the Church of God. Besides, we have seen that the early Christians preferred a scriptural name, and seldom or never used the title of *Sunday*, excepting when they were addressing the heathen, who knew the day by no other name. For these reasons we regret that the name *Sunday* has ever obtained so much currency in the nomenclature of Christians, and would discourage its popular use as far as possible.

The Lord's day, is a title which we would greatly prefer to every other. It is a name expressly given to the day by an inspired apostle. It is more expressive than any other title of its divine appointment; of the Lord's propriety in it; and of its reference to his resurrection, his triumph, and the glory of his kingdom. And, what is in no small degree interesting, we know that this was the favourite title of the early Christians; the title which has been habitually used, for a number of centuries, by the great majority both of the Romish and Protestant communions. Would that its restoration to the Christian Church, and to all Christian intercourse, could be universal!

The *Sabbath*, is the last title of which we shall speak.

The objections made to this title by the early Christians no longer exist. We are no longer in danger of confounding the observance of the *first* day of the week with that of the *seventh*. Nor are we any longer in danger of being carried away by a fondness for *Jewish rigour*, in our plan for its sanctification. The fourth commandment still makes a part of the Decalogue. We teach it to our children as a rule still in force. It requires nothing austere, punctilious, or excessive; only that we, and all "within our gates," abstain from servile labour, and consider the day as "hallowed," or devoted to God. Whoever scrutinizes its contents will find no requisition in which all Christians are not substantially agreed; and no reason assigned for its observance which does not apply to Gentiles as well as Jews. As the first sabbath was so named as a memorial of God's "rest" from the work of creation; so we may consider the Christian Sabbath as a memorial of the Saviour's *rest* (if the expression may be allowed) from the labours, the sufferings, and the humiliation of the work of redemption. And, what is no less interesting, the apostle, in writing to the Hebrews, considers the Sabbath as an emblem and memorial of that eternal *Sabbatism*, or "*rest* which remaineth for the people of God." Surely the name is a most appropriate and endeared one when we regard it in this connection! Surely when we bring this name to the test of either *philological* or *theological* principles, it is as suitable now, as it could have been under the old dispensation.

We have said, that we prefer "the Lord's day" to any other title. We are aware, that this can never be the name employed by the mass of the community. There is something about this title which will forever prevent it from being familiar on the popular lip. The title "the Sabbath" is connected with no such difficulty. It is scriptural, expressive, convenient, the term employed in a commandment which is weekly repeated by millions, and so far familiar to all who live in Christian lands, that no consideration occurs why it may not become universal. "The Lord's day" may, and, perhaps, ought ever to be, the language of the pulpit, and of all public or social *religious* exercises; meanwhile, if the phrase "the Sabbath" could be generally naturalized in worldly circles, and in common parlance, it would be gaining a desirable object.

ART. VII.—*The Life of Michael Servetus.**

J. W. Allen and others

THE burning of Servetus has been the favourite theme of all the enemies of Calvin and Calvinism. When all other arguments have failed, this has been resorted to, as if even admitting all the allegations of his worst foes, the Reformer's doctrine were hereby in any degree invalidated. Papists, Errorists, and Infidels, have here joined their forces and united in the outcry against their common scourge. Thousands who have never gone to one historical source, or consulted one authentic document, have ventured to pronounce upon the case. In an affair, not only perplexing as to the extent and remoteness of the testimony, but difficult from its involving the nicest questions of jurisprudence, we find men totally ignorant of both the facts and the law, adventuring conclusive judgments. Learned authors have gone out of their way, in the midst of scientific disquisitions, to inform us that Calvin burned Servetus.† And among the ranks of all who dislike sound doctrine, the clenching argument, for these two hundred years and more, has been *Calvin burned Servetus*.

If, for the sake of argument, it should be conceded, that John Calvin did in very deed counsel, procure, and effect the execution of this wretched Spaniard, very little would be gained by those who are most interested in establishing the charge. For, as a mere historical incident, it is by no means solitary; it stands as one of a hundred parallel cases. The prominency which it has obtained, is due to the eminence of the actors, but chiefly to the enmity indulged towards the doctrines of the Reformer. If it were not for this, one might

* The authority most relied on in this discussion, after the original documents, is CHAUFFPIÉ's *Life of Servetus*, in his *Continuation of Bayle's "Dictionnaire Historique et Critique."* Amst. 1756. Mr. Gibbon found this memoir liberal enough for his views. It is right to say, that we have often rested in Chauffpié, as an ultimate authority, where his citations are from works beyond our reach. But recourse has been had, on the critical points, to every work accessible to us, and especially to the tracts and documents in CALVIN'S *Works*: "*Tractatus theol. contra Antitrinitarios. fol.*"—Our statements may be collated with the masterly investigation contained in WATERMAN'S "*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Calvin.*" Hartford, 1813; unquestionably the best biography of the Reformer, as the learned and pious continuator of Milner seems to allow. Minor authorities are noted in the margin.

† See a ludicrous instance, in Dr. JOHN REDMAN COXE'S "*Inquiry into the Claims of Harvey, &c. to the Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood.*" Phil. 1834. p. 256, not in the text, but in the *index*.

well suppose, from the frequency, urgency, and heat, with which the charge is reiterated, that it was a signal, peculiar, and unparalleled phenomenon of persecuting intolerance; that it was opposed to the acknowledged principles of the age in which it took place; that it fell under the rebuke and detestation of all the victim's contemporaries; that so atrocious an act of cruelty was reprobated by the leading Papists, or certainly by the leading Reformers; that it was unexampled in the history of the Reformed Churches; that Germany, Switzerland, France, and England were pure from any similar enormity; and that it was the last flagrant eruption of a vindictive crater, long since extinct. Let it be repeated; even if it were true, that John Calvin did extend the torch to the injured Servetus, the foregoing suppositions might seem natural, when the fact is dwelt on, and rehearsed, by every stripling theologian who chooses to run a tilt with the shade of a hero, or every physician, lawyer, or declaimer whose tongue blisters at uttering the name of a Predestinarian.

Every student of history knows, that every one of these suppositions is a falsity; that the age was an age of persecution, in which the church, still retaining many scales of Popish prejudice, was purblind to the rights of conscience; that persecutions for heresy were universal, and punishment of heretics practised in the freest countries under heaven; that this deplorable event was in perfect agreement with the principles of the statesmen and theologians of that day; that when the humbling fact occurred, it was approved and upheld by the very reformers whom it is attempted to exalt above Calvin in this comparison, not excepting the gentle Melancthon; that similar executions, before and after, blacken the history of the Church in Germany, Switzerland, France, and even England. Moreover, every competent historian is informed that the excellent Cranmer lies under the same or worse imputations, and that a multitude of hapless men and women fell under the secular arm, for spiritual offences, before the principle of liberty of conscience was established.

The human mind comes slowly to the acknowledgment even of great and seemingly plain truths. And there is no one of the grand fundamental principles of our own enlightened age, which men were so slow to receive, as this of the rights of conscience. Hence—and let the remark be pondered in this investigation—never was it fully and distinctly recognised as a principle in any government, until the time of Roger Williams, and the settling of Rhode Island. And

when this good but eccentric man wrote against the bloody tenet of persecution for cause of conscience, it was one of the pilgrim race, it was John Cotton, of Boston, who published, in accordance with the spirit of the whole age, his "*Bloody Tenet washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb.*"

Were it then conclusively made out, that Calvin acted the part of a determined persecutor, while we should both lament and blame, as we do in the case of Cranmer and the Puritans, we should not be astonished; nor should we renounce the man or his system. To expect any thing else, would be to expect unparalleled exaltation above the age in which he lived. And while we do accord, as the Reformed Churches cheerfully accorded, to this wonderful servant of Christ, a great precedency among his brethren; while we stand amazed at the progress which one gigantic soul could make through the corruptions of Popery, and the corruptions of partial reform, to great purity and light, in doctrine and polity, and even political science; yet we esteem him human, and consequently imperfect, and freely grant that in some points he was involved in the same shadows with his coevals, and that one of these was the point in question.

Calvin and Servetus were both prominent men; hence the notoriety of the transaction. Of all living Protestants, there was none so much revered by his friends, or so much hated by his trembling opponents, as "the legislator of the Reformation." And of all the brood of heretics which infested the rising Church, the most dreaded was Michael Servetus. "He was," says the mild Coleridge, "a rabid enthusiast, and did every thing he could, in the way of insult and ribaldry, to provoke the feeling of the Christian Church."

It is our object in the sequel to give a fair statement of the facts in the case. Not to plead for persecution; not to vindicate this instance of it; not to exculpate Calvin from all participation in it; but to furnish the lover of truth with data from which to form a judgment; to stop the mouths of ignorant or malicious calumniators; and to show in what relation the reformer of Geneva stood to this transaction.

Michael Servetus was born at Villa Nueva, in Arragon, in 1509. He called himself Ville Neuve, or Villanovanus, from this place, but is said to have declared himself a native of Tudelle, in Navarre. At the age of fourteen, he is reported to have understood Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and to have been imbued with the knowledge of Philosophy, Mathema-

tics, and Scholastic Theology. M. Simon, however, says: "it is evident by this author's books, that it cost him a great deal of trouble to write in Latin;" and Servetus himself, in the second edition of a book, says, "Quod autem ita barbarus, confusus et incorrectus prior liber proderit, imperitiæ meæ, et typographi incuriæ adscribendum est." At the age of fifteen he went to Italy in the suite of Charles V., whom he saw crowned at Bologna. Just at this time the seeds of anti-trinitarian doctrine began to germinate in Italy. The Socini and their fellows were then rising. It is believed that Servetus, under these influences, adopted his peculiar tenets. The late learned Dr. M'Crie expresses his belief, that the anti-trinitarian opinions, which spread there so widely, were introduced into Italy by means of his writings.*

From Italy he went to Germany, and thence to Switzerland; and, at Basle, held a conference with Oecolampadius, with whom he disputed about the Trinity, in 1530. He then repaired to Strasburg, and conferred with Capito, and with Bucer. The latter was so far overcome with indignation at the impieties of Servetus, as to say from the pulpit, that he deserved to be put to death. Such was the error and blindness even of one who was surnamed the Moderate Reformer; an error and blindness caught from his Romish education. Before he left Basle, Servetus had prepared a book in which he attacked the orthodox faith, respecting the Trinity. This he left there in the hands of Conrad Rouss, a bookseller, who sent it to Hagenau, as it was a dangerous business to print it. The author followed his manuscript, and published it at the last named place in 1531. He published a second, of like contents, in 1532. The former of these was entitled "De Trinitatis Erroribus Libri Septem, per Michaelem Servetum, alias Reves, ab Arragonia Hispanum." Scarcely a copy is known to be extant. Mosheim says that both this and the dialogues are "barbaro dicendi genere conscripti."

The second work was entitled "Dialogorum de Trinitate Libri duo. De Justitia Regni Christi, Capitula Quatuor, per Michaelem Servetum, &c." In this he retracts all that he had said in the preceding; not as being false, but imperfectly, and carelessly, and ignorantly written.† These works were so largely circulated, especially in Italy, that, as late as 1539,

* Ref. in Italy, p. 151.

† Non quia falsa sunt, sed quia imperfecta, et tanquam a parvulo parvulis scripta. Nicéron. Mem. des hommes ill. ii. 235.

Melancthon felt himself bound to write a caveat against them to the senate of Venice. Servetus passed his time in Germany until 1533, but then, finding himself without adherents, and awkwardly situated, from his ignorance of the language, and particularly desirous of studying mathematics and medicine, he went to France. Here he sought notoriety both as a scholar and an author. He studied medicine at Paris, under the instruction of Sylvinus and Fernel, and was graduated Master of Arts and Doctor of Physic by the university. Beza relates that, in this city, as early as in 1534, Calvin opposed his doctrines.* After taking his degrees, Servetus professed mathematics in the Lombard college. During this period, he was preparing an edition of Ptolemy's Geography, and several medical works; being, meanwhile, in warm contests with the medical faculty. We next find him at Lyons, with Frelon, a publisher, whom he served as corrector of the press. After various excursions, he settled at Charlieu, and there practised medicine. Bolsec, the noted enemy and slanderer of Calvin, and who wrote a memoir for the mere purpose of blasting his character, accounts thus for Servetus's leaving his settlement: "This Servetus was arrogant and insolent, as those have affirmed who knew him at Charlieu, where he lodged with la Rivière, about the year 1540, but was forced to leave that place on account of his extravagancies."† From Charlieu he returned to Lyons. Here he fell in with Peter Palmer, archbishop of Vienne, followed him to his see, and enjoyed a harbour in his palace. While at Vienne, he worked at a revised edition of Pagnin's Bible, which he furnished with notes, abounding in crudity and pravity of doctrine. By the intervention of the printer, Frelon, he opened a correspondence with Calvin. The manner in which Servetus conducted himself in this, may be seen in the published letters.‡ Calvin chose to break off all communication with a man who treated him with perpetual arrogance, and, from this time, Servetus never ceased to vituperate and oppose the Reformer.

Servetus wrote a third work against the orthodox faith, and after several ineffectual attempts elsewhere, had it printed at Vienne, in 1553. This was his famous *Restitution of Christianity*. Attempts have been made to show that it was Calvin who caused information to be lodged against Ser-

* Beza Hist. des Ecc. Ref. T. 19.—Vit. Calv.

† Vie de Calv. p. 9, ed. 1664, apud Chauffpié.

‡ Opuscul. min. p. 517, ed. 1667.

vetus, with the ecclesiastical authorities. After a careful examination of the authorities, and a full citation of all the witnesses, on both sides, M. Chauffpié pronounces the charge to be wholly without proof. If it were true, it could show no more, than that Calvin did what no good citizen of that generation would have denied to be a praiseworthy act. That Calvin communicated the evidence on which this process was founded, he expressly denies. And this denial must be credited, for, as he says, it is utterly against every presumption that he could correspond with Cardinal Tournon, one of the chief persecutors of the Protestants, and, accordingly, his virulent foes, Maimbourg and Bolsec, never hint such a charge.* It is agreed, however, that process was instituted, and the issue was a sentence "that there was not as yet sufficient evidence for an imprisonment." On a second examination, the Inquisition seized his person, by a finesse; and by a finesse, quite as allowable, Servetus escaped from them, June 17, 1553, and betook himself to the Lyonnais. The process went on in his absence, and, according to the usual course of Popish trials, resulted in condemnation, and sentence that he should be burned alive in a slow fire. This was executed on his effigy and five bales of his books. The unfortunate author, after thus flying from Vienne, wandered in places where historians cannot trace him. If Calvin is to be credited, four months elapsed before he arrived at Geneva; where he was arrested, tried, condemned and executed. There is great diversity of statement in the different accounts, as to the length of time he remained at large, and the manner of his being apprehended. According to the most unfavourable report, he was discovered at divine worship, on the Lord's day, and his presence was made known to the magistracy by Calvin himself. That this was done, if done at all, from personal enmity rather than mistaken zeal for a code of laws against heresy which all the world then approved, is only asserted, can never be proved, is by no means probable, and will be rejected by impartial history as the conjecture of prejudice. Such writers as Gibbon and Roscoe have vented much bitter crimination on this pretended motive. We may ask, with a late eminent historian: "Is it not with justice that it has been surmised, that philosophers who, not only iniquitously resolve to try men of the sixteenth century by rules and principles scarcely admitted before the

* Senebier. I. 205. *Calv. Op.* viii. 517.

eighteenth, but greedily receive every calumny or insinuation that 'false witnesses' can utter against them, and indulge in the most extravagant invectives in setting forth their misdeeds, had they themselves happened to live three centuries back, would not have been content to smite only with the tongue or the pen, but would eagerly have grasped the sword or the torch?"*

We have conducted this brief narrative thus far, without any account of the opinions charged against this unhappy fugitive. As we approach the critical and final act of the sad drama, it becomes proper to state, calmly and from the best sources, the nature of those tenets which rendered him obnoxious to the laws. And let no one undertake to discuss this subject, who is so ignorant of history, as not to know, that in that day, and throughout Christendom, heresy, especially when joined with blasphemy, was a capital crime. In the noonday of civil and religious freedom, a child may detect the fallacy of the argument, that heresy, which slays the soul, should have as dire a penalty as murder, which slays only the body. But the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, and the Socinian, of the sixteenth century, assented to this argument.†

According to the standard of the times, Servetus was a heretic. The following sketch of his published opinions is very far below their enormity; for details are purposely omitted. The authorities may be seen at great length in the life of Servetus, by M. Chauffpié.

Such is the jumble of inconsistent crudities in the works of this writer, that it is impossible to refer his tenets to any existing title in the nomenclature of error. He was not a cool speculator, but a hasty enthusiast. At the same time he was furiously opposed to many of the doctrines always regarded as fundamental in the Church of Christ. It was not the favourite dogmas of Calvin, as some ignorantly or maliciously assert, which this heretic made it his business to impugn. It was not predestination, special grace, perseverance, or any of the tenets for which the Reformed Churches peculiarly contended, which were assaulted in his works. His shafts were

* SCOTT'S Continuation of Milner, vol. iii. 437.

† SOCINUS procured the death of *Francis David*, because the latter denied that Christ should be worshipped. See the whole account in CHAUFFPIÉ, note BB. also BI. BRIT. vol. iv. p. 66. MURDOCK'S MOSHEIM, Vol. iii. 269, n. (30). 275. And Servetus himself shows what was the opinion of the age, in his request of August 22d, 1553, in which he acknowledges, as we shall see, that heretics might be *banished*. CHAUFFP. ubi supra.

aimed at more vital parts; the very nature of God, the Trinity, the Incarnation, and similar foundations of our holy faith. He was at once a Pantheist, an Anti-trinitarian, and a Materialist.*

Not content with philosophizing about the personality of God, he maintained that God is the Universe, and that the Universe is God. According to him, God is the infinite ocean of substance—the essence of all things. Not only the devil is in God, as also depraved spirits—but hell is no other thing but God himself. As God is the principle and end of all things, so they return at last to him; and in going into eternal fire, demons shall go to God himself.†

But it was the doctrine of the Holy Trinity that he set himself chiefly to impugn. In his first book he was more cautious than in those which followed; the doctrine of the earliest was nearer to Sabellianism than to any thing else. We have the authority of the ministers of Zurich for saying that he often called the Trinity of the orthodox, “a triple monster, a three-headed Cerberus, imaginary gods, and, finally, visionary and three-headed devils;” that he reviled Athanasius and Augustin, as “*Trinitarians*, that is, *Atheists*.”‡ To enlarge upon his other errors and heresies, respecting the creation, the immortality of the soul, regeneration, &c., would be unnecessary. Our object is not to detail the vagaries of an enthusiast, whose works indicate a perversion of mind almost amounting to insanity. Still less is it our wish so to represent his pestiferous errors as to convey the idea that it was right to visit them with secular penalties and a cruel death. We reject the opinion, nor is it a merit in any one to do so at this time, when all reasonable Christians do the same. But we only mean to show that the tenets of Servetus were such, as might naturally lead even good men, in the twilight of religious liberty, to recognise the duty of surrendering him to the secular arm. That Calvin so thought, is not surprising, as we have the fullest evidence to make it probable that any one of the prominent men of the age,

* GUERIKE. Handb. d. allgemeiner Kirchengeschichte. II. p. 959.

† Some of his own expressions are: Ignis ille ab aeterno paratus est ipsemet Deus qui est ignis. Si hoc bene intellexisset Origenes, non dixisset daemones salvandos, eoquod essent ad suum principium redituri; redibunt quidem, et euntes in ignem ad ipsum Deum ibunt. Chauffpié, note W.

‡ For the propositions in full, see NATALIS ALEXANDRI Hist. Ecc. ix. 163, ed. Lucca. fol. 1734. CALVIN. Tract. Theol. p. 590. sqq. Also consult Epist. PHILIPPI MELANCTHONIS, p. 152, 708, 710, fol. Lond. 1642.

whether churchman or layman, whether Romanist or Protestant, would have held the same opinion.

Accordingly, as soon as Calvin discovered that Servetus was in the city, he used means to have him apprehended. The words of Calvin are: "He thought perhaps to pass through this city. Why he came hither is not known, but seeing that he was recognised, I thought it right that he should be detained."^{*} It was necessary that the prosecutor should be personally held in durance while the process was pending, and Calvin used the intervention of Nicholas de la Fontaine, a student belonging to his household. Great reproach has been cast on the reformer for this step, as if it had been his intention to shun the appearance of being active in the affair. But he declares most fully the contrary: "I declare frankly, that since, according to the law and custom of the city, none can be imprisoned for any crime without an accuser, or prior information, I have made it so, that a party should be found to accuse him; not denying but the action laid against him was drawn by my advice, in order to commence the process.[†]"

In our account of the trial we follow *Chauffpié*, in whose impartial statement are found abundant extracts, and references to authentic documents, of which most are beyond the reach of American students, and therefore need not be expressly cited. Servetus first appeared, August 14th, 1553. *La Fontaine* adduced in evidence the printed books, and a manuscript, which was owned by the author, though it had been several years lying in the hands of Calvin. On the 15th, the examination upon the same articles proceeded. On the 17th, *La Fontaine* and a certain German named *Calladon*, who was now associated with him in the prosecution, produced letters from *Oecolampadius* and passages from *Melancthon*, showing that Servetus had been condemned in Germany. They likewise cited further passages of a heretical character. On the 21st, he appeared again; and after the course of the ordinary investigations had proceeded, he conferred or disputed with Calvin on certain questions respecting the Trinity. This conference, however it may have been misrepresented, was not contrary to the prisoner's interest: indeed it should seem that his abettors complained that there was not sufficient license allowed for frequent disputations. The Judges then

^{*} Calv. to Farel, Oct. 27, 1553.

[†] *Declaratorie*, p. 11, apud *Chauffpié*.

ordered that the books which Servetus required for his answer should be bought at his expense, and that he should retain those which Calvin had cited. On the 22d, Servetus sent a letter to the syndics and council, entering a plea to their jurisdiction—maintaining that it was unchristian to institute a capital prosecution for religious opinion—declaring that the ancient doctrine allowed merely the banishment even of such as Arius himself—and praying that he might have an advocate. The reader, while he weeps over the prejudice which could disregard pleas so reasonable, will remember that even in England, long since the Reformation, prisoners have been denied counsel to plead their cause before a jury in any felony, whether it be capital, within the benefit of clergy, or a case of petit larceny.* On the 28th, new articles of accusation were brought forward, and among other offences, he was charged with the anabaptist error about the power of the magistrate. During these protracted investigations, he persisted in avowing his tenets, and his determination to avow them, unless he should be convinced. Even when charged with his indecent railings and dreadful blasphemies, he made no excuse: ‘I confess,’ said he, ‘I have written so; and when you shalt teach me otherwise, I will not only embrace it, but will kiss the ground you walk on.’ In the mean time, information had most unnecessarily and ungenerously been sent to Vienne, of the arrest of Servetus. On the last day of August, an officer from that city appeared before the council of Geneva, with a copy of their sentence, and a request that the prisoner should be remanded to them. It was left to his choice, and as was most natural, he rejected the harsh proposal, and pathetically besought that he might be judged by the magistrates of Geneva.

Hitherto, we find nothing in the conduct of Calvin inconsistent with the standard of belief and feeling at that day. It is melancholy to observe how this important circumstance is overlooked by those who, from a hasty induction of mistaken facts, attribute to personal malice the whole of his conduct. Let it never be forgotten, that the proceeding of a democratical city and a judicial council is one thing, and the ministerial and subordinate act of their pastor and teacher, another thing. And even though the latter might willingly appear in the case as prosecutor, witness, or expounder of theological opinions, we are not to charge him

* BLACKSTONE, vol. iv. p. 355, note 8.

with every enormity of the syndics and council; especially as it is matter of history, that the faction which was at that juncture dominant in the council of Geneva, was opposed to the Reformer.* Plainly unjust is it then to repeat, for the thousandth time, that we are at liberty to consider every act of that body as emanating from Calvin. This charge of vicious and vindictive interference has been repelled by several impartial historians. "Calvin," says M. la Roche, "never came into the court but when he was commanded, and there he did nothing but by the order of his master. Upon every emergency, it seems, they had recourse to divines; to consult with them, to confer with prisoners, to direct interrogations, to make extracts, examine answers, and many other things of this kind. I believe, in the station this pastor of Geneva was in, they were afraid of transgressing, if they did any thing without him—but why represent him as an impertinent hypocrite, who intruded himself by his office in this affair; or as an implacable enemy, who earnestly solicited Servetus's death?"† And here it is but fair to let the defamed Reformer speak a word for himself. The extract is from his French works as cited by la Chapelle: "I will not deny but that he was made prisoner upon my application. But after he was convicted of his heresies, every one knows that I did not in the least insist that he should be punished with death. And as to the truth of what I say, not only all good men will bear me witness, but I defy all malicious men to say it is not so. The proceeding has shown with what intention I did it. For when I, and my brethren, I mean all the ministers of the gospel, were called, it was not owing to us that he had not full liberty given him, of conferring and treating of the articles wherein he has erred, in an amicable manner with us."

It was on the first day of September that the judges again availed themselves of Calvin's aid in procuring an extract of offensive propositions, in the very words of Servetus.

* Even at the time Calvin complained that he was made responsible for every thing: "Quicquid a senatu nostro actum est, mihi passim ascribitur." The statement of the text will be confirmed by reference to SCOTT, vol. iii. p. 432, 439, 442, and WATERMAN'S Calvin, p. 124. In the ENCYCLOPAEDIA AMERICANA, Art. "Calvin," the compiler of a hasty and disingenuous sketch, without citing a single authority, pretends to give certain acts of the commonwealth, "to prove," forsooth, "the blind and fanatical zeal which he [Calvin] had infused into the magistracy of Geneva." As if the penal statutes against heresy had not been for ages a part of their code! See CHAUFFPIE, notes S, and Z. and LA CHAPELLE, Bib. Raisonn. vol. ii. p. 139, 141.

† CHAUFFPIE, note U.

These were thirty-eight in number. They were put into the author's hands, that he might answer, explain or retract. He wrote a reply; and this, in its turn, was answered by Calvin. The answer of Calvin was likewise delivered to Servetus, who made notes upon it. The reader who would pursue the subject into its lesser windings, may find all these documents among Calvin's *Opuscula*. A consultation of these will do more to show the virulence and headstrong fury of Servetus, than any second-hand statement. About a fortnight was spent in these proceedings. On the 15th, Servetus petitioned that his cause might be referred to the Council of Two Hundred; in which body, it should be observed, the sovereignty of the commonwealth resided. "It is believed," says the cautious *Chauffpié*, "that this request was suggested to him by Calvin's enemies, who contributed as much, and even more than he, to Servetus's destruction. Believing himself well supported, he observed no measures with Calvin or his judges. If he had had the least modesty or discretion, I doubt not but he might have brought himself off; but flattering himself with a triumph over Calvin, by the credit of the party which opposed this reformer, he was the victim of his pride and prejudice. This is the only way of explaining his constant conduct at Geneva; in all respects so different from his behaviour at Vienne."

The hopes of Servetus from the city faction must have been strong, as we find him, on the 22d of September, petitioning that Calvin should be punished as a calumniator. On the 10th of October, he made a new request, from which it appears that his situation in the prison was very miserable.

It is common to charge the persecution of Servetus upon Calvin alone, and the indiscriminating compilers of our biographical dictionaries, without adducing an authority, dogmatically declare that the Reformer of Geneva acted out his mere personal hatred. It is glaringly false. It is not for us to say, how much false fire mingled with the zeal of Calvin; but we are well-informed that not only he, but all Protestant Europe, looked upon it as the common cause of truth. From what has been already said, it is plain that the case was not precipitately issued. And at the point of time which our sketch has reached, the magistrates of Geneva determined to consult the Swiss Cantons. For this purpose they sent to them the "Restitution of Christianity," with Calvin's papers and the prisoner's answers; and requested the opinion of the Swiss theologians upon the subject. The unanimous reply

was, that the magistrates of Geneva ought to restrain Servetus, and to prevent the spread of his errors.

Painful as the conclusion is, it cannot be evaded, that the judgment of John Calvin was simply the judgment of all the Helvetic Christians; too nearly allied, alas! to the popish errors from which they had half escaped, but palliated by the circumstances. M. d'Alwoerden,* the great authority of Mr. Roscoe, in his hasty and petulant censures, pretends that Calvin kept back from the press all these letters except the one from Zurich. But the letters are happily extant to give triumphant refutation to the slander; and whoever reads them will conclude with La Chapelle, that "all the Churches of Switzerland agreed to punish Servetus capitally, since they all concurred in testifying their utmost abhorrence of his heresies, and requiring that this outrage should not be left unpunished."† Beza was, therefore, not falsifying, when he wrote that the issue was 'ex omnium enim Helveticarum ecclesiarum sententia.' The prisoner himself showed a degree of confidence in these authorities, by the appeal which he is known to have made to the Churches of Zurich, Schaffhausen, Berne, and Basle.

What were the replies of the Swiss magistrates to this reference from Geneva? Those of Zurich used these terms: "In confidence that you will not suffer the wicked intention of your said prisoner to go further, which is entirely contrary to the Christian religion, and gives great scandal and insult."‡ And the ministers, still more decisively: "The holy providence of God has now offered an occasion for cleaning you from the suspicion (i. e. of fostering heresy) of this evil; that is, if you shall be vigilant, and diligently take heed that the contagion of this poison spread no further. Which we doubt not your excellencies will effect."§ The magistrates of Schaffhausen, referred the question to their minis-

* "Historia Michaelis Serveti." Helmstadt, 1727. This work was written under the superintendence of Dr. MOSHEIM. Every reader of Maclaine's notes has learned to be on his guard against this learned man, whenever the question lies between the Lutherans and the Reformers.

† Bibl. Raison. t. 2. p. 173.

‡ CHAUFFE, note Y. and, as there cited, BI. ANGL. t. 2. p. 163.

§ Multa ergo fide et diligentia contra hunc opus esse judicamus, praesertim cum ecclesiae nostrae apud externos male audiant, quasi haereticae sint et haereticis foveant. Obtulit vero in praesenti saneta Dei Providentia occasionem repurgandi vos, simul ac nos a pravi mali hujus suspicione: si videlicet vigilantes fueritis, diligenterque caveritis ne veneni hujus contagio, per hunc serpat latius. Id quod facturos A. V. nil dubitamus. Inter. Ep. Calv.

ters, and sent the reply of the latter, which ends thus: "Nor do we doubt, but that of your remarkable wisdom, you will repress the attempts of this man, lest his blasphemies eat, as doth a canker, still more extensively into Christ's members. For to set aside his ravings by long argumentation—what would it be, but to rave with a madman."* The magistrates of Basle, proceeding in the same way, replied by their ministers: "But if he persevere incurably in the perverseness which he has conceived, let him, in pursuance of your duty and of the authority granted you by the Lord, be so coerced, that he may no longer be able to molest the Church of Christ, and lest the last things be worse than the first."† The magistrates of Bern wrote: "We beg of you, not doubting but you are thereto also inclined, that you will take proper measures, that sects and heresies as these are, or such like, be not sown in the Church of Jesus Christ, our only Saviour."‡

Such was the unanimous answer of the Swiss magistrates; and we think the fact worthy of repetition, as being very important in its bearing on the whole affair, that Servetus, after a protracted examination and defence before the senate, and after the consistory, or ministerial body, had laboured to confute and reclaim him, *appealed to the Swiss Churches*; and this, before the said consistory had given their official opinion, as to the question whether the positions, which the Senate considered as proved, amounted to heresy and blasphemy.§

On the 26th of October, sentence was pronounced, by which Servetus was condemned to be burned alive.

Calvin informs us, that Servetus, two hours before his death, sent for him, and asked his forgiveness. Calvin reminded him "with all mildness, that sixteen years before he had endeavoured, even at the risk of his own life, to reclaim him, and that it had not been through his fault that Servetus had not by repentance been restored to the friendship of all religious persons." He also endeavoured to have

* Neque dubitamus quin vos pro insigni prudentia vestra ipsius conatus repressuri sitis, ne blasphemiae ipsius tanquam cancer latius depascantur Christi membra. Nam longis rationibus avertere ipsius deliramenta; quid aliud esset quam cum insaniente insaniri?—ib.

† Verum si insanibilis in concepta semet perversitate perstet, sic pro officio vestro potestateque a Domino concessa coercetur, ne dare incommodum queat ecclesiae Christi, neve fiant novissima primis deteriora.—ib.

‡ BI. ANG. in CHAUFF. u. supra.

§ Waterman's Life of Calvin, 117.

the mode of execution changed to one less barbarous.* Chateillon (otherwise called Castellio and Castalio) a declared enemy of Calvin, accused him of having smiled when the heretic passed the window from which he was looking. There is no other alleged proof of this unlikely story. M. La Roche, who elsewhere deals harshly with Calvin, and treats this as a wretched calumny. Servetus was accompanied to the stake by Farel, and so far maintained his characteristic obstinacy, that he would scarcely allow Farel to ask the prayers of the people. Thus miserably perished this unfortunate and wicked man, by a cruel death, on the twenty-seventh day of October, 1553.

During the whole trial, the contumacy and recklessness of the prisoner were remarkable. Especially did he seem to make it his aim to irritate and sting his great opponent, Calvin. In the notes, already mentioned, which Servetus appended to Calvin's confutation of his arguments, he endeavours to goad the latter by every name of insult which could be foisted in. Cain, and Simon Magus. and Murderer, are ordinary terms, and, in the course of a few hundred lines, we have counted instances of the lie direct, *Mentiris*, to the number of forty-six.† Yet the replies of Calvin are comparatively mild. He deals with his opponent as if he scarcely thought him balanced in mind. And when sentence was pronounced, it is notorious that he used his influence with the judge to procure a mitigation of the punishment, but without effect.

Having now reached the close of the direct narrative, it only remains to ask, whether, on reviewing the transaction, there is reason to attribute to Calvin any motives of personal rancour; or any principles of action in the matter of persecution, which were not prevalent in his age. Torrents of obloquy have been poured upon his memory: sometimes by Unitarians, who naturally befriend this great Unitarian; sometimes by Papists, who forget that Calvin's sins were the mere sequelae of a distemper caught among themselves;‡ and

* Ep. Cal. Farello. 71. Opusc. viii. 511.

† As a specimen of his petulance, the Latin reader may take the following phrases:—*Jam pudet toties respondere bestialitati hominis—Ridiculus mus—Impudentissime—Monstrum horrendum—Tu teipsum non intelligis—Sycophanta imperitissime—Tu plusquam pessimus—Ignoras miser—Abusor futilis et impudens Deliras—O nebulonem excoecatissimum—Sceleratus—Simon Magus—Mentiris imo ab aeterno.*—TRACT. THEOL. p. 592, sqq.

‡ “The doctrine of non-toleration, which obtained in the sixteenth century among some Protestants, was that pernicious error which they imbibed in the

sometimes by Episcopalians, who know that for one Servetus, they can number many victims of the like misguided zeal, in their own borders.

We have, from the outset, conceded the cardinal fact, namely, that Calvin was instrumental in bringing Servetus to trial for heresy, and thus, if you please, to execution. But we shall ever maintain, that it is grossly unjust, without the shadow of proof, to charge this act to motives which are not charged in a multitude of similar instances. It was scarcely so much the fault of the man as of the age. At this time of day, a Protestant can scarcely picture to himself the horrid image raised in the mind of our forefathers by the name *Heretic*. A heretic was then, as M. la Chapelle well says, "a monster of horror, an emissary of hell, an enemy of God and man; this is the notion of common people among the Papists to this day. Judge, then, how they would talk of a heretic, when heretics were almost as rare in Europe as the Phoenix in Egypt. Did they consult the canon or the civil law, or theological standards? Heretics were excommunicated persons, poisoners of mankind, public pests, guilty of high treason against both human and divine governments, a treason capital in the first degree." These principles were assumed as self-evident, in parliaments, and courts of princes, by popes and republics. In the Reformation a sun had arisen on the world, but the mists and fogs of a long night still mantled the horizon. The doctrine of persecution was a papal innovation which lingered after theological errors had been dispersed. It was found in the laws of the empire, and in the fathers of the church, whose authority had scarcely yet been shaken. Hence, we can pity, even more than we blame, the inconsistency of the Protestants, who, escaping from persecution, became persecutors in their turn.

To every calm inquirer into the history of religious liberty, the injustice of singling out this case will appear most glaring. It is Calvin's tenets which exasperate the minds of his calumniators; else Servetus had lain in oblivion, along with Joan Bocher and George Van Parre. The great standing charge against Calvin is one which it is hard to answer, simply because it is without any proof. It is, that the Reformer was actuated by long-cherished resentment and private hate. M. Chauffié has the candour to admit, that even if this could be

church of Rome; and I believe I can say, without doing any injury to that church, that *she is in great measure answerable for the execution of Servetus.*"
—*Memoirs of Literature*, quoted by Scott.

proved, it would be a question whether he did not take advantage of the rigour of laws which he believed to be just. But it cannot be proved. "It is," as Mr. Scott observes, "unsupported, and even contrary to evidence, and is requisite to the solution of none of the phenomena of the case."

The opinion of Calvin is now seen to be erroneous, and the act which he approved is condemned as cruel. In this we heartily concur. But the opinion and the act were approved by those very reformers and divines whom it is pretended to bring into a most favourable comparison with the Reformer of Geneva. Let us lay open the truth on this point; it may be new to certain revilers, at least it may stop the mouth of presumptuous slander. *Bullinger*, the Reformer of Zurich, writes thus: "I do not see how it was possible to have spared Servetus, that most obstinate man, the very hydra of heresy." And in writing to the divines of Poland, he says, "All among us, in these churches, who preach Christ and true religion, consider as just the capital punishment of a blasphemous and incurable man, who derided and abused the whole system." *Peter Martyr* likewise expresses his opinion, that it was the duty of magistrates and princes to serve God by punishing heretics and blasphemers.* *Melancthon*, who is usually cited and honoured as the mildest of the reformers, thus speaks of this affair: "I affirm that your magistrates have acted justly, in putting to death a blasphemer, after a regular adjudication."† This should be weighed by all such anti-calvinists, as, in their addresses to the popular mind, try to play off the moderate Melancthon against the cruel Calvin. But it is lamentably true, that this is not a solitary effusion of Melancthon's feeling in regard to the point in hand. M. de la Chapelle cites another instance little known, from the history of one David George, in which it appears that a translator of George's work, in which the existence of the devil was denied, was threatened with prosecution and imprisonment by the Reformer himself.‡

Archbishop *Cranmer*, even setting aside his own example,

* Nam is auctoritate ac potestate sua, ita debet servire Domino, ut puniat eos qui adversantur. Quod nisi faciat, videtur assentiri blasphemis et haeticis; rex enim quum istos videt, et patitur, perinde facit, ac si illis adjungeret, et eorum flagitiis faveret.—P. MARTYR, Loc. Comm. cl. 4, c. 13, 581, ap. Chauffp.

† Affirmo etiam vestros magistratus juste fecisse, quod hominem blasphemum, re ordine judicata, interfecerunt.—Ep. Calv. Oct. 12, 1553.

‡ CHAUFFP. note BB.

held that Servetus ought to have suffered death. And Bishop *Hall*, gives his formal opinion, that in that transaction *Calvin did well approve himself to God's Church*.* This list of authorities might be greatly increased; but it is needless to exemplify further the prevalence of a sentiment, which dishonours the Christian Church, while it destroys the malicious sophistry of controvertists who would make one good man the scape goat of a whole generation. It is abundantly made out, therefore, that even if Calvin were responsible for the condemnation, specific sentence, and actual execution of a heretic—as we have shown he is not—he only shares this responsibility with Melancthon, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Cranmer, Hall, and the leaders of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches.

The case might be safely left at this point; but we will go further, and evince by authentic records, that the instance was not singular. One might suppose from the angry zeal with which it has been blazoned as the sinister blot on the escutcheon of Calvinism, that this act of intolerance stands isolated, flaming forth with the horrors of a beacon on a hill. It is not so; all who have the smallest pretensions to historical erudition know that it is not so. There are noted examples of heretics being punished in different Protestant States. "Let persecution," we exclaim with M. *Chauffpié*, "be blamed, and let the execution of Servetus be condemned; we subscribe to the whole; but let us not make it peculiar in Calvin, to have been under the prejudices of his age."

More than sixty years after Calvin's death, we find the same judgment taking effect at Geneva, in the case of *Nicholas Antony*, who was burned for heresy, in 1632; in spite of the remonstrances of the ministers, who desired the execution to be suspended. Again, in 1652, by virtue of the same ecclesiastical code, though not on the same charge, one *Chauderon* was hanged for witchcraft. And we are only repeating the words of the liberal *Chauffpié*, Mr. *Gibbon's* "best" authority, when we say: "How many vexations have the Presbyterians suffered in England under the reign of James I., Charles I., and Charles II. I find, under the reign of the first, *Neal*, Bishop of Winchester, caused to be hanged one *Wightman*, a dogmatizer of that time; and that King, Bishop of London, condemned one *Legat* to be burnt for heresy;

* *Christian Moderation*, Book II. Sect. 14. Works, volume iii. p. 50, cited by *WATERMAN*.

who was executed in Smithfield. And Peter Gunter, of Prussia, a farrier by trade, was beheaded at Lubeck, in the month of October, 1687, by the consent of two Universities, because he would not own the divinity of Jesus Christ.”*

It is surprising that certain writers of the Episcopal denomination should have the effrontery, as they have sometimes had, to charge the death of Servetus on presbytery. This event has by some of them been attributed to the “gentle sway of presbytery.” This is very weak argument, and very desperate policy, not to dwell on its dishonesty. The nobler minds among prelatists have seen that common justice and the good faith of history alike repudiate the base insinuation; that the common cause of protestantism is wounded by it; and that this sort of argument, even if it should avail to tarnish presbytery, would overwhelm prelacy with contempt.† We reject it, and our cause needs it not. In the noted and prominent case of Cranmer, we scornfully reject it. The meanness of charging one good man with the sole offence, when all the age were in like condemnation, we shall condemn wherever we find it. And it is only as a specimen of impotent malice that we cite the following observation of a Mr. Le Bas, the compiler of a Life of Cranmer; an observation written as if to divert attention from the case of George Van Parre, which he had just related: “Every one knows that Servetus was burned, not merely as a heretic, but as a blasphemer; that the distinction might be sufficient to satisfy a man like Calvin may not be very surprising; for what is known of his vehement temper would almost justify the suspicion, that had he lived in the age of St. Dominic, he might have sat most conscientiously in the chair of the Inquisition.”‡ As if most studiously to cut off the wretched Calvin from all benefit of the plea he had just made for the archbishop. That plea, we acknowledge as valid and judicious. But we lament the ignoble prejudice which appended a gratuitous and false insinuation, against the man whom that very archbishop delighted to honour. Melancholy, indeed, but true it is, that Cranmer was concerned, at least as

* Chau ff. Servetus, note BB.

† If we except the case of Luther, perhaps the earliest toleration that was practised after popery had introduced the reign of persecution, was settled upon the basis of doctrines decidedly Calvinistic. We mean the decree of Berne, in November, 1534.—Scott, iii. p. 245.

‡ LE BAS'S Life of Cranmer, Vol. i. p. 272. Harper's Stereotype edition. See also a no less uncalled for taunt in HALLAM'S Const. History of England, vol. i. p. 131

much as Calvin ever was, in bringing to the stake not *one* blaspheming heretic, but not less than *four* persons, of whom two were simple women. This is recorded by such Episcopal historians as Strype, and Burnet, and Fox. He did it in his ignorance, and we may well weep over the story; but let no one who affects to weep, wipe away his tears to eject contumely upon a brother reformer, found in the same offence.

It was Cranmer, who “procured the death”—such are the very words—of Joan Bocher and George Van Parre; and who when the pious Edward VI. with tears hesitated to sign the death-warrants, added his own persuasions.* Even Mr. Le Bas says, with regard to Joan Bocher: “That he fully acquiesced in the proceeding, can hardly be doubted, if we are to credit the story so confidently told by his ardent admirer Fox, and not contradicted by any contemporary writer; namely, that all the importunity of the council could not prevail on Edward to set his hand to the warrant—that Cranmer, upon this, was desired to persuade him—that, even then, the merciful nature of that princely boy held out long against the application—and that, when at last, he yielded, he declared before God, that the guilt should rest on the head of his advisers.”†

Let this suffice for the abuse of these events by Episcopalian writers. We are so far from accusing Episcopalians in general, of this disingenuousness, that we believe there are multitudes of the well-informed and sincere, whose sentiments are expressed by one of their own writers as follows: “So far was the *Church of England*, and *her chief divines* from countenancing that unbecoming and absurd treatment, with which the name of this eminent Protestant is now so frequently dishonoured, that it would be no difficult matter to prove that there is not a parallel instance upon record, of any single individual being equally and so unequivocally venerated, for the union of wisdom and piety, both in England, and by a large body of the foreign churches, as JOHN CALVIN.”‡ To this we might add the able and learned arguments of the Rev. John Scott, of Hull, whose conclusions are in every point identical with our own.§

That the case is different in many of our popular historical works, and in the articles of biographical dictionaries, patched

* BURNET'S Hist. Ref. vol. II. 112. GILPIN'S Lives of Reformers. ii. 99.

† LE BAS'S Cranmer, vol. i. p. 270.

‡ Christian Observer, vol. ii. p. 142, 143.

§ SCOTT'S Continuation of Milner, vol. iii. passim.

up from these by mere compilers, will surprise no one who recollects that, in our day, history has too often fallen into the hands of sceptics. Roscoe makes it his especial care to vilify the reformers; we may safely leave his allegations to the triumphant answer of Mr. Waterman.* Gibbon, as we need scarcely say, found it to suit the purpose of his life to degrade the memory of a leading Christian. But, be it noted, that the authority chiefly relied on in the preceding details, and from whose truly cautious statements we have not seen occasion to vary in a single instance, is Chauffpié, the continuator of Bayle's Dictionary; whose narrative Gibbon pronounces "*the best account*" he had seen of the transaction.

Other writers, affected by no predilections in favour of presbytery, have had the patience to study, and the honesty to adjudicate, this perplexing case, with different results. Among these we name the late SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE; an independent thinker, a laborious reader of authorities, and a professed enemy of Calvinism. His opinion is as follows:

"What ground is there for throwing the odium of Servetus's death upon Calvin alone?—Why, the mild Malacthon wrote to Calvin expressly to testify his concurrence in the act, and, no doubt, he spoke the sense of the German reformers; the Swiss churches *advised* the punishment in formal letters, and I think there are letters from the English divines, approving Calvin's conduct! Before a man deals out the slang of the day, about the great leaders of the Reformation, he should learn to throw himself back to the age of the Reformation, when the two parties in the church were eagerly on the watch to fasten the charge of heresy on the other. Besides, if ever a poor fanatic thrust himself into the fire, it was Michael Servetus. He was a rabid enthusiast, and did every thing he could in the way of insult and ribaldry to provoke the feeling of the Christian Church. He called the Trinity *triceps monstrum et Cerberum quendam tripartitum*, and so on."†

This is sensible and just; and what might be expected from a philosopher and a scholar. For such an one, no declamation, without proof, will be sufficient. But the careless, the prejudiced, and the wicked, and especially those who hate the doctrine of special grace, and Calvin as its triumphant modern

* Life of Calvin, p. 122.

† Here is given the sentence cited above.

‡ Table Talk, p. 143. See also a fair discussion of the case in Sir DAVID BREWSTER'S Encyclopaedia, Art. "Calvin."

defender, will still avoid a laborious investigation, and repeat in wilful ignorance the refuted slanders of their predecessors. This rooted enmity to the theological system, called Calvinism, is the true source of the unjust invective against the Reformer's conduct in this affair. If not, why are the similar and even worse offences of other great men, altogether omitted, or, if not omitted, mentioned with every phrase of extenuation? It is Calvinism, it is the doctrine of Paul and of Augustin which has caused this peculiar exacerbation of zeal. And, after all, many seem to be ignorant of the history of this hateful scheme of opinions. It is acknowledged by Mr. John Scott, himself an Episcopalian, in the work already named, that Luther, Melancthon, and Zwingle, (at an earlier period of their lives, at least) held the doctrines of election and predestination, which have subsequently been denominated Calvinistic. "Nor did those high doctrines," says he, "originate with these persons. They held them in common with eminent writers who had preceded them, and were members of the Roman Catholic church; and they would, I apprehend, have been able to support some of their boldest positions by the authority of S. Augustine himself. Why, then, is all the odium of these obnoxious doctrines to be accumulated upon the devoted head of CALVIN, who had never been heard of in public life, even at the latest period referred to?"*

It is our confident expectation, that in proportion to the increase of biblical study, and the culture of mental philosophy among good men, there will be a return to these very doctrines; and that the works of Calvin (as we already see in Germany) will rise again in the estimation of the church; and that his character will be pondered, as one of the noblest models of the theologian, the expositor, and the reformer. When this day shall come, the calumnies of his foes will find their due level. And though no man will ever vindicate his opinion or his practice, in this instance, any more than the exploded whimsies of the astrologer or the alchemist, pious Christians will accord to him the praise of Bishop Andrews, that "he was an illustrious person, and never to be mentioned without a preface of the highest honour." Meanwhile, let the enemies of the Reformer's memory ponder the testimony of ARMINIUS himself. In a letter, only two days before his death, he says: "After the holy scriptures, I exhort the stu-

* Page 230.

dents to read the Commentaries of Calvin: for I tell them he is incomparable in the interpretation of scripture; and that his Commentaries ought to be held in greater estimation than all that is delivered to us in the writings of the ancient Christian fathers: so that, in a certain eminent spirit of prophecy, I give the pre-eminence to him beyond most others, indeed, beyond them all.”*

In closing this article, we are happy to be able to say that two elaborate memoirs of Calvin may soon be expected. One is understood to be preparing by Mr. Henry, pastor of a church in Berlin; and great pains have been taken to gain information from unpublished manuscripts and other documents existing at Geneva. The other biography is that which was left by the late lamented Dr. M’Crie, and which will be made ready for the press by one of his sons. From the biographer of Knox and Melvill, every thing which the case admits may be expected.

ART. VIII.—*Descriptive Catalogue of Books, and other Publications of the American Sunday School Union; designed for Sunday Schools, Juvenile, Family, and Parish Libraries, and for General Reading.* Philadelphia: 1835. pp. 119. *J. M. Alexander*

IF we could look with prophetic wisdom on the doings of our age we should probably regard it as the seed-time of the world’s history. Abstracting ourselves from those self-exalting views which flatter us as being in advance of former ages, we should still find cause to think that the tokens visible in things civil and ecclesiastical, portend a great revolution. Though we may deny that any such revolution is in progress; though the latter day glory has not dawned; though false religion and irreligion are still on their thrones; and though the Church is but a small portion of the world; it is, nevertheless most apparent, that we live in a period of significant action, an age of movement and progress. It is a time of preparation. As the advent of Christ was preceded by remarkable changes in nations, so it is not unlikely that

* Christian Observer for 1827, p. 622.—“Declaration of Arminius.” Ibid. 1807, p. 179. SCOTT’S Milner, iii. 496.

the final triumph of the gospel will be preceded by analogous preparation. When God approaches, mountains are levelled, and valleys are exalted, and crooked things are made straight. Previous to the consummation we wish and pray for, it is fair to expect a train of facilities and adapted means, tending towards the great event.

It takes ages to unwind the thread of those events which occupy but a few leaves in prophecy. Thus our Lord mentions, almost in one breath, the devastation of Jerusalem and the end of the world. In our haste, we sometimes set up as prophets, and fall into the error of the Thessalonians. The day of the Lord cometh; but with stately, and as we are too apt to think, with lingering approaches. Some things there are, however, which the faintest human reason might lay down as precursors of the blessed restitution of mankind to God. Among these would be such as the following: an increase of exchange between country and country; rapid and safe communication; the mastery over the multiplied dialects which have arisen from the confusion at Babel; the predominance and diffusion of such tongues as contain stores of truth, or are spoken by good men; the advancement of knowledge, and of the means for propagating it, especially the press in its improved condition; wonderful reaching towards perfection in the arts; and, above all, greatly accelerated movement in the sacramental host, towards the illumination of the world.

All this, at whatever period it occurs, is likely to be mistaken for more than it really is. It is not completion but preparation; the scaffold, not the temple; the seed-time, not the harvest. And if we read aright the signs of the times, our own generation is just such a season of approaching day. Among the preparatory movements which divine Providence is carrying forward, those are not always the mightiest which are the most vaunted. Silent waters undermine the mountain. The dispersion of despised Jews through the Roman empire was a principal means of disseminating the truths of primitive Christianity. And the instruction of those millions who are at this moment babes and youth, appears to some minds not the least in the array of instrumentality for converting mankind to God.

Let us come down from general observations, and narrow the field of vision to our own beloved America. Bright as we are, compared with the nations who are covered by gross darkness, we are not all light. The great mass, from necessity or choice, lie out of the influence of preaching. Even

in our thronged cities, it is notorious, the places of worship would not contain those who are able to attend sabbath services; while in the country, and particularly in the tracts beyond the mountains and 'the great river,' the destitution is subject of hourly complaint. All the energies of education and missions cannot furnish pastors enough to keep up with the amazing increase of the people; and even the unparalleled agency of Sunday Schools, the happiest invention of pious sagacity, is only, like sister schemes of benevolence, arraying forces for another, and we hope, a better age.

Look where you will, and be as sanguine as hope can ever be, you cannot expect either individuals or combinations of men to increase their speed and power beyond a certain mark. It is the law of our limited nature which hems us in. Man is frail, and slow, and mortal. Evidently, therefore, we are called upon to lay out our main strength with such instrumentality as admits of most energetic propulsion, and operates during the longest periods. We address, therefore, the *young*, because their life-time is to be the longest; and with *books*, because these can be most rapidly multiplied. On other methods of action there are great clogs; but the Press is not restrained by such inevitable delay. It is all ready, and full grown, and the way is open before it. Its means are now ample for a great beginning. The material with which it can operate, even in our own language, is this moment extant in ten thousand books and tracts; the accumulated and digested wisdom of all past time. The stereotype plate will yield its half a million of impressions before it ends its work, and the steam press will cast off sheets at the speed of two thousand an hour. The rail-way and the canal are at the printer's door, and the whole country is within a few weeks' reach of the place of manufacture. Scarcely is there a hut on this side of the Mississippi which may not be reached by books, through the shop, the pedler's wagon, or the Sunday School.

It becomes a most serious question then, How shall this channel be kept pure, and made to subserve the interests of the people? How shall it be made to pour a flood upon the public mind?

Let the reader cast his eye over the vast expanse of our territory, and imagine it covered, as it must soon be, by fifty millions, speaking one language; and let him picture to himself every family of all these millions, supplied with the bible, and then with a succession of pleasing and edifying religious works. The prospect is delightful; but it is just

what we aim to accomplish by the production and circulation of Sunday School books. In the way of such a progress as we have imagined, there stand several hinderances. Multitudes cannot read, and unless we move faster in our efforts, multitudes will end their days without this prime art of life. But even where it is possessed, multitudes have no taste for books, either from their having never been allured by pleasing compositions, or from having, through a large part of their days, been detained from all studies by labour or vice. Add to this the fact, that not one household in a thousand has been reached by the kind of books meant; and that the benevolent have not yet placed at the disposal of the disseminators funds for the supply. Consider further, that there are many who can read, and are not utterly without fondness for books, who, nevertheless, from ignorance, stupidity, or prejudice, are not yet disposed to read even the bible, or the best Tracts, still less the larger sorts of books. The Sunday School and the common school are going hand in hand to call forth a reading population; but the Sunday School is doing what the common school often fails to do; it is giving a taste for books. And the American Sunday School Union is doing even more than this, it is giving the books themselves; such books, it may be added, without fear of contradiction, as the world has never seen before. For let any candid man take up the Catalogue of the Union, and look through the titles and descriptions of the books, and say, in what nation or language has such a body of juvenile religious literature ever issued from a single establishment. Even old and tried friends of Sunday Schools will, in many instances, be astonished to find how this Society has fulfilled its trust; and how the energy of authors, compilers, correctors, publishers, printers, and salesmen, has been bending towards this great object.

The publications vary in size from the little 48mo. affair of four leaves, three inches long, to the octavo volume of some hundreds of pages. Here, of a truth, is milk for babes, and meat for men! On enumerating these publications, the inquirer finds they amount to nearly five hundred. And here let the friend of American illumination pause upon this number. Let him calculate the aggregate effect of five hundred books—and every week adds to the number—each of which is multiplied by thousands of copies—each of which copies, by the circulation of the library, is read annually by some forty individuals. Unless the books can be shown to

be bad books, every lover of his kind, looking at the mighty engine, must rejoice with amazement. That they are not bad books, in any sense, it would be needless to say. Even in the sense of pleasing, attractive, entertaining, fascinating books, a large proportion of them are pre-eminently good. And a great point is gained—if not, as the poet said, *every point*, when the *useful* is mingled with the *sweet*. Along with the improvements in printing and engraving, has advanced the art of pleasing. The publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, under the presidency of Lord Brougham, abundantly evince this. The Penny Magazine alone is read by more than a million; and why? The popularity of this and kindred works is easily explained. The subjects treated are those which captivate the common mind. They are treated in a plain, intelligible style. They are embellished with numerous illustrations, cuts and engravings, which go home at once to the adult no less than to the child. They are very cheap, without being at all inelegant. On the contrary, the immense sale enables the publishers to exhibit specimens of wood-engraving, inferior to nothing ever published. They are diversified in their matter, which is broken into short portions. And such is their power, that every English and American Christian ought to pray that they may not become the weapons of infidelity.

Such publications, in the department of religion, are what we need, what the times demand; such, to a certain extent, are the publications of the American Sunday School Union. All the great advantages which are to be derived from visible illustrations are secured by their plans. By this is not meant mere pictures to amuse children; these are good in their place; nor yet fanciful, and often erroneous and degrading effigies of sacred characters, such as, to this day, defile many editions of the bible; but chiefly such cuts or engravings, from wood, copper, steel, or stone, as give a notion of visible existences, such as is not attainable in any other way. If the reader will call at any depository, he will understand what is meant, on examining such books as the "Natural History of the Bible," Nevin's "Biblical Antiquities," "Selumiel," "Elisama," or the life of "Elijah." These, and similar books, have many cuts taken from costly and rare works, in foreign languages, and inaccessible even to most scholars. Some drawings have been made, at great expense, from nature. Objects in the animal and vegetable world are furnished on cards or in small books. Lithographic prints of animals

are taken from the living object, with corresponding lessons. Maps and topographical charts, illustrating the scriptures, have been prepared from the best authorities; they are constantly under the process of correction, and their number is continually multiplying. A method has been also adopted in narrative books, which seems to be original; it is that of giving little fragments of geography needed in the book, in the form of miniature maps, here and there, in the midst of the pages. This prevents the difficulty which young readers have in finding places on a crowded general map. It may be seen exemplified in the *Beloved Disciple*, or the *Life of Elijah*. We must not omit a beautiful quarto volume, containing lithographic views of eight interesting places in the Holy Land. The German work, from which this was taken, was prepared by the late Rosenmueller, and is in few hands in America. In the department of Biblical Antiquities and the history of Missions, there are many engravings in these books which are not to be found in any other publications in the English language. And these are matters which cannot be investigated to advantage without these very helps. All this is doubtless new to a multitude of excellent and learned persons among us, who are not careful to inquire into the beneficent operations of the day; and such facts ought to be more generally made known.

If books are dull, or if they seem to be dull, they fail of their intention. Bad books are, by the art of the enemy, too alluring. Why should good books be repulsive? If the problem were to kill a useful work, as to its real influence, the recipe might be as follows: Take so much matter, and condense it into the smallest space, on the smallest type. Print it on dark almanac-like paper, without margin, and without embellishments. Let it be printed incorrectly, stitched clumsily, bound loosely, and lettered awry. Then set a high price on it, and the adversary has gained his object: the book is *felo-de-se*.

The books of the American Sunday School Union are, so far as is known, excellent in their matter. If errors are pointed out, no delay is permitted in correcting them. Nothing contrary to sound doctrine or morals has been, or will be tolerated, except from the short-sightedness, which is incident to humanity. These publications are for the most part in genuine, pure, simple, and correct English; singularly free from slovenly diction, solecisms, provincialisms, and it is believed to a good degree, Americanisms. It is no

small gift to our country to present a library of juvenile books in pure English. It will be an evil day when our mother-English shall have been broken into dialects; a *patois* for every district; and the longer we can postpone this event, the happier will it be for the union of our states, and for the free course of commerce, learning, and religious benevolence.

There is a charm in a clear and simple style, which affects all classes. It offers no stumbling block to the ignorant and the young; it presents no repulsion to the learned and the fastidious. Great care has evidently been used to secure this excellence.

All this, however, relates to what may be called the mere exterior of these productions. It is not the neatness, either of diction or of form, nor the attractiveness of ornament and illustration, which constitutes their excellence. Other books have the same, and it may be in some cases even higher claims to attention; and hence the fact that the press teems with juvenile literature which gains patronage, and of which successive editions are rapidly sold, to the great emolument of writers and publishers; while too often, what is thus largely diffused, is grossly defective, if not positively injurious. And hence it is that those benevolent persons who have a regard for the rising youth of the land, ought without delay to use means to give wider circulation to moral and religious books for youth, which are in all respects unexceptionable.

The minister, or the teacher, or the parent, who will cause to be read a hundred of these Sunday School books where but one is read now, will be a benefactor to the next generation. This is a method of doing good which the humblest reader of these pages may successfully undertake. The character of the publications should be looked into. If evil, it is time they were quashed; if good, it is time they were scattered widely. That they have not been sold and read more extensively, is owing, in some degree, to their unpretending form. The difference between them and other children's books is not appreciated. There is no patent excellence in these books above a thousand others in the market, and the latent virtue is discerned only in the use. So long as attractive books, unobjectionable, and yet wholly irreligious, are preferred by common readers, adult or juvenile, so long these will have the wider circulation. And the circumstances under which the books of the Sunday School are sold, make it im-

possible for those who dispose of them to engage in mercantile competition. How shall this obstacle be surmounted? Thus: public attention must be directed to these valuable religious books, and wise and good men must allow themselves to take an interest in these humble walks of literature, so far at least as to express, openly and often, a candid judgment on them. In other words, religious people should do that for the cause of Christ, which worldly people do for the love of money. But the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light.

The American Sunday School Union has made a noble beginning. It is only a beginning, and yet they supply reading for every class of people, from the infant that wearies with eight tiny pages, to the enlightened Christian scholar who finds delight in such works as the Life of Mrs. Judson, or the beautiful narratives of Elisama or Selumiel. Can it be said of any other books, issuing from one source, that they are *universal in their adaptation*? A large part of these may be read with profit and satisfaction by the most learned man in America; yet in the same collection are found the A, B, C; the Picture Alphabet, the Primer, and the first lines of infant instruction. In a subsequent page, a word will be offered, in correction of the erroneous opinion that the books of the Union are for *children* only.

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES are the grand instrument of Sunday Schools. To teach the bible, they were founded. To inculcate the bible, is their perpetual effort. To explain, illustrate, and apply the divine truth of the scriptures is their highest and most beloved object. And hence the American Sunday School Union has rightly judged it meet, to expend great labour on this field. To enumerate such of their books as are *scriptural*, would be to copy half the Catalogue. Some are intended to allure to the word of God, to show how beautiful, how touching, how truly entertaining it is. Some explain its difficulties, and lay open its rich promises, and point to its undeveloped predictions. Some illustrate the manners and customs of the east, by descriptions and plates. Great care has been taken to furnish in various forms a key to the Geography and Topography of the bible. Even its Biography has been extracted and digested; and the same may be said of its Natural History; while a Bible Dictionary is in preparation which is meant to be a little Encyclopaedia of scriptural knowledge.

Among the helps to the study of the bible, we do not

observe here any professed *Commentaries*. But scattered up and down among these works are the constituent parts of an admirable commentary, and that in a shape more likely to be useful, than in a formal exposition. And there is one Scripture Help of which the credit is due, and should be given to this Society, namely, the modern and now prevalent system of *Questions on the Bible*. Interrogatories on the mere narratives had, indeed, been used, but the very first model of Questions, eliciting knowledge of *minuter* points of scripture exposition, was furnished by the Sunday School Union. These questions have become almost universal, and, in a multitude of cases, have been imitated in works proceeding from associations or from individuals. It were supererogatory to describe a book used by every family among our readers. But it ought to be remarked, that the utmost care has been bestowed upon these volumes, of which eight have been printed. The whole set has been lately revised, and the stereotype plates have been cast anew, at great expense. Every year has witnessed improvements in the plan and execution; and it is in the plan of the Board to extend these aids to every part of the bible. If the Union had never done more than to introduce and facilitate this thorough method of bible inquiry, by these unpretending books, which we are glad to know are circulating by tens of thousands, they would have conferred a blessing on nations for eternity.

Other books, in this collection, might be named, which bring the reader in other ways to a familiarity with holy writ. These state in simple language the doctrines of Christianity, simplify those things which are obscure, or bring together, under one head, those instructions which are widely scattered in the word of God. All these methods tend to popularize accessible, but neglected truth, and to create and propagate a love for the most interesting volume in the world. It is enough to make any Christian parent's heart leap for joy, to find in the hands of his offspring such works as tend to make holy scripture more familiar to their mind, than, in former ages, it has been to nobles and ecclesiastics. Shall not such books be circulated? No one who has not made it a matter of separate trial, can readily feel how fascinating a single biography, or other story of the bible, may be made, by taking it apart from the matter mingled in the text, and interweaving remark and illustration, so as not to rend the web of history. It is a matter of fact, that persons of education and adult years have found such books as the

Life of David, or *Selumiel*, quite as entertaining and touching as the most popular and pretending performances. The Sunday School possesses many such books; as the lives of Moses and Paul, by the late Dr. Bedell; and of David, Daniel and Elijah, by an unknown, but eminently tasteful and gifted author. To these must be added *John the Baptist*, and the *Beloved Disciple*, and the *First Man*, which are all upon a happy and ingenious plan.

There has scarcely ever been a healthful mind, young or old, to which there was not a special charm in biography; and most will agree with Robert Hall, that "Of all the species of literary composition, perhaps biography is the most interesting." The wisdom of God is evinced in the fact, that the scriptural histories are almost all galleries of single portraits, series of biographies. In addition to these, which are multiplying on the Sunday School shelves, we have the lives of apostles, martyrs, reformers, ministers, missionaries and private men. The life of *Washington*, a necessary book for Americans, has been sanctioned by the late Judge Marshall, and is translated into French, and extensively used as a popular class book. The life of *John Newton* is admirable, and peculiarly adapted to seamen. The life of *Thomason*, and other works in the catalogue, have been reprinted in Bengal. The Memoirs of *Oberlin*, *Franke*, *Spener*, *Mrs. Newell*, *Mrs. Judson*, were prepared with great care expressly for this Society. Add to these, sketches, various in extent, of Melancthon, Knox, Wishart, Lady Jane Grey, Bernard Gilpin, Eliot, Cotton Mather, Edwards, Alleine, Buchanan, Legh Richmond, Obookiah, Catharine Brown, Mrs. Barbara Ewing, besides a great variety of authentic juvenile biography; and you have a very respectable biographical library.

Concerning missions and missionaries, there are more than twenty-five separate books. Concerning the Jews and Judea, there are fourteen. On the important topic of temperance, there are ten; one of which received a prize of a hundred dollars. For apprentices, there are eleven. On the relations of parents and children, twenty-one; on family relations in general, thirteen. On the Sabbath, twelve. But a full enumeration would be tedious. Many of these books are embellished with cuts of great beauty. It is proper, in this enumeration, to mention the periodical publications of the American Sunday School Union. These, at present, are two. The Sunday School Journal, issued twice a month, and the

Youth's Friend, issued once a month. Both are extensively known, and justly prized. Both are well suited to their professed ends. The Journal, not being a receptacle of mere news, or of any controversies, has not that éclat and poignancy which the bad taste of the age craves. We have observed, however, in a very constant and careful perusal of the numbers from the beginning, that it has been conducted with diligence, talent, and sound judgment, and that its original articles, on a variety of topics, have been extracted, often without giving any credit, by many leading journals. The very newest publication of those which have reached us, is the *Union Hymns*; and it appears to be an excellent selection of such verses as may befit the interesting class of persons for whom it has been prepared.

No reader can fail to observe, even from this hasty sketch, that the catalogue directs to books suited for every class of readers. The variety of subjects is very great. We meet with familiar works in reproof of particular vices, or encouraging to particular virtues; and in one form or another presenting to view the whole array of that saving doctrine which stands undisputed among evangelical Christians.

The Church is called upon to furnish for the world two classes of books; the one adapted to little children, or persons so ignorant as to need the same kind of reading; the other adapted to adults, or such youth as, by means of Sunday Schools, possess the intelligence commonly attributed to adults. The American Sunday School Union is supplying both kinds. The *juvenile* department has this manifest advantage, that its stores are available for the use of adults. For though the child cannot understand the man's book, the man can understand the child's. It is a great error of many to pass over these little works with contempt. Which of us has not been gratified and benefited by Mrs. More's tracts, or by the religious fictions of Uncle Philip, or by Mr. Gallaudet's Books on the *Soul*? The other department is more and more attracting the notice of authors. The number of really elevated and able productions, works of ingenuity, profound thought, and research, is increasing rapidly. Many of these will be read with advantage even by the rude and the young. We all like a little effort in our reading. A tract may be too elaborately plain. The direction in which the energy of knowledge works is downward. Even boys and servants are solicitous to read the books of their supposed betters. This should be considered by all who write

for the common mind. We are no more pleased with avowed attempts to come down to the level of our intellect, than we are to be fed with a spoon. True, the contrary fault is the more usual. What Goldsmith said of Johnson is verified in many who write for children; all their little fishes "talk like whales."* Still simplification may be carried to the extent of nausea. And this should be regarded as a fault in writings for either of the above classes. This subject is set in a clear light by an author deservedly esteemed as an authority in such matters. "Children," says Mr. Jacob Abbott, "can understand ordinary language well enough, if the *subject* is within their comprehension, and treated in a manner adapted to their powers." "They learn the meaning of words, not by definitions, but by their connexion in the sentences in which they hear them; and by long practice they acquire an astonishing faculty of doing this." "Perhaps" continues this sensible writer, "some may ask, what harm it will do, to simplify language, when talking to children. It does injury in at least three ways." And he specifies these: (1.) It disgusts young persons to whom it is addressed, and prevents their being interested in what is said. Girls and boys, however young, never consider themselves little children, for they can always look down upon some younger than themselves. They do not like to have their powers underrated. (2.) Children are kept back in learning language, if their teacher makes effort to *come down*, as it is called, to their comprehension in the use of words. "Notice," adds he, "that I say in the *use of* words, for, as I shall show presently, it is absolutely necessary to come down to the comprehension of children in some other respects." (3.) "Perhaps the greatest evil of this practice is, it satisfies the teacher. He thinks he addresses his pupils in the right manner, and overlooks altogether, the real peculiarities, in which the power to interest the young depends. He talks to them in simple language, and wonders why they are not interested. He certainly is *plain* enough." These remarks

* Goldsmith said, that he thought he could write a good fable, mentioned the simplicity which that kind of composition requires, and observed, that in most fables, the animals introduced, seldom talk in character. In the fable of the little fishes, "the skill," said he, "consists in making them talk like little fishes." While he indulged himself in this fanciful reverie, he observed Johnson shaking his sides and laughing. Upon which he smartly proceeded, "Why, Dr. Johnson, this is not so easy as you seem to think; for if you were to make little fishes talk, they would talk like WHALES."—*Boswell*.

are cited, not as applying in all their force to children's *books*, for they primarily refer to oral instructions, but as furnishing a key to the difficulty felt by many who are employed in this field of labour. Books for infants and infantile adults must always be exceedingly plain; but we must not feed the whole generation with such nutriment. And the recent additions to Sunday School libraries, contain many works which no professional man or scholar need cast aside for their simplicity.

We call these Sunday School publications, too exclusively *children's books*, and *little books*. They are not all *children's books*; though of these there is happily a great store, admirably prepared. Many might here be named which are perfectly adapted to the uses of educated youth, accomplished men and women, and profound scholars. Of these several have been named in the preceding pages. And the number is increasing, for the best talent in the church will not long be withheld from this all-important work. Nor are they all *little books*; though for most readers, 'a great book is,' according to the proverb, 'a great evil.' Books of two, three, and five hundred pages, are not too small for the entertainment of a winter's evening.

The American Tract Society, following the example of the Religious Tract Society, of London, has begun to print and circulate *bound volumes* as tracts. The movement is wise and auspicious; we pray that it may go forward with augmented efficacy. There is no rivalry among these sister charities, but that provocation to good works which the scriptures enjoin. *Is it sufficiently considered, that the books of the American Sunday School Union are Religious Tracts?* They are already prepared, ready for purchase and distribution, and adapted in every respect to the wants of the nation. We repeat, there is in most of them nothing which disqualifies them for distribution among adults. On the contrary, those very features which smile on the child, will be the means of attracting and benefiting his elders. Facts prove it; perhaps half the books taken home from Sunday School libraries, by children, are read with avidity by parents, and whole families. Those books which we now intend are also *bound volumes*. And nothing but want of consideration and apathy prevents the immediate circulation of tens of thousands, as religious tracts. There is no reason why associations should not be formed for this very purpose;

or why existing Tract Societies should not adopt this method. Such a patronage would soon double the supply of original productions, and reprints of useful writings.

It is a great recommendation of these books, as suited for general distribution, that they are *cheap*. A pious traveller might, with very little cost, leave one at every stage of his journey. Pious teachers might introduce them for the reading of pupils, or as rewards. Pious householders might have the whole set of larger books as a family library. Of those prepared for ordinary perusal, *two hundred and eighty-six distinct works, handsomely bound, of uniform size, may be bought for fifty-two dollars*. "It is pertinent to inquire how many thousands of parents might place in their dwellings such a library; embracing matter adapted to all ages, from the youngest child that can read, to the parents and domestics of the household!

"How many thousand little companies of youth might join and purchase a complete library for their amusement and instruction!

"How many thousand sets might be used in public and private select schools, and in common schools; in apprentices' libraries; by men of property, for gratuitous distribution; by ministers and pious visitors of the poor and the rich, for the comfort and benefit of the families and individuals with whom they are called to mingle!"

It almost always happens that, after a few years, the library of a Sunday School becomes somewhat uninteresting to the scholars. The books are worn, mutilated, or at least familiar to the eye. The elder scholars complain that they find nothing new. We take this occasion to recommend a remedy for the evil. When a library has been some years in use, let it be presented to some destitute school or neighbourhood; and let a new library be bought, to replace it. Thus the number of books in circulation will be doubled; an exhibition of beneficence will be made which will have a kindly influence on both parties; and the new library of the benefactors will be invested with the charm of novelty, even though many of the books be the same. Even among the long tried and earnest friends of the institution there has been a want of united and vigorous action towards the wide diffusion of the publications. Too much reliance has been placed on the agency of the Sunday School *library*. The library is a noble engine; it was a happy thought, and its benefits can never be reckoned up in this world. For the respective

schools in which it acts, it is a fountain of truth and happiness; but for the country, teeming with a vast population, native and foreign, ignorant, vicious, and becoming more and more so at a rate which outstrips our sleepy march, we need more. We need a particular endeavour to put books into the hands of a million of people, who will infallibly read something; and whom we wish to read something good. Where, except from Tract Societies and Sunday Schools, can we get such reading for them? Let the benevolent and wealthy inquire whether a new attempt, of mighty force, is not demanded, to throw into the way of perishing thousands the truths of religion. Let the individual reader of this page—conscious that he has not done all that he might have done for Christ—pause and inquire. How many of such books can I buy and give away? Or how many persons can I persuade to supply their families? Or in what other way can I supply useful knowledge, at so cheap a rate, to my fellow countrymen? Here are trains of instruments all set, ready to move, suited to move well, competent to move powerfully; and the lever is put into the very hands of good men; and yet there is no advancement. It is to remedy this; to awaken the minds of those who are really asking the path of duty, that this recommendation of the Sunday School books is now offered.

The fact that Christians of several evangelical denominations are united in this institution, gives rise to certain peculiarities in its publications. The following extract from the By-laws of the Board of Officers and Managers, will show the ground of public confidence that the books will never become the organ of any sect:

“The Committee of Publication shall consist of eight members, from at least four different denominations of Christians, and not more than two members from any one denomination. They shall select, read, revise, and prepare for the press, such books and other works as they shall deem proper to be published by the society, and shall order their size and style of execution, and cause the first edition to be printed, published, and fix the price of the same.”

But while it is thus rendered certain that, without a singular and unlikely mal-administration or unfaithfulness, nothing sectarian will be taught; there is, in the same proportion, a yielding on the part of each denomination that its special distinctions shall, in this work of benevolence, be kept out of view. And on one important subject, the Sunday School

Union has followed the precedent of all the reformed churches in their respective manuals for juvenile instruction. We mean the subject of *Church Government*, which, so far as we remember, is not touched in any *catechism* of any Protestant church. But this, and all other, omitted, or, more properly, *reserved* topics, are left to be propounded and inculcated by every church within its own limits. And by issuing the catechisms of these several churches, for their use, and by furnishing *Questions* on doctrinal books, which must infallibly lead to the inculcation of that very doctrine which the teacher believes to be found in the passage under examination, the utmost facility is really given for the propagation of the very tenets which the different patrons of the books desire to be taught. It is moreover very unjust to charge this Society with indefinite exhibition of gospel truths; as will appear to any one who will look at the eighth volume of the Union Questions. We, therefore, deny the proposition below in all its parts:

“That the advantages of Sunday Schools may be extended to all classes of the community, we have permitted the catechism of our church to be superseded by a system of Bible Questions, prepared with the express design of merging all denominational distinctions in a general and indefinite exhibition of the doctrines of the gospel, which will offend nobody.”—*From a religious paper of Nov. 19, 1835.*

The Questions on the Bible do not supersede the catechism of any church. They are not meant to do so. They have no tendency to do so. In point of fact, they have not done so, except by the culpable neglect of individual pastors or teachers. And we know of no places where the study of doctrinal and distinctive catechisms is more revived than those where the Union Questions have been used from the beginning. No intelligent teacher ever used them, without finding it easy and almost unavoidable, to introduce the very tenets which his church professes. And it is a signal excellence of the Question system.

Latitudinarian views of doctrine have been feared by some good men. Such jealousy is needed, for the preservation of every separate church organization. By all reflecting men, every church is considered as competent to point out what and how much doctrine is a term of its fellowship, or a qualification for its ministry. The American Sunday School Union, like the Tract Society, has observed a studied silence upon those points of doctrine and order in which evan-

gical sects differ. Now, of this no sect can justly complain; inasmuch as no one sect can justly ask the propagation of its peculiar tenets from any other; and because each church is left to do for itself, and alone, exactly what it would have done if no union of Christians of various churches had ever arisen. This is no more than allowing, that saving doctrine may be taught by one who does not betray himself as a Presbyterian, an Episcopalian, a Baptist or a Methodist. It is no more than a division of labour in a great cause; setting apart one set of duties to be performed by each denomination, because such denomination alone can or will perform them to its own satisfaction; and setting apart another set of duties, to be performed by members of several denominations in concert, because they can, in concert, do immensely more than all can do singly. This is a fair defence of the cardinal principle of the American Sunday School Union, to all minds which do not conceive such a severance of fundamental from other truths to be intrinsically wrong. Such minds may be ingeniously convinced; but their action must always be trammelled. It is believed that the Union has never wittingly invaded the prejudices of any evangelical denomination. Charges of this kind have been made; ignorantly or wantonly; but they have neutralized one another as coming from opposite directions. And some charges, of mutilation or corruption in standard books, were so promptly, honestly and satisfactorily cleared, even to minds akin to the accusers, that candour ought long ago to have prompted a retraction of them; instead of which, we lament to see that they have been reiterated.

It may be presumed that few evangelical Christians of our day, if they wished to send a minister to preach a sermon in a given spot in the mountains, would hesitate to despatch for this purpose, a Legh Richmond, an Andrew Fuller, a Richard Watson, an Edward Payson, or a Samuel Davies; especially if each of these good men should voluntarily engage to avoid the topics on which they differed. Now, to be consistent, the same evangelical Christians ought not to hesitate, where they cannot send the teacher, to send his *teachings*, or what is equivalent, books containing the same. This is what the Sunday School and the Tract Society do. Let them be rejected when they do otherwise.

These remarks began with the subject of the world's conversion to God. It is a topic which will reign over the mind of the Church until the great trumpet shall sound.

Closely connected with it, as a favoured instrument, is the preparation and promulgation of good books. Such are the books now recommended. Like their authors, they have defects, errors, and blemishes; but against these there are strong checks, and by the daily pruning, even of enemies, they are approaching the purity and fulness of truth. They are, blessed be God, flowing out in a widening stream. However undervalued by many, and overlooked by most, at home, they are finding their level abroad, and dispersing themselves to the people of many tongues. A number of them have been already reprinted in England, by the Religious Tract Society. Others have been reprinted in India, and orders have been received, very recently, from Calcutta, for a number of complete sets, comprising several thousand volumes. There is reason to expect a large circulation in that city and in the interior of India. They are gone, also, in large numbers, to various mission-stations, in all the continents, even to distant China. Some have been translated into German and French; one in Modern Greek, and some are now translating in the very metropolis of France.

Here we cannot but call to mind the indications of Providence, with regard to the language which it is our happy lot to own as our mother-tongue. Leaving out of view the vast extent of the American continent and islands over which it prevails; we see, at a glance, that the progress of British arms, and the spreading of British colonies in Africa, Asia, Australia, and many remote islands, is rapidly making the English tongue the predominant dialect of civilization. The Greek once spread itself thus, after Alexander's conquests, and its mighty wave afforded a course for the Septuagint, the original New Testament, and the holy effusions of martyrs and fathers. In this was manifested a wise and gracious provision. The Latin spread itself over Europe and North Africa, and in like manner conveyed, for ages, the Christian doctrine of a church not yet all corrupt. And now the English language, in which are embalmed the noblest specimens of genius and learning in alliance with piety, a language spoken by the two great nations who are honoured more by their zeal in propagating the gospel, than by all their wealth and force, is carrying its blessed conquests over a large part of the human race. Thronged India, besides its thousands claiming British descent, has a mighty population of natives, who will soon use the English tongue. We cannot but regard the new progress of our language in

the East as one of the most remarkable signs of the times, in reference to the progress of religion among men. It is known, that since the rise of British power in India, the Persian has continued, to a large extent, to be the medium of intercourse in judicial proceedings, and in diplomatic and official correspondence. This is now to be in a great degree superseded by the English, and the effects of the change we need not stop to detail. "English in India," says the Rev. Alexander Duff, of Calcutta, "holds the same place which the Latin and Greek did in Britain at the period of the reformation. And English, in India, must be the medium of all knowledge to those who receive the higher range. It is the lever, which as an instrument, is to move all Hindostan." We learn several valuable facts from this gentleman's statements. Owing to the substitution of English for Persian, a sensation has been produced. From the Burman empire to the furthest west, there has been a demand for English books and teachers. Even in the court of Delhi, the favourite son of the present representative of the great Mogul is himself studying English; and a number of similar instances are given. From our own American Sunday School Union, books have been loudly demanded, as the only works extant of the right sort, and not for *children* only, but for the *young men* of Hindostan. So soon as English takes the same place in judicial affairs, which it begins to do in political, India will be opened to a flood of gospel light. The fate of multitudes will be dreadful, if left to the native literature; and, on the other hand, if American Christians, by tracts and books, duly apply the engine put within their reach, they may facilitate incalculably the progress of the Church.

Thus it is, that from writing of the infant primer, and the picture book, we have strayed into a tract, the most sublime which can be presented to human minds; the return of all mankind to God. The two things are connected. Would that all professing Christians could be induced to consider it. In the revolution of years, it may prove to have been the intended work of the American Sunday School Union, to carry its operations, not merely to the Valley of the Mississippi, or the western plains, but to the whole unconverted world.

à l'heure sainte

- ART. IX.—1. *Doctrine Chrétienne en huit Sermons, publiés à l'occasion du Jubilé de la Réformation, et précédés d'une Adresse à ses Concitoyens, par Barthelemy Bouvier. Pasteur de l'Eglise de Genève.*—pp. 366, 8vo. imprimée à Genève par A. Cherbuliez, libraire.
2. *Jubilé de la Réformation. Service Préparatoire, Sermon et service d'actions de grâces. Par Barthelemy Bouvier, Pasteur de l'Eglise de Genève.*—pp. 72, 8vo. Genève, A. Cherbuliez, libraire.
3. *Christ Glorifié, à l'occasion du Jubilé de la Réformation célébré à Genève, le 23 Aout, 1835, Par un ancien Docteur de l'Université de Berlin. Recommandé à l'attention du peuple Juif.*—pp. 34, 8vo. Neuchâtel, Imprimerie de Petitpierre et Prince.
4. *Paroles de Jubilé, 1835.*—pp. 35, 8vo. Genève, imprimerie de P. A. Bonnant.
5. *Le Retour de L'Arche et le Réveil du Peuple aux Jours de Samuel. Sermon sur 1 Samuel vii. Par M. Gaussen.* Genève, Mme S. Guers, libraire.—pp. 63, 8vo.
6. *Le Jubilé de la Réformation. Histoires d'Autrefois.*—pp. 256, 12mo. Genève, chez A. Cherbuliez, libraire.
7. *Farel, Froment, Viret, Réformateurs Religieux au XVI. Siècle. Par Charles Chenevière.*—pp. 321, 8vo. Genève, 1835.

No recent event of a religious character has attracted more notice on the continent of Europe, than the celebration of the third Jubilee of the Reformation of Geneva. On the 23d of August, 1835, the third century closed since that illustrious epoch occurred. And the centennial return of that day, has been celebrated in such a manner, as to make it worthy of a distinct and full notice in our pages. The epoch itself is of a nature the most interesting to the protestant portion of Christendom. And the circumstances and facts, in relation to this recent fête in honour of it, are such as to afford a better opportunity than any other which has hitherto occurred for discovering the progress which evangelical religion is making towards a recovery of its former ascendancy in the west of Europe.

Before we enter upon an account of this Jubilee, as it has been termed, we propose to give some account of the Reformation at Geneva, and the history of the church there,

subsequently to that point of time which marks the dawning of the light of truth upon so large a part of Europe. A review of this portion of history cannot but convey many important lessons, which ought to be instructive to the friends of truth in all future times.

Luther began his attack upon the abuses of the Roman Catholic Church in 1517; but in the year preceding, Zwinglius had begun to preach the pure gospel in Switzerland. On the 1st of January, 1519, he began to preach the gospel at Zurich. In 1525, the Reformation triumphed at Zurich; in 1526, at Coire; in 1527, at St. Gall; in 1528, at Berne, under the labours of Haller; in 1529, at Basle, under those of Oecolampadius; in 1530, at Neuchâtel, under those of Farel; in 1532, it had established its dominion in Orbe, Payerne, and Grandson in the canton de Vaud, but was rejected at Lausanne, and was not victorious there until four years afterwards, when Viret was the instrument of God in that good work.

But in Geneva no movement in favour of the Reformation, which was thus breaking out in every part of Switzerland, occurred until the the year 1532. Much had indeed been said respecting its near approach to that city. Reports of the doctrines taught by the Reformers, and of the astonishing changes which had taken place wherever they had laboured—at Berne, at Basle, at Neuchâtel, and still nearer, at Orbe, Payerne, &c.—had reached and penetrated the city, agitated the minds of the people, and excited the fears of the priests. And many who were disgusted with the vices and the insolence of the priests were desirous of a change of religion.

In the month of June in that year, during a fête of the Catholic Church, a placard was put up in conspicuous places, by the priests, announcing indulgences to those who offered certain prayers to the Virgin, made certain acts homage to the relics of the saints, &c. This occasioned much conversation among the people at that juncture. The excitement was much increased by another placard posted up on the walls of St. Peter's, the Cathedral Church of the city, offering pardon to those who truly repented of their sins, and believed on the Lord Jesus Christ! This was the first movement in behalf of the Reformation. Great excitement ensued on that day, the 9th of June, and a dispute, followed by blows, took place between some of the officers and priests of the church, and John Goulaz, who had posted up the second

placard, and his friends. In this affray, swords were drawn, and one Wernly, a canon of the church of St. Peter, was wounded.

In the succeeding month of September, Farel and his friend Saunier arrived at Geneva and began to preach the doctrines of the Reformation. The former was a native of Gap, in Dauphiny, a province of France. He was born in 1489, of a rich and noble family. At an early age he was sent to Paris to prosecute his studies in the sciences, in which he distinguished himself by his success. Soon, however, his attention was turned to the study of the sacred scriptures; and with eagerness embraced the doctrines of the Reformation. He was afterwards appointed a professor in the college of Le Moine, where he continued for a short time. From Paris he went to Meaux; his soul burning with a desire to preach the gospel. From thence he was forced to depart on account of the opposition which was made to the new doctrines which he preached. He went first to Strasburg, and thence to Basle, where he openly preached the gospel in 1524. At the solicitation of the inhabitants, he went to Montbeliard, now in France, but then appertaining to the Duchy of Wurtemberg. There he preached the gospel more than a year. From that city he went to Strasburg again, where he preached a short time to a congregation of French refugees. In the latter part of the year 1526, he went to join Haller, at Berne, and was by him sent to reform Aigle, a city which was under the government of the powerful canton of Berne. Here his labours, which were first those of a schoolmaster, were crowned with great success. After two years he left Aigle entirely won to the doctrines of the gospel, and went to carry the torch of the Refomation through Morat, Orbe, Grandson, Avenche, Lausanne, Pay-erne, the country around Lake Biemme, Neuchâtel, &c. Every where he braved the greatest dangers. Several times his life was exposed to imminent peril. This was especially the case at Orbe, and Vallengin. At the latter place, he was dragged before an image of the Virgin, and commanded to kneel. But he steadfastly refused, saying, "that images ought not to be the objects of our worship, but God, whom it is necessary to worship in spirit and in truth." Upon this, he was struck and severely wounded. But still he went forward preaching the gospel from city to city. When he could not gain access to the churches, he preached in private houses, or, what was quite as common, in the streets. Every-

where the Lord went with him. His voice was loud and strong, his manner bold and energetic, and his temper quick and warm; and although his ardour sometimes carried him into measures which were not always wise, especially in his youth, yet by the blessing of God upon an honest and devoted purpose, he was generally preserved from what was very injurious, and almost all his attempts were successful.

Returning from one of his preaching journeys, in the Valleys of Piedmont, with his friend Saunier, and also Peter Olivétan (who first translated and published the bible in the French language, in 1535), Farel took Geneva in his route, and spent a few days there in September, 1532, as has already been mentioned. His preachings soon arrested attention, and many came to hear him at the tavern where he lodged. But he and his friend Saunier were speedily summoned before the Grand Vicar. As they went through the streets, they were surrounded by a vast crowd of people, who treated them with the greatest insult, crying out, "These are dogs! See the dogs going by!" When arrived at the council, Farel desired to be allowed to defend his doctrine by the Holy Scriptures, as he had been assured by two syndics would be the case. But scarcely had he entered, when he was officially addressed as follows: "Whence comest thou? And what hast thou come to do in our city?" "I am sent of God to announce His word," replied Farel, with calmness and dignity. "Whence comest thou, thou wicked devil of a Farel?" replied all the canons of the Church,— "What art thou going to do here and there, perverting the whole earth?" "I am not a devil," replied Farel: "I preach Jesus Christ crucified, who died for our sins, and is risen for our justification, so that whosoever believeth in him shall have eternal life; but whosoever believeth not shall be damned. For this end I am sent of God our good Father, an ambassador for Jesus Christ, compelled to preach the gospel to those who will hear me, and I attempt nothing, save to strive that all may receive it. I am here before you, prepared to render a reason of my faith, if it please you to hear me patiently." At these words, one of the judges arose and cried aloud, "He has blasphemed, we have no need of witnesses. He deserves to die." "He has blasphemed," cried they all,— "to the Rhone! to the Rhone! It is better that this wicked Luther (Lutheran) should die, than that the people should be troubled. Strike him! Strike him!" And all rushed upon him, and beat him. One of the servants of the grand Vicar fired a

pistol at him, but it burst and injured no one. But one of the syndics, indignant at this shameful outrage, with much difficulty, rescued Farel, and succeeded in carrying him back to the hotel where he lodged. On the next day the reformer received an order to depart from the city; which he was compelled to obey.

Thus ended the first attempt to carry the Reformation into Geneva; and certainly the prospect was any thing but encouraging. Yet Farel did not rest. He returned to Grandson, and engaged a devoted young man from Dauphiny, named Froment, to go to Geneva and preach the gospel. He came secretly on the 3d of November. He found the few friends of the truth so cast down and timid that he despaired of being able to do any thing, and set out to depart. But being stung by conscience for his cowardice, he returned and advertised that he would open a school at the Golden Cross, where he lodged, and engaged to teach all that would come, old and young, male and female, to read and write in one month. But few people at this time could read, at Geneva, or any where else. As an inducement he stated that he should charge nothing for his pains, and that he would also act the part of a physician in some cases. At this time, Anthony Froment was about twenty-two or twenty-three years of age. He was a man of fine talents, agreeable manners, and ardent piety. Soon the number of pupils was very great. Parents and children came, and learned rapidly. In addition to instructing them in the art of reading and writing, Froment taught them the word of God. He read and expounded the sacred scriptures to crowds of scholars and others who came to hear him. The intelligence soon spread through the city. At the same time, a Catholic priest of the name of Bocquet, came to Geneva and preached in a very evangelical manner. Those who were beginning to take an interest in true religion, flocked together to hear him, and went from his sermons to hear Froment's reading and exposition of the bible. In this way, notwithstanding the hatred and opposition of the priests, the doctrines of the Reformation began to spread in the city. The priests became greatly incensed, and the Vicar of the Madelaine (one of the churches), undertook to confute Froment's errors as he called them. The last day of the year (1532) was appointed for the public dispute. When they met, instead of reading from the bible, he read extracts against Froment's doctrines, out of an old Catholic book called *De Lyra*. Upon this, the people cried out, "Re-

fute Froment by the words and writings of God, not by your De Lyra." Great confusion took place. The priests and their partisans drew their swords, the bells were rung, and it was only by the prompt interposition of the civil authorities that the tumult was calmed, and the crowd dispersed. Froment was forbidden to preach any more. But the next day after the sermon of Bocquet, the people in crowds went to the Golden Cross to hear Froment, and as he expounded the word to them, they cried out, "To the Molard, to the Molard! We will hear him preach there." So they moved away to the Molard, an open space, where public meetings often took place. Froment having mounted the bench of a fishmonger, and commenced with a fervent and earnest prayer to God in behalf of the people, preached the gospel at the Molard. Soon the messenger of the Council came to command him to cease. But Froment feeling his heart full of love to the souls of the poor ignorant people around him, believed that he ought to obey God rather than man, and continued his sermon. Then came the priests with arms. Upon this, Claude Bernard, one of the friends of Froment, made him descend and retire from the crowd. For some weeks he was concealed, passing from house to house, sometimes as a weaver, and sometimes as an apothecary. Finally, finding it impossible to continue longer in the city, he left it, and returned to Farel. But the word of God took root, and all the ordinances of the government could not prevent its growth.

Upon the departure of Froment, those who had embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, were again left without a teacher, excepting Bocquet the evangelical Catholic priest, who was compelled soon after to retire also. But in this emergency they met at each other's houses, read the scriptures, exhorted, and prayed. And their Lord and Saviour was with them. The number of those who embraced the doctrines of the Reformation constantly increased. In the month of February, 1533, they chose one of their number named Guérin, to act as their minister and to administer the Holy Sacrament to them. In that blessed ordinance they devoted themselves to the Lord, and held delightful communion with each other. And they dwelt together in brotherly love.

But they were soon called to take up the cross and follow Christ, and in this respect, also, they resembled the early Christians, who had to break bread from house to house, and were exposed to persecution at every step. Soon after this,

Guérin was banished from the city (afterwards he became a minister of the gospel at Neuchâtel), and the little band was often attacked and exposed to death. The state of things in this city soon became horrible. The little band of Reformers armed themselves and acted on the defensive. They had at their head Claude Bernard, Baudichon, and others, who were men of great courage. The house of Baudichon, in the street des Allemands, was their rendezvous. Matters soon came to a crisis.

Geneva had long been under the dominion of the Duke of Savoy. But a few years before the Reformation, it had shaken off his yoke and formed an alliance with the independent Cantons of Berne and Fribourg. The territory of Geneva extended but little beyond the walls of the city. And as what is now the Canton de Vaud was then mostly under the sway of Savoyards, as well as Gex and all the surrounding country, Geneva was environed with enemies. But Berne and Fribourg were powerful friends. Now, it so was ordered that Berne embraced the Reformation, whilst Fribourg remained Catholic. The people of these two Cantons soon began to sympathize with the state of things in Geneva. Berne espoused the cause of the little band of Reformers; whilst Fribourg took that of the Catholics. This greatly embarrassed the government of Geneva, and compelled it to do nothing more than endeavour (probably the best thing which it could do) to maintain the public tranquillity.

But on the 25th of March, 1533, the government of Berne, at the secret request of the little band of Reformers at Geneva, wrote a letter to the authorities of that city, which created the greatest excitement among the Catholics, and placed the Reformers in jeopardy. On the 27th, two hundred Catholics, armed, appeared before the Council and demanded the punishment of the "Lutherans," or rather, their banishment from the city. The Council would do nothing more than punish the disorderly. The next day the infuriated Catholics assembled, in arms, at the Cathedral of St. Peter, whilst the Reformers met prepared to fight for their lives, at the house of Baudichon. Every thing betokened a bloody affray. But it was prevented by the Fribourg merchants of the city, who, together with the syndics, went from one party to the other, and induced them to lay down their arms and give hostages. This truce only lasted during the month of April, for, on the 4th of May, (the Sabbath) a dispute occurred between some Catholics and Re-

formers, who were walking in the evening on the public walks. Soon it increased. *Wernly* appeared among them and urged on the quarrel. The bells sounded the alarm, and fifteen hundred men, of both sides, rushed to the Molard. The night was dark, and the confusion was great. But the syndics at length succeeded in getting the people to disperse. *Wernly* was killed by some one. His death was warmly resented by Fribourg, as he was a native of that Canton, and not content with the death of his murderer, they demanded the punishment of the officers who were present to quell the riot. *Wernly's* brother came with eighty Friburgers and settled at the village of Gaillard, to attack, on all opportunities, the inhabitants of Geneva who might pass that way.

On the first of July, of this year, the Bishop of Geneva, who was also the Prince of the city, returned, after being absent several years. But he was soon found engaged in exciting tumults, and was driven out by Baudichon and such as loved good order. Towards the close of this year, a Catholic Doctor, of the name of Furbity, came from Montmélian to preach, during the advent, against the Reformation. After he had finished his first discourse in St. Peter's, Froment, who had secretly entered the city, arose and refuted all that he had said, and, a tumult arising, he retired and again left the city. This discourse of Furbity occasioned much trouble. For as he had in it attacked the Germans, Berne demanded, as the price of her continued friendship, his punishment, the return of the Protestant ministers, and the payment of a large sum of money which Geneva owed her. And, at the same time, she actually sent back Farel, Froment, and, with them, Viret, who began to preach first in private houses and afterwards in the streets. Fribourg of course opposed, and demanded just the contrary. The Council knew not what to do. They ordered Furbity to defend his sermon before Farel and Viret. This led to no good issue, except that he had to admit that, in some points, in following the church, he had spoken against the scriptures. In the following February, a bloody affray was occasioned by some priests, in arms, attacking some citizens, and killing one of them. The murderers were arrested. With them were found papers written by the Bishop and the Duke of Savoy, proposing to the priests and their partisans, a change of the government and the reduction of the city under the dominion of Savoy. These things excited great indignation, and hastened the downfall of the authority of the priests and the

Catholic religion. The murderer was beheaded, and Furbity was ordered to retract, from the pulpit, some things which he had advanced, and, in default of so doing, he was kept in prison two years.

The year 1534 opened with many difficulties for Geneva. Fribourg was about to break off its alliance; the Duke of Savoy was in open war against it; the Bishop, though out of the city, was exerting all his influence among his partisans to overthrow the government, and to quench the incipient flame of pure religion; for which purpose he commanded, on the 1st of January, that the people should not read the scriptures, but should burn all the copies which were in the French and German languages! But the Lord interposed, through the instrumentality of the government of Berne, which sent ambassadors to urge the protection of Farel and the other preachers of the Reformation. At their instance, the convent of the Franciscans was given up to them to preach in, and there the gospel was thenceforth regularly proclaimed. The alliance of Fribourg now ceased. On the 24th of May, the day of Pentecost, the Reformers celebrated the Holy Supper at the convent of the Franciscans with great joy. From this period the Reformation advanced rapidly. Many Catholics, even many of the priests, embraced it. Still its ministers could preach only in the convent of the Franciscans, in private houses, and in the streets.

Great danger to Geneva now arose from without. The Duke of Savoy and the Bishop, who had retired to Chamberry, combined for the purpose of capturing the city. They had many secret friends in it, with whom it was agreed that the attempt should be made on the evening of the 31st of July. The enemies within the city were to get possession of the arms and to open the gates that night; whilst those from without were to march in and destroy all the "Lutherans" and their friends. Eight thousand men assembled in the neighbourhood. But the plot was discovered by the vigilant magistrates. The chief of the traitors was punished, and the greater portion of the malcontents were forced to quit the city and join the Duke and the Bishop. And now preparations were made for open war, which was likely to be terrible for Geneva, feeble and poor as she then was. But Berne and Neuchâtel, and several of the small towns of what is now called the Canton de Vaud, promised succour; whilst the Genevese themselves neglected nothing which could enable them to make a resolute defence. They destroyed their

suburbs, and collected all the inhabitants within the walls of the city proper. Meanwhile, Farel, Froment and Viret went on preaching the truth with great boldness.

Peter Viret was the only one of the Reformers of Geneva who was a native of Switzerland. He was born at Orbe in 1511. His father was a dresser of cloth. Viret, at a very early age, displayed that sweet and amiable disposition which characterized him throughout life, and talents of the first order. He was sent, whilst very young, to Paris to prosecute his studies. There he became acquainted with Farel and Olivétan, and there he first learned and embraced the doctrines of the Reformation. It appears that he was awhile, indeed, a pupil of Farel at the college of Le Morne. Upon his return to his native village, he found Farel there preaching the gospel, and was by him constrained to enter the ministry. This he did when scarcely twenty years of age, in 1531, and had the happiness of seeing his father and mother, and many others of his relations, converted under his ministry. From being naturally timid, he became exceedingly courageous in the work of the Lord, and went from village to village proclaiming the gospel, being often exposed to very great danger. On one occasion, as he was going to Payerne to preach, he was waylaid by a priest and received a severe blow from a sword, which left him senseless a long time in the road. Fortunately the wound did not prove mortal. But though he recovered, he did not cease, until death, to suffer in health from this injury. In 1553, as we have already mentioned, he came with Farel and Froment to Geneva, and, with them, was indefatigable in the work of the Lord during the two or three years which he spent there. Indeed, he was probably more beloved than any other of the Reformers by the inhabitants of that city.

Under the preaching of Farel, Viret and Froment, the Reformation at Geneva made much progress during 1534 and 1535. The popular feeling changed, and the majority of the Councils were on their side, but they very prudently suffered themselves to follow the wishes of the people. But while many embraced the Reformation from love to the truth, it is certain that many others did so from a desire to get rid of the authority of the priests. These persons, who were very numerous, soon gave the preachers of the gospel great trouble. They were constantly insulting the priests, interrupting the Catholic worship, breaking the heads of the images, &c. &c. This conduct exasperated the

Catholics. Many retired from the city and joined the enemies without, whilst others remained as enemies of the state within, and comparatively few of them thenceforth became true converts to the gospel. Many of those who left Geneva assembled at what was called the Château de Peney, two leagues from that city, on the banks of the Rhone, and having fortified that post, became a source of terror to the Genevese. They were, indeed, a lawless horde of brigands, who for more than a year and a half, did much mischief, murdering every Protestant who fell into their hands. An affecting instance of this kind occurred in the case of a Peter Gondet, of St. Cloud, who fell into their hands on his way to Geneva, where he had hoped to enjoy in safety the liberty of serving God according to the gospel, which he had recently embraced, and for which he had to fly for his life. It was not until February, 1536, that Peney was captured and destroyed, and that its occupants were dispersed.

In the spring of 1535, an attempt was made by a female servant of Claude Bernard, with whom Farel, Froment and Viret lodged, to poison these devoted Reformers. The instigators of this horrible wickedness were discovered to be a Catholic canon and a priest. Fortunately only Viret ate of the poisonous dinner, and he, although greatly injured, escaped death. During the season of lent this year, the truth made great progress. Immediately after that event John Bernard, a man of great wealth and influence, from being a stanch Catholic, became a Protestant, and like his brothers, Claude and Louis, was zealous in aiding the Reformation. For this purpose he proposed to the Council, the holding of a public debate on certain theses which embraced the great points at issue between the Catholics and the Reformers. The Council agreed to the proposal, and a debate of four weeks' continuance took place at the *Auditoire* of the convent of the Franciscans de Rive, between *Caroli*, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and *Chappuis*, a Dominican Friar, of Geneva, on one side, and John Bernard, Farel, Viret, and Froment on the other. It lasted from the 20th of May, to the 24th of June, and ended in the complete triumph of the principles of the Reformation. *Caroli* and *Chappuis* renounced the Catholic faith, and embraced that of the Reformation. After this, the Reformation was in fact established in Geneva. The Reformers soon began to preach in St. Gervais, one of the largest churches; then in the Madelaine; and, finally,

in St. Peter's. This was all done without the expressed consent of the Council, but through the overwhelming urgency of the people. Matters soon arrived at such a point, that Farel, accompanied by Viret and the leading Reformers, appeared before the Council of two hundred,* on the 10th of August, 1535, and demanded of them a decision in favour of the Reformation. "I and my colleagues," said he, "are ready to meet death in behalf of the truth, and willingly to receive it, if any one can show that either in the pulpit or in the debate, we have said any thing contrary to the holy scriptures." The Council, after having demanded of the priests whether they had any reply to make, and upon their saying that they only wished to live as their fathers had done, proceeded to decide by a large majority in favour of the Reformation, and ordered the suspension of the mass, which took place on the 12th. And on the 27th of the same month the mass was definitely abolished by an edict.†

Thus after a little more than three years from the posting up of the placard of Goulaz, the Reformation was established at Geneva. But much, very much remained to be done. The city was to be reformed in heart and in morals, as it had nominally been in doctrine, or rather the outward profession of it. The people were generally poor and dissolute in manners. Almost every thing relating to the forming of good laws on the part of the state, and to the promotion of knowledge and pure religion among the people was still to be done. But Farel set himself resolutely to work. His first care was to establish an hospital for the wounded and infirm soldiers. Then he commenced the work of forming schools, which were greatly needed. But most of his time was employed in preaching, which he did daily. Several times a week, the Council and other officers of the government attended his sermons in the morning, which were, on those occasions at six o'clock! He was at this time deprived of his fellow-labourer Viret.

After the Reformation had been established by law at Ge-

* The government of Geneva at this time, and long afterwards, was this: A small council and several syndics formed the Executive of the State: a council of two hundred acted in certain occasions, and had much legislative power: and lastly, as the final resort, was the popular assembly of all the citizens.

† The Roman Catholic religion was abolished in reality by the Council of two hundred on the 10th of August, old style. The fête of the Jubilee was celebrated this year on the 23d of the month, as being the nearest *Sabbath* to the 20th day.

neva, Viret thought he might better subserve the interests of the kingdom of God by going to labour in other cities where the Reformation had made but little progress. He first went to Neuchâtel; thence to Lausanne, where he preached the gospel until 1559, when he returned to Geneva (which he had often visited in the mean time, and where his labours had done great good during these visits), where he spent nearly two years. Thence, on account of his health, he went to Nismes in France, where he preached some time, and afterwards at Montpellier, Toulouse, and Lyons. At Lyons his labours for three years were very successful. Driven thence by persecution he went to Orange, then to Pau, and, finally, to Orthès, where he delivered lectures in theology during four or five years, and died in 1571, at the age of sixty years.

But to return from this digression. The word of the Lord grew in that city notwithstanding the opposition which was made by the ungodly, who, under the name of Libertines, greatly resisted the truth during more than eighteen years. The Catholics who remained gave much trouble, until at length the government adopted such rigorous measures, that the greater part of them were compelled to retire from the city. This the government was forced to do on political, rather than religious grounds. For these persons refused to be quiet, and were found plotting against the government itself. This compelled the magistrates to adopt severe measures. One of these was the sending away of the sisters of Sainte Claire, who not only had resisted all attempts to convert them to the faith, but opposed the government in every way, and lent what aid they could, by encouragement, to insurrection. At least this is charged upon them, and the proof seems quite evident. At any rate the Council thought themselves constrained to this act of intolerance. We know not whether it will be considered any mitigation of this ungracious conduct, that they and the syndics most gallantly gave the ladies the arm, and accompanied them as far as the bridge over the Arve, just beyond the limits of the city. The chronicles of those times give a very amusing description of this scene, which, however, did not satisfy the sisters.

The latter part of the year 1535, and the former part of 1536, constitute a memorable and mournful portion of the history of Geneva. Within, the city was distracted by the conflict of light with darkness; whilst without its walls

lay the army of the Duke of Savoy, and his allies. At one time it seemed as if the city must fall a prey to the enemy, or be destroyed by famine. Every effort was made by Farel and his associates to sustain the courage of the government and the people. Farel preached without cessation. Much of his time he spent in going among the soldiers on the ramparts, and whilst he exhorted them to a faithful discharge of their duties in defence of their country, he also urged upon their attention, those which they owed to their God. At length unexpected success attended a sortie which was made, and this led, with the intervention of a powerful army from Berne, to their ridding themselves and the surrounding country of the enemy, and gave the city about the same extent of territory which it now has; that is, five or six miles in almost every direction. Great was the joy of the people on account of this deliverance! It left them leisure to go on with the work of improvement, religious, moral and literary. Yet many obstacles remained, and such was the influence of the *libertines* that the Reformation was well nigh at a stand. But God had raised a suitable labourer for this field, and unexpectedly brought him to it during this period. This was none other than John Calvin.

Calvin was born at Noyon in Picardy, France, on the 10th of July, 1509. His father was a cooper; a man of good sense, who took great pains to give his son an excellent education, designing him for the priesthood in the Catholic church. For this purpose he sent him to Paris to study the sciences. It was there that he obtained from Robert Olivétan, his kinsman, (to whom the churches of France are indebted, as has been already said, for the first translation of the bible into French) a taste for the sacred scriptures. About this time he devoted himself to the study of the law, under the best instructors at Orleans and Bourges. But the scriptures were the great object of his study, and occasionally he preached the gospel. He returned to Paris, where he devoted himself to theology. But, becoming suspected of heresy, he was compelled to fly from one asylum to another, until he reached Basle, where he wrote his *Institutes of Christianity*, in its original form, which he dedicated to Francis the First. In this great work he exhibited and defended the doctrines of the Reformers of France. From Basle he went to Italy, and spent some time at Ferrara. Thence he returned to France, and arranged his affairs with the view of going again to Basle. Being compelled by the

war, which was then going on in Champagne and Lorraine, to go a circuitous route, he passed through Savoy and came to Geneva one evening in the month of August, 1536, intending only to spend the night there. But Farel heard of his arrival by some one who recognised him, called upon him and urged him to stay at Geneva, and there aid the work of the Lord. Calvin resisted, until Farel becoming excited by his ardent desire to see the work of God go on, and his conviction that it was Calvin's duty to enter into the work, rather than go to Basle to devote himself to repose and to study, with a voice full of energy, said, "God will curse your studies and your retreat, if, under such a pretext, you seek yourself more than his glory, and refuse to labour with me in the great work with which I am charged." These words determined Calvin to remain. He agreed to enter into the work, but not at first as a regular pastor.

At this time he was a little more than twenty-seven years of age. His thin and feeble person, sickly air, brown face, thin, black and pointed beard, feeble but sweet voice, sharp and singular countenance, had nothing attractive or promising. But when he spoke, the clearness of his conceptions and the power of his reasoning, united with a soft voice, at once commanded the attention of men. He commenced by delivering lectures on theology at St. Peter's. On the 5th of the succeeding September, the following minute was made in the Journal of the Council: "Mr. William Farel has shown that the lecture which the Frenchman (*iste Gallus*) has commenced at St. Peter's is necessary. He therefore prays that he may be retained, and provision made for his support. Whereupon, it was ordained that he should be provided for." That *Frenchman* was CALVIN.

No sooner had Calvin commenced his labours at Geneva, than his influence became immense. He laboured in season, out of season, preaching, delivering lectures, writing, suggesting plans, &c. &c., for converting the people, reforming their morals, and for giving to the city wholesome religious laws for the churches. His efforts were unceasing, but the opposition, which was made by the dissolute, was so great, that, at length, after less than two years' residence, he, together with Farel and Corault, was banished, for refusing to comply with some regulations made by the Council respecting the public worship, and to which he and his two brethren thought that they could not conscientiously submit. This occurred in April, 1538. Calvin went to Strasburg, where

he preached to a French congregation and delivered lectures on theology. Farel was invited by the people of Neuchâtel to settle among them as their pastor. He did so, and continued there until his death, though he often visited Geneva, to see his friend Calvin and to preach there, as well as many places in France and Switzerland, where his labours were eminently successful. He died on the 13th of September, 1565, at the age of seventy years.

At Geneva the greatest disorders occurred during the banishment of Calvin. The *libertines* seemed, at one time, to have the city completely in their power. Every good work was at a stand, or, rather, retrograded—schools, churches, and all. So greatly was this the case, that the Catholics thought they might recover their lost ascendancy. For this purpose Cardinal Sadolet wrote to the inhabitants, proposing their return to the bosom of the mother church. But Calvin, from his resting place at Strasburg, gave it a triumphant answer. So great was the anarchy at Geneva, that it soon became obvious that Calvin must be recalled. This was done in October, 1540. But he refused to return until, by their urgent entreaties, seconded by those of Berne, he found himself compelled to do so on the 13th of September, 1541, and was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the people. Whilst he was absent, several of the leading *libertines* had been put to death for treason and other crimes.

Upon his return, Calvin entered with his former zeal into the work of reform and good order. He established the *Consistory* of the city, composed of the pastors and elders of the church, for their government. He formed ecclesiastical laws, which were adopted by the government. He composed a *liturgy* for the churches in 1543. He wrote his *Catechism* for the children, &c. &c. And, in 1559, he founded the College of Geneva, or, rather, remodelled that which Farel had commenced some fourteen years before. He also founded the academy or university, as it might be called, of Geneva, and placed his friend, Theodore de Beza, at the head of it. Beza also was a Frenchman, a man of great abilities, who long survived Calvin, wrote his life, and took a distinguished part in the Synods of France, held at Rochelle, Montbeliard, and Nismes, as well as that which was held at Berne.

For fourteen years the efforts of Calvin met with continued opposition from the *libertines*. But, in 1555, the

Council banished these evil doers, not so much for their hostility to religion as for their seditious conduct. After this the city enjoyed quietness, and Calvin went forward with his work. Owing to persecution in their respective countries, many foreigners came to Geneva and settled there for a longer or shorter period, adding greatly to the property of the city, which, thenceforth, became very great. These refugees were from Italy, Spain, France, England and Holland. Vast numbers of young men came to study theology under Calvin, who, notwithstanding his feeble health, continued his immense labours until the year 1564, when, on the 24th of May, he died, a little less than fifty-five years of age. For the last weeks of his life, his health was so feeble that he could hardly be said to live. Yet he received all the strangers who came to see him, dictated answers to many distinguished correspondents, gave the Council of the city his parting advice, and ceased not, until his last day, to counsel his brethren in the ministry. He died in peace, leaving Geneva in an eminently prosperous condition.

That some of the laws adopted by the government of Geneva, relating to religion, were very wrong and oppressive, cannot be doubted. Those which compelled men to attend church and to partake of the communion—when they had ceased of their own accord to partake of it, or had been suspended from the privilege, and had not returned to the church to confess their faults and seek restoration to its privileges—and those which were enacted against heretics, were unquestionably of this character. But with regard to these and similar mistakes of Calvin, as well as his conduct in the case of Servetus, we have already spoken at length in a preceding article. We may add, here, that this error of the Reformers was supported by another, which they all fell into—perhaps were, in a sense, compelled to fall into—that of connecting the church with the state. Wherever this principle is sincerely and universally held, it is not wonderful that want of toleration, and even persecution, should exist. Contempt for religion, or even neglect of it, then becomes, in a sense, an offence against the government. It is worthy of remark, too, that the seditious conduct of those who resisted the Protestant religion of Geneva, when it had become the religion of the state, was the cause of their being treated with rigour. In many cases the government was compelled to banish these persons, or else itself be overthrown.

It is remarkable that Geneva, with its little Canton of 56,000 inhabitants, has remained to this day—as it regards its religious, literary, and political institutions—very much as it was left by the great mind which established the Reformation, and, on that basis, erected these institutions. Three hundred years have nearly rolled away since Calvin's masterly hand gave shape to her ecclesiastical organization, her political laws, and literary establishments; and there they stand, a noble monument of his immortal genius. With one mournful exception—and that relates to the *spirit* of her religion, not its form—Geneva is what she was nearly three hundred years ago. We speak now of her institutions; not of physical appearance, wealth and cultivation, which are so delightful to the eye of every intelligent visiter. Her government, with the exception of its suspension during Bonaparte's sway, and a change from the aristocratical character to the democratical, has continued without interruption as it was when Calvin died. And his College and Academy have maintained their former reputation, save that the latter, which has 36 professors and 219 students in the departments of law, science and religion, has greatly fallen off, so far as it regards the theological department. The College is still flourishing.

Even with regard to morals, the influence which existed at the death of Calvin, has reached down to the present time, with the exception of a general abatement effected by the lax theological principles which have resounded so generally from the pulpits of the churches during the last fifty years. Even with this abatement, it would be difficult to find many communities in the world of the same extent, where there is so much that is correct, and amiable, and externally pure in manners. There is a kindness of feeling, a politeness, a suavity of manners, such as we have never seen elsewhere, if Berne and Basle be excepted. No one seems to pass another, even a stranger, without a respectful salutation. The theatre gained admission into Geneva only within a few years, and soon languished and died. We believe that the opera, however, is still maintained. Geneva and its environs are the retreat of the learned from all parts of Europe, who find in the splendid scenery around it, as well as in its intelligent and cordial society, delightful objects of interest.

But we must return to our purpose of noticing, briefly, the history of the Church of Geneva, from the times of the Re-

formation to the present. Upon the death of Calvin, the church as well as the state, in some measure, looked up to Beza to supply his place. This he did, in a good degree, until his death, which occurred in 1605, in his 86th year. After him arose Benedict Turretin, who was a professor of theology, of some note, and died in 1631. His son, Francis Turretin, was professor of Theology in the academy at Geneva from 1653 to 1687. He was the distinguished author of the *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae*, *Theses de Satisfactione Jesu Christi*, and other works which are highly prized by theologians to this day. His son, John Alphonsus Turretin, was a distinguished professor of Church History in the same institution, and died in 1737. He was the author of several works. His contemporary in the theological chair was Benedict Pictet, who was the author of an excellent system of theology, and who was among the most distinguished theologians of the eighteenth century. Many other Professors of the theological department of the academy might be mentioned; whilst in the literary and scientific departments the number has been very great.

During the first century after the Reformation of Geneva, sound doctrine and pure religious practice flourished, in a good measure. The same may be asserted, with some qualification, of the second century. It is interesting to read the account which is handed down concerning the celebration of the second Jubilee of the Reformation in Geneva, in 1735. The narrative, as well as the sermons preached on that occasion, breathes the spirit of a sound orthodoxy, united with holy affection. But towards the middle of the third century, from the blessed epoch of which we have spoken—in other words, about 1780, if not before, a deplorable change began to take place. And from that time until the present, not only has the spirit but even the form of “sound words,” been gradually growing into desuetude, until, alas! the seat which Calvin, and Turretin, and Pictet, once filled, is now occupied by German Rationalists! And the pulpits of St. Peter’s, the Madelaine, St. Gervais, and the Auditoire, resound, excepting where Menus, Diodati and Barde, preach, with the morality of Socrates, instead of salvation through the blood of Immanuel. The proper divinity of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, justification by faith, the work of the Spirit, the depravity of man, and all the other vital doctrines of the gospel, are neither believed nor preached by the five professors in the theological department of the academy, nor

by the pastors of the state churches, with the exception of the two ministers who have just been named. The Catechism which Calvin wrote for the children of the churches is so mutilated that it cannot be recognised as his in regard to any of the fundamental doctrines of the word of God. In the churches themselves true piety is at a very low ebb. There is, indeed, no want of profession, as more than eight thousand persons received the sacrament in the four or five churches of the establishment in the city during the recent Jubilee. But the spirit of devoted piety is gone from these churches. Precisely the same species of religion exists in them, which is to be found in the Unitarian Churches of Boston. The faith which saves, is almost wholly unknown, and would be entirely so, if it were not for a portion of evangelical preaching which still remains.

The causes of this deplorable declension of religion, in the churches, and apostacy in the academy, are doubtless many. The proximate one was the decline of vital piety, the spreading of a death-like coldness through the churches, which led to the introduction of unconverted, but moral persons, into the church and the ministry. Such a cause—let it be known, and ring in the ears of every minister of the gospel—will produce heresy in any church or denomination, if allowed to continue its existence. The causes of this previously low state of religion in the churches, were indifference to God's truth, the neglect of strict discipline, the diminution of faithful preaching, the pernicious influence of the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, who was a native of this city, and of Voltaire, who long lived in the vicinity, the long period of war which constantly harrassed the inhabitants, and frequently drew them into its dreadful vortex. And lastly, the naturally and inevitably chilling influence of a union of church and state, which is multiform and irresistible.

So great had become the declension of vital religion in Geneva, that there was not in 1810—1816, one minister of the gospel in it, who was evangelical in his views of the divinity of Christ, and of salvation through him alone! There were, however, a few praying people who met with the remains of the former Moravian Church. They met and prayed together, and the Lord heard them, and raised up pastors for them, and formed them into a church, which although it still worshipped in an "upper chamber," had three hundred members, and has sent forth nearly fifty labourers—ministers, schoolmasters, colporteurs, &c.—to pro-

mote the kingdom of Christ. It has recently united with other dissenting churches, in Switzerland, in forming a society to send the gospel to the heathen. This is the "Church in the Bourg de Four."

In 1816, it pleased God to call the Rev. Cesar Malan, who was then a professor or teacher in the college, and a very popular preacher, to the knowledge of the truth. Amidst much opposition and persecution, he commenced preaching Christ crucified. The next year he erected a small church in the suburbs of the city, in which he preached for three years. In 1820, he built a larger one, where he now preaches. His labours have been greatly blessed. By his sermons, and by his tracts and other publications, he has probably been the instrument of doing more than any other man on the continent to revive true religion. Many young men have come forth under his instructions, who are now preaching the gospel in Switzerland and France. Mr. Malan was turned out of the established church upon his conversion. He is in connexion with a Presbytery of the Secession in Scotland.

After Mr. Malan had left the established church, it pleased God to raise up Mr. Gaussen and others in connexion with it, who preached the truth faithfully. But, in 1831, these brethren determined to form an Evangelical Society in Geneva, to propagate the true gospel. This gave great offence to the Consistory, which has the government of the churches of the state in the whole Canton of Geneva. The result was the expulsion of Messrs. Gaussen, Galland and Merle D'Aubigné, from the established churches. They went forward, formed the Society, preached Christ, and founded a new theological school, in connexion with the Evangelical Society, which has, besides those three excellent ministers, two others, Messrs. Steiger and Preiswerk, as professors, and, including the preparatory department, *twenty-five* students preparing for the ministry. They have also lately opened a new chapel, called the Oratoire, where they preach to a congregation of five hundred people, embracing a number of the most respectable families in Geneva. The Evangelical Society is also eminently blessed. It sent forth, last year, four or five evangelists and twenty-one colporteurs into France, besides what it did for the Canton of Geneva.

From this statement, our readers will see that there are three flourishing evangelical churches in Geneva, in which the gospel is preached in the French language. Besides

this, there is a flourishing evangelical Episcopal church for the numerous English families of that place; and also one lately opened under the auspices of the Evangelical Society, for the Germans, who, in great numbers, reside there.

Such has been the progress of the truth in Geneva since 1816. In the other portions of Switzerland, it has scarcely been less glorious. In the Canton de Vaud, which is adjoining that of Geneva, and borders on Lake Léman, there are now nearly one hundred evangelical ministers. The truth has made astonishing progress there, amidst dreadful persecution, continued until within two or three years. This persecution is now over, we trust, a better government having come into existence in that Canton. Not to dwell longer on this topic, we will only add, that it is believed that there are now two hundred faithful ministers in Switzerland. This is a delightful fact, taken in connexion with the existence of a theological school at Geneva, under evangelical influence; a college at Lausanne containing sixty or seventy students, about one-third of whom are hopefully pious; and an excellent Missionary Seminary at Basle, containing forty students, and under the instruction of four or five devoted professors.

But it is time that we give some account of the Jubilee of the Reformation, which was celebrated at Geneva on the 23d of August last. This fête was observed in imitation of what was done by the excellent people of 1635 and 1735, who celebrated the epoch of the Reformation with great joy and no little ceremony, if we may judge from the medals and the annals of those occasions.

Accordingly, both the church and the state made timely preparation for the occasion. Nothing was left undone which it was supposed might give it éclat. On the part of the former, the venerable company of pastors of the established church of Geneva, early published an invitation to the churches of France, Germany, Great Britain, Switzerland, and other Protestant countries, to send deputies to a grand congress or conference of the churches, to be held at Geneva at that time. This invitation was generally considered as addressed to *all* the Protestant churches in the world, including, of course, those of America. But it is now asserted by the company, or some who belong to the same party, that it was only intended for, and sent to, the *established* Protestant churches—that is, to those which are connected with the state!

Responses were soon obtained from many of the churches of Switzerland and France, accepting the invitation. But all the evangelical churches of those countries declined accepting it, with the exception of a few, among which was the Classis of Yverdun, in the Canton de Vaud, which, however, agreed to send deputies solely with the view of leaving its testimony in behalf of the grand principles of the Reformation and the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. The Classis of Morges, and of Lausanne, and Vevay, in the same Canton, declining to have any thing to do with the proposed conference, assigned as a reason for so doing, *the departure of the churches of Geneva from the faith of the gospel*. On the other hand, some of the churches and universities of Germany accepted the invitation. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in the name of the established Church of England and Ireland, replied, that circumstances, of which he had no control, forbade that it should send deputies to the proposed meeting. And the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church of Scotland, by its Moderator, gave the following reply to the circular of the venerable company:

“ To the Moderator and other Members of the Venerable Company of Pastors of Geneva:

*“ Reverend Sirs—*The Moderator of the late General Assembly laid before us, this day, your letter of the 31st December, 1834, in which you communicate to us the interesting intelligence, that the Reformed church of Geneva is about to celebrate, for the third time, the centenary of the Reformation from Popery, and invites us, on Sabbath, the 23d day of August, to unite our prayers with yours for the blessing of God upon the Protestant church.

“ We have observed, with the deepest sorrow, the wide dissemination of Neologian, Socinian, and Infidel tenets and opinions among the Reformed Protestant churches of the continent, and have learned, with extreme regret, that Geneva, to which all Europe owes so much, and which is endeared to Scotland in particular, by many pleasing associations, has not escaped the almost universal contagion; and that the religious liberty which the undaunted Reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries achieved, has, in many of the Reformed churches, been abused, as if it permitted men to cast off the restraints of the Divine authority, and to reject the infallible and immutable oracles of the living God.

“ The announcement contained in your letter, together

with the information we have received from Christian friends who have lately visited your country, encourages us to believe that pure and uncorrupted Christianity is about to revive in your Canton, and in all the other Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, and that, under the Divine blessing, and through the abundant effusion of the Holy Spirit, the day is not far distant when Christ shall be preached in all your churches, that he is the Son of God; when the absurdities of the Neologian, and fatal soul-destroying doctrines of the Socinian and Pelagian heresies shall flee away, and when a pure and truly rational, because scriptural, Christianity shall be taught in all your schools of theology, and proclaimed in every pulpit in Switzerland. We will not, for one moment, suppose that the Reformed church of Geneva purpose to celebrate the centenary of the Reformation without recognising, with devout and grateful emotion, the unspeakable benefits resulting from that auspicious event, and the precious doctrines, in defence of which the fathers of the Reformation hazarded their lives, and many of their disciples submitted to imprisonment, and exile, and death. We regard the approaching festival at Geneva for a token of good. We pray that the spirit of Luther, and Farel, and Calvin, and, will you give us leave to add, of Knox, may be felt at all your meetings, and by all the members of your assemblies, on that solemn and interesting occasion; and that the fruit of your conferences, and fellowship, and prayers, may be to increase your interest and that of your flocks in the distinguishing doctrine of the Protestant creed—Luther's *articulus stantis vel cadentis Ecclesiae*—the doctrine of justification by faith in the Son of God.

“We return you our sincere thanks for the respect which you have shown to the Church of Scotland in sending to us a copy of your Resolutions, and inviting us to send a deputation to Geneva. We regret that it is not in our power to comply with the invitation, but beg leave to assure you of an interest in our prayers.

“Signed in our name and presence, and by our authority.

“W. A. THOMSON, *Moderator.*”

At the time appointed the Jubilee was celebrated. The concourse of strangers from France, Switzerland, Germany and Great Britain, was great; and the whole fête was, in many respects, exceedingly interesting. We shall give an account of what was done under the auspices of the

state or government of Geneva. This was interesting, as showing what the civil and political authorities thought of the occasion and of the political influence of the Reformation. Afterwards we shall describe the *ecclesiastical* part of this fête, or the part of it which was performed by the established church; and, finally, the *evangelical* part, or that which the evangelical Christians did on this occasion.

I. As it regards the *political* part of this Jubilee, it consisted of the following arrangements. There was a musical fête at St. Peter's on Friday afternoon, the 21st of August, for the benefit of those who might not be able to attend the one which was to occur on the Sabbath evening. At night there was a meeting of the citizens at the *Botanical Garden* to salute the deputies and strangers who had arrived to attend the Jubilee.

On Saturday, at one o'clock, the children of Geneva and the parishes of Plainpalais, Carouge, Saconnex, and Eaux-Vives, between the ages of seven and fifteen, assembled in the cathedrals of St. Peter and St. Gervais (on opposite sides of the Rhone, and, of course, in each of the grand divisions of the city), where, after prayer by one of the ministers, and an address, a small bronze medal, commemorative of the occasion, was given to each child; and a history of the Reformation, written for this purpose, was given to the children of each family. Appropriate hymns were also sung, and the whole scene ended by a prayer. This was one of the most interesting parts of the whole Jubilee celebration. The children in the country parishes of the Canton received their books and medals on the succeeding Sabbath from their pastors; whilst the Catechumens, or youth older than fifteen years, received theirs at another time from their religious instructors.

In the evening there were meetings of the youth in many places for innocent amusements, under the directions of their parents and teachers. Thus ended what was called, in the Programme issued by the committee of direction appointed by the venerable company, *La fete de la Jeunesse*.

On Sunday morning at 5 o'clock all the bells of the city and the country saluted the arrival of the Jubilee in a voluntary of fifteen minutes. During the day there were various military movements of the National Guards, and occasional firing of cannons. At night there was a grand musical fête at St. Peter's, when various pieces of music were performed.

They consisted of original and selected pieces adapted to the occasion. The concourse of people, is said to have been immense.

At the same time the city was illuminated in every part. The sight exceeded any thing which we had beheld before. The windows of the lofty houses were filled with lamps. The bridges, the fountains, the public buildings and places were all adorned with them in the most gorgeous manner. Transparencies, and emblematic figures, in which the motto on the national banners—*Post Tenebras Lux*—was interwoven in every possible way, were every where to be seen. The streets were crowded with people; and there was no cessation to the firing of cannon, petards, &c.; and all this was done on the Sabbath evening, and in the city of Calvin; and music and dancing were going on, even before the pictures of that great man, which were to be seen in company with those of Farel and Viret, in every part of the city.

On Monday, a great dinner was given by the council to the deputies and other distinguished strangers at the village of Secheron. This delightful village is on the borders of the lake. A steamboat was chartered to convey the deputies and others to it, on this occasion. We ought to add that public dinners were served to the strangers both on Saturday and Sunday, at the Casino, by the city authorities.

As composing a part of the *politique* of this fête, we will mention the various public and private institutions of the city, which were thrown open to visitors for several days on this occasion, some of which possess great interest.

1. *Bibliothèque Publique*. This is a very valuable library of fifty thousand volumes, and is exceedingly rich in theological works. It has many valuable manuscripts and some specimens of black-letter printing, with illuminations, &c. Here too were to be seen manuscript volumes, &c., of Calvin, Luther, Zuinglius, Farel, Froment, Viret, Beza, Bucer, Oecolampadius, &c. Besides these, which were objects of great curiosity to thousands of persons who flocked to see them, there was in this library the monument in honour of the Reformation, which was made by order of the Council in 1536, and erected in the City Hall, or *Maison de la Ville*, until 1798, when it was removed to the public library, in order to escape the destruction which all the insignia of the republic met with, by the command of the French government. It is a bronze plate or tablet, thirty-five inches

square. The following is an exact copy of the inscription which it bears.

QVVM Anno 1535, profligata Ro-
mani Antichristi tyrannide
Abrogatisqve eius sÿperstitioni-
bÿvs, Sacrosancta Christi reli-
gio hÿc in svam pvritatem, Eccle-
sia in meliorem ordinem, singu-
lari dei beneficio, reposita: et si-
mvl pvylsis fvgatisqve hostibÿvs
vrbs ipsa in svam libertatem,
non sine insigni miracvlo, re-
stitutva fverit: Senatvs Popv-
lvsqve Genevensis monvmentvm
hoc perpetvæ memoriae causa fie-
ri, atqve hoc loco erigi cvravit:
qvo svam erga devm gratitvdinem
ad posteros testatam faceret.

On another tablet of bronze, which is to be placed immediately below the ancient one, is the following inscription in French.*

CE MONUMENT
consacré jadis par la piété de nos pères,
a été rétabli et placé dans ce saint lieu
AU MOIS D'AOUT MDCCCXXXV,
en mémoire de la réformation de Genève,
accomplie trois siècles auparavant
PAR LE BIENFAIT DE NOTRE DIEU
et par le dévouement de quatre pieux étrangers,
nos grands réformateurs,
FAREL. FROMENT. VIRET.
CALVIN.

2. *Prison Pénitentiaire.* This Penitentiary is well worthy of a visit from the intelligent stranger.

3. *Musée Academique D'Histoire Naturelle et D'Antiquités.* This is a highly interesting object.

* For the sake of those who do not read the French language, we subjoin a translation of it, which is as follows: "This Monument, formerly consecrated by the piety of our fathers, has been re-erected and placed in this sacred place, in the month of August, 1835, in memory of the Reformation of Geneva, accomplished three centuries ago, by the goodness of our God, and the devotedness of four pious strangers, our great Reformers, Farel, Froment, Viret, Calvin."

4. *Musée Rath*. This Museum contains many good paintings and some specimens of statuary. The picture of Calvin, on his dying couch giving his last advice to the Council and syndics of Geneva, is uncommonly fine, and full of touching expression.

5. *Jardin et Conservatoire Botanique*. This Botanical Garden is a good one, and is kept in a fine condition.

6. *Observatoire*. This Observatory is considered to be uncommonly good. It has some excellent optical instruments.

7. *Société de Lecture*, and the *Société ou Cercle de la Maison de la Rive*, as well as the *Jardin de M. Wallner*, at Plainpalais, though interesting objects, and frequented by many of the strangers who were at Geneva, we have not time to notice particularly.

The committee which had charge of the celebration of this Jubilee, in imitation of what was done at the two preceding ones, had caused two kinds of *medals* to be prepared. One of them, a small one for the children and catechumens, we have already mentioned. The large bronze medal intended for deputies and strangers was very beautiful. On one side it has an altar, upon which lies the bible open, whilst the two figures of Faith and Reason bend before it. Around are the words *Biblia fidei et rationi restituta* ;* and below is this sentence, *Liber apertus est qui est vitæ*,† taken from Rev. xx. 12. On the reversed face of the medal are the heads and names of four Reformers, Farel, Viret, Calvin, Theodore Beza, and around them the words, *Jubil. Ref. Genevæ Ter Celeb. MDCCCXXXV.*‡ This medal is twenty-six lines in diameter.

A small medal of silver was also given to the deputies. It was of the same shape and inscription with that which was given to the children, which was of bronze. It carries on one face an open bible, with the words *Biblia Sacra*, and the device *Post Tenebras Lux*. On the reversed face it has simply the following, in French, *3e Jubilé de Réformation de Genève, 23 aout, 1835.*

II. We come now to the ecclesiastical part of the celebration. And here we shall first speak of the religious services connected with this occasion. On Saturday afternoon at

* The Bible restored to Faith and Reason.

† A ("another) book was opened which is the book of Life."

‡ The Jubilee of the Reformation of Geneva, celebrated, for the third time, in 1835.

three o'clock a preparatory liturgical service was held in the four national churches in the city.

On the sabbath, which was emphatically the great day of the fête, there was a sermon at nine o'clock in the morning at each of the four national churches, and a sermon in each of the two cathedral churches at twelve o'clock, and a liturgical service of thanksgiving in each of the four churches of the state, at four o'clock in the afternoon. The communion of the Lord's Supper was celebrated in these churches on that day. But of the six sermons which were preached in the national churches—and what is remarkable, they were all preached by members of the venerable company itself, and none by strangers, though there were many of much distinction present—there was but one, that of M. Diodati, which was evangelical and spiritual. The others were such as any mere moralist might preach. There was much about the noble Reformation, and its civil, political, and even moral benefits; but nothing about salvation through the righteousness of Christ alone, of the regeneration of the heart by the Spirit, &c.

On Tuesday at four o'clock in the afternoon there was a general meeting of the "Society of the Catechumens" for the distribution of the history and the medals.

But the most important event in the ecclesiastical part of the Jubilee was the conference of deputies from foreign countries. This met in the Church of the Auditoire, and held three sessions—on Saturday, Monday, and Tuesday—each commencing at eight o'clock in the morning, or half past eight, and lasting until about one, P. M. What was called the *Bureau*, was composed of the Rev. Prof. Duby, (moderator of the venerable company) *President*; the Rev. M. Goty, Rev. Prof. Cellérier, Jr., Rev. Mr. Martin, *Vice-Presidents*; and Prof. Choisy, Jr., and Rev. M. Lutscher, *Secretaries*. These gentlemen are all members of the Company, and most of them pastors at present; the others are professors in the theological department of the academy.

The order of proceedings, as indicated in one of the Programmes, was observed. The first session was devoted to hearing the responses of the foreign deputations to the salutations which were tendered to them on the part of the Church of Geneva. The deputations were invited to speak in the alphabetical order of the countries (Allemagne, France, Grande Bretagne, Suisse), and those of each country by the alphabetical order of the churches from which they came. Where the deputation from any place embraced several per-

sons, some one was called upon to speak in the name of the whole.

The second session was devoted to hearing the addresses of the foreign deputies, who had previously inscribed their names on the list of speakers, on the state and progress of Protestantism, either generally or specially, in the churches and cities which they represented. After they had finished their remarks, two of the clergy of Geneva spoke on the same subject, as it related to Geneva. After that, any who chose were allowed to speak.

The third session was more miscellaneous; but was almost wholly taken up with a question of great interest which greatly agitated the conference, as we shall see.

It may be interesting to state the number of these deputies, and the number from each country, which was represented, and also the number of ministers, elders, and deacons present who were not deputies. Here it is, as it has been published by the authority of the conference:

From Germany, three deputies, ecclesiastics; and six persons who were not deputies.

From France, forty-one deputies, of whom twenty-nine were ecclesiastics and twelve laymen; and eighteen persons who were not deputies.

From Great Britain, seven deputies, of whom three were ecclesiastics, and four laymen; and five persons who were not deputies.

From North America, one deputy, ecclesiastic; and two ecclesiastics who were not deputies.

From Switzerland, twenty-six deputies, of whom twenty-two were ecclesiastics, and four laymen; and fifty-one persons who were not deputies.

In all, the number of strangers present at the conference was one hundred and sixty, of whom seventy-eight were deputies (fifty-eight ministers of the gospel and twenty laymen), and eighty-two persons who were not deputies. The three deputies from Germany, were Rev. Messrs. Ammon, Roehr, and Bretschneider, who are well known by their writings. The deputies from Great Britain, were all from those Presbyterian bodies of Ireland, which are now known to be unsound in the faith. The only deputy from the United States was the Rev. Wm. Channing, a nephew of the Rev. Dr. Channing, of Boston.

Of the doctrinal opinions of the members of the Conference, we may remark, that with the exception of two from

the Classis of Yverdon, in Switzerland, and a few from France whose sentiments are not very clear, all the rest were Unitarian, or what perhaps they would prefer to be called, Rationalists. It is proper to observe, however, that many of the clergy of the established churches in France and Switzerland have avoided, hitherto, making any avowal of their departure from the orthodox faith, though their preaching and their writings, in many cases, fully demonstrate it. It is also true that many who are not now considered as truly evangelical, have not decidedly adopted the errors of the German Rationalists. And it is to be hoped that many of them may yet (as has already been the case with regard to not a few of those who are now evangelical) be brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus.

The addresses which the deputies made were in four languages, Latin, English, German, and French. The last named, however, was the one which was chiefly employed. As to what was said during the sessions of the Conferences, we cannot go into much detail, nor is it necessary. The burthen of the remarks made the first day by some forty speakers was to extol the Reformation and its blessings, the chief of which is the securing to all the right of free inquiry, and deliverance from human authority in matters of faith. At this session M. Roehr read a long Latin speech on the subject. M. Mellet, a deputy, spoke faithfully the truth of the gospel. In the second session, many speakers communicated general information, respecting the state of Protestantism in the countries in which they reside. Messrs. Ammon and Roehr exhibited and defended the principles of German Rationalism, and gave much information respecting its prevalence. One deputy spoke of three evils which it was desirable that the Protestant churches on the Continent should be freed from: creeds, continental missionaries, and religious journals. A question being asked by one deputy, in his speech, "How life can be restored to decaying churches?" the Rev. Mr. Bauty, a devoted servant of the Lord, gave a most excellent and truly evangelical reply. In the same session, a letter from the king of Prussia, written in French, by his minister of state, *Altenstein*, was read, and another from the Professors of the University of Bonn, addressed to the Conference, which proclaimed in a noble manner the true doctrines of the Reformation, and gave a salutary lesson to those who had abandoned them. The letter of the

king was, of course, received courteously. But the impression which it made upon many, may be judged of from the remarks which they made in conversation. "*Ce n'est rien,*" said they, "*il est bon roi ; mais il n'est pas theologien.*"*

The third session was by far the most interesting. This was occasioned by a proposition of the Rev. Mr. Bauty, the purport of which was, that this Jubilee would be rendered still more Christian and delightful, if the venerable company should become reconciled to those brethren whom it had expelled from its number, and proposing that a committee should be sent to invite the Rev. Messrs. Merle, Galland, and Gausson, who were then in the meeting of the evangelical society, to come and take a seat in the Conference. This proposition was warmly supported by several persons, and was manifestly well received at first; but Messrs. Heyer and Bouvier, members of the company, most strenuously opposed it. A long and animated debate ensued, in which the Rev. Mr. Grand Pierre, director, or Professor of the mission institution at Paris, asked and obtained leave to speak, and made an eloquent and masterly speech in behalf of the truth. He stated that he perfectly agreed with one of the previous speakers, "that there is a great gulf between the evangelical society and the venerable company," and that it consisted in the fact that the former believed that the Church should not only adhere to the *divine authority* of the word of God, but ought to hold, for its foundation, *Christ*, and *Christ crucified*; whilst a majority of the latter are not willing to hear those vivifying truths without which both churches and souls sink into death. He added that he could not comprehend what those meant who were forever talking of the divine authority of the word, and yet explained nothing: that the Reformers, men of prayer and eminent talents, arrived at other dogmas than this, they discovered a clear, definite sense in the bible, discovered certain truths which were their support in life and consolation in death; and that these truths are all concentrated in redemption by *the expiatory death of the Son of God*. He concluded by saying that he did not understand the eulogiums which had been pronounced by the company on the Reformers, since they do not allow the doctrines of the Reformers: that one of two things must be true, either that the doctrines of the Reformers are scriptural,

* It is nothing; he is a good king; but he is not a theologian.

or that they are not; if scriptural, it is necessary to receive them, to preach them from the house-tops; if they are not scriptural, it follows that Calvin, Farel, Theodore Beza, Luther, Melancthon, to whom no one can deny genius and profound acquaintance with the scriptures, were in error, and taught error; and if so, they should be blamed, instead of praised, since they taught doctrines altogether agreeing with those of the men who are now accused of exaggeration, mysticism, and whom efforts are made to remove from the pulpits of the churches. The Rev. John Hartley, formerly a missionary of the Church missionary society, in the Levant, and who has been preaching at Geneva for three years, followed Mr. Grand Pierre in a very animated address, in which he denied the assertion which Mr. Yates, a Unitarian minister of London, had made in his address in the first session, "that there are many ministers of the established Church of England and Ireland, who are Unitarians, though secretly." Mr. H. also charged the company with having forsaken the truth, and that in that Conference they were giving the hand of friendship to the Rationalists of Germany, and the Unitarians of Great Britain and America. He also gave a summary view of his own faith, and that of the Church to which he belongs. But he was soon put down by the noise which was made by the Conference, and which, not all the efforts of the gentlemen who presided could repress. In closing, he made an affecting prayer that God would yet pour out his Spirit, and reveal his truth in the minds of those who are in error.

The Conference ended without any noble resolution for the world's conversion. Nothing of this sort was even proposed. All was praise of the glorious Reformation, the authority of the word of God, the right of free inquiry, the duty of Christian concord, the necessity for charity, &c. &c. The attempt was made to avoid, as much as possible, any doctrinal point. Every thing was vague and general. And yet it was possible to see, at an early stage, that though they spoke much of toleration, they only meant that it was allowable so long as no dogma of theirs was attacked. One of the deputies, in the first session, spoke of the utter variance between the doctrines of Paul and James, on justification, and inferred that if the apostles were not agreed, it is certainly allowable to ministers to differ in opinion and yet go along together, even where that difference is very great. The members of the venerable company spoke much of their principle, which is not to have any formulary of faith, and

to permit each one to think for himself; and yet they have turned out some excellent men for their doctrines, and, by express rules, have forbidden the ministers of the Canton of Geneva to preach: 1. "On the manner in which the divine nature is united to the person of Jesus Christ." 2. "On original sin." 3. "On the manner in which grace operates, or on efficient grace." 4. "On predestination."

But it is time that we turn from the doings of the conference to the part which the evangelical Christians of Geneva and Switzerland took in this Jubilee. It may well be supposed that they were not indifferent to such an occasion.

On Saturday afternoon, at two o'clock, the Rev. Dr. Malan preached at his church, in the Prés l'Evêque, a discourse on the *necessity of the Reformation*, and on the succeeding two days, at the same hour, on the *power of the Reformation* and the *consequences of the Reformation*. At the church in the Bourg de Four, besides the ordinary services, there was a celebration on Sabbath evening, it being the 18th anniversary of the founding of that church. An interesting history of that church, and its efforts to extend the Redeemer's kingdom, was read by one of its pastors, the Rev. Mr. Guers. In the English church the Rev. Mr. Hartley preached a sermon, appropriate to the occasion, on the Sabbath. At the Oratoire, or third evangelical French church, the principal services were held. They were as follows: On Saturday evening an excellent sermon was preached by M. Bost, on the necessity of the continuance of the work of Reform, especially in the heart. M. Bost is the author of a *History of the Moravians*, and of a work on the *Constitution and Forms of the Christian Church*. On the Sabbath morning Professor Gálland preached a sermon, in which he reviewed the *formation* of the primitive church; its *deformation* in subsequent ages; its *reformation*, three centuries ago; its subsequent *decline* and *corruption*; and its *regeneration* and *future glory*. A beautiful anthem, composed by M. Bost for the occasion, was sung at this time. The following is a translation of it, from which every one will see its adaptedness to the time. The music was excellent.

CHANT of the Third Centenary Jubilee of the happy Reformation of Geneva. Post Tenebras Lux.—After darkness Light.

FIRST PART.—*State of the Church at the epoch of the Reformation.*

Darkness covers the earth and obscurity the people, (Is. ix. 2). They sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, (Luke i. 79). There are no prophets, (Ps. lxxiv. 9). The enemy has overthrown every thing in the sanctuary, (Ps. lxxiv. 3). They have worshipped and served the creature, (Rom. i. 25), in abandoning the only Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus (1 Tim. ii. 5), man and true God, (Rom ix. 5. 1 John v. 20).

They made traffic of souls, (1 Pet. ii. 3).

The man of sin sat as God in the temple of God, giving himself out to be God, (2 Thess. ii. 4).

The cry of the Church: O God of hosts! behold from heaven and visit this vine! (Ps. lxxx. 14). Come, Lord! (Rev. xxii. 17).

SECOND PART.—*The approach of day.*

All. The darkness covers the face of the earth, and obscurity the people, (Is. ix. 2). My salvation is near at hand, (Is. lvi. 1). My light is about to arise from the midst of darkness, (Is. lviii. 10).

All. The cry of the Church: Come, come, come! *Promise of the Lord:* I come quickly! (Rev. xxii. 20).

I see an angel in the midst of heaven, carrying the Gospel, the Good News, everlasting, to announce to the inhabitants of the earth, (Rev. xiv. 6).

All. Come, Lord! How long! (Ps. lxxiv. 10). I come quickly! (Rev. xxii. 20). Behold me, behold me! (Is. lxv. 1).

THIRD PART.—*The day, and the Hymn of Deliverance.*

Arise! Be enlightened; for thy light is come; and the glory of the Eternal is arisen upon thee, (Is. lx. 1). The day-spring from on high hath visited us, to give light to those who sat in darkness and in the shadow of death, and to guide our feet into the path of peace, (Luke i. 78, 79).

Hallelujah! Hallelujah! Hallelujah!

In the evening the Rev. Mr. Dapples, of the Canton de Vaud, preached a discourse from the history of the first Pentecost after Christ's ascension. On Monday morning the Rev. Mr. Mellet, of the Canton de Vaud, preached an excellent sermon from the text, "Fear not, but speak, for I have much people in this city," Acts xviii. 9, 10. At twelve o'clock the Rev. Mr. Hoffman, evangelist at Chalons-sur-le-Saone, preached from the text, "Salvation from our God and

the Lamb." In the evening the Rev. Mr. Burnier, of Rolle, in the Canton de Vaud, well known by his many and excellent publications, delivered a discourse in which he considered the Reformation under three aspects, its *verity*, *unity*, and *liberty*.

On Tuesday, the 25th of August, in the morning, the annual meeting of the Evangelical Society of Geneva was held. The general report was read by the Rev. Prof. Gausson, and the report of the Theological School by Prof. Steiger. They were both interesting and encouraging. The Society employed, last year, a number of labourers, who were very successful. They could do much more if they had the means. The Theological School, which is under the direction of the Society, is doing well. It needs, however, aid from the friends of Christ in America. And we scarcely know how more good could be done with money than to appropriate it to the support of this important, though infant, institution, and the training up of young men for the ministry. A number of addresses were delivered by ministers who were present.

On Wednesday morning the annual meeting of the *Union* of delegates from all the Swiss societies was held. It was exceedingly interesting to hear verbal reports from every part of this country, of twenty-two Cantons and two millions of freemen, of the progress of true religion. In this meeting was heard an epitome of the labours of the Bible, Missionary, Tract, Evangelical, and other societies of Switzerland, and also of France. In this manner, three or four hours were spent. The afternoon and evening of this day, as well as those of the preceding day, were spent by the evangelical ministers at the country residence of Mr. Charles Gautier, about three miles from the city, and on the borders of the lake. Here sixty or seventy gentleman dined, and spent the evening in religious conference respecting important measures for advancing the kingdom of God on the earth. Mr. Gautier is one of several rich and literary men who have, within a few years past, become evangelical Christians, and are devoting much of their time and wealth to the advancement of true religion.

We have now completed our survey of the events of the Jubilee. It only remains that we say a few words respecting the works which stand at the head of this article, and some others which relate to the same great event. Almost every thing which is published at this epoch at Geneva,

serves to refer in some way or other to this Jubilee. And much is yet to appear. A long history of the Conference and its proceedings is forthcoming. Several of the sermons delivered on this occasion are expected, including three from Dr. Malan, one from Mr. Mellet, and one from Prof. Galland.

1. The first work named at the commencement of this article is entitled *Doctrine Chrétienne*, in eight sermons, which seem to have been preached by M. Bouvier, at different times, but which he has published at this epoch, in a volume, preceded by an address to his fellow-citizens. M. Bouvier is a member of the company of pastors; and is unquestionably a man of talents. The address, which precedes the sermons in this volume, and which extends to almost one hundred pages, contains some very able remarks. In this part of his work the author vindicates the Reformation against the objections of infidels and Roman Catholics, and, likewise, attempts to defend the venerable company against the charge of having departed from the doctrines of Calvin and the Reformation, and consequently of acting inconsistently in celebrating this fête with so much interest. This portion of the address is aimed at the evangelical Christians of Geneva, and is bitter enough in some portions, though it is not destitute of considerable plausibility. The author thinks that he finds enough in the Reformation to justify the conduct of the Company, although they may not hold all the doctrines which the Reformers maintained. The sermons are on the following topics: *The miracles of the Old Testament; the nature of Christ and his work; the Temptation of Christ; the cures wrought by Christ; The passion of Christ; the Resurrection of Christ; the gift of the Spirit; and Lessons from the Grave.* Many portions of these sermons are excellent. But on several fundamental points his views are far from being orthodox. The distinct personality of the Son, and his equality with the Father, he denies; and the same is probably true of the Spirit. Indeed, it is exceedingly difficult to get an idea of his opinion of the nature of Christ. But as far as we can ascertain, it is not that he partakes of the essence of the Godhead, that it is an assemblage of divine *qualities* or *perfections*, which emanate from God, and are embodied in Christ. On the subject of demoniac possessions, he is orthodox. His sermons are very interesting in many respects. But they show more clearly than almost any other work which we have read, that when a man has not clear and decided views on the proper divinity of

Christ, and on the subjects allied to this great truth, there is no real pungency in his representations of sin or holiness, and nothing which can deeply affect the heart.

2. The second work which we have to notice is a pamphlet of seventy-two pages, by the same author, containing a sermon preached in one of the parish churches of the Canton, on the 23d of August, together with prayers, a hymn or two, and addresses in regard to the occasion. We have but little to say of this work. It contains some very good paragraphs on the benefits of the Reformation, the importance of a knowledge of the scriptures, &c. &c. But we cannot go into particulars.

3. The work entitled *Christ Glorifié*, was written by a distinguished Professor of the University of Berlin. It is widely different in its character from the works of M. Bouvier, which we have just noticed. It is one of the best sermons or tracts which we have read on the proper divinity of Jesus Christ. This great doctrine is established in the most conclusive manner by the authorities which the bible furnishes. The excellence of this treatise is, that it supports this cardinal tenet of the Church, by abundant and pertinent quotations from the scriptures, and rests on this solid foundation alone. The text of this discourse is Matthew xi. 27. "All things are delivered unto me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him."

4. The fourth work which we have indicated is entitled *Paroles de Jubilé*. It is of the nature of a tract, and is orthodox and pious. But there is not much talent displayed in it. The object of the author is to dissuade from angry contention about doctrines and ecclesiastical economy; and to urge his readers to seek salvation in the cross, and to practice the self-denying duties which Christianity enjoins. He justly laments over the depravation of manners, which exists in Geneva, in comparison with those of former times, and properly insists upon the preaching of the cross of Christ, as the only remedy for the evil.

5. The next work which we have named is entitled *Le Retour de L'Arche, et le Réveil du Peuple aux jours de Samuel*. The return of the ark, and the awakening of the people in the days of Samuel. It is an excellent discourse which the Rev. M. Gaussen, one of the Professors in the new school of theology, preached in the established church in

1829, and has just published, with some remarks, which make an introduction of some ten or twelve pages. This is one of the most eloquent sermons which we have ever seen. It is founded on the first sixteen verses of the seventh chapter of the first book of Samuel. It expounds these verses in order, and exhibits three distinct topics or rather pictures—the return of the ark and the preaching of Samuel during twenty years; the return of the people of Israel to God, the casting away of their idols, and their choice of God as their God; and the subsequent happy walking of the nation in the ways of the Lord. Our limits, as well as our object, do not allow us to do more than simply notice this admirable sermon of one of the best preachers in Europe; one who has passed through the furnace of persecution for the “testimony of Jesus.” The remarks which form the preface were intended to apply to the Jubilee celebration, and are beautifully and forcibly expressed.

6. The next work which we have to notice, is entitled, *Le Jubilé de la Réformation, Histoires d'Autrefois*. It is the historical work which the committee of the venerable company, that superintended the celebration of the Jubilee, caused to be written for the youth of Geneva. The author of it is the Rev. M. Cellérier, Jr., one of the pastors of Geneva. This work is written with much spirit and talent. It is exceedingly well calculated to interest children by the sprightliness of its style, as well as by a happy exhibition of striking facts. It is unquestionably a valuable work, for the purpose for which it was written; and upon the whole is as impartial as could be expected, though it has not much spirituality about it. It indeed abounds in reflections which were intended to be serious, but which, some how or other, like all writings of Unitarians or those who are nearly allied to them, have nothing which takes hold of the heart or conscience. On the subject of the death of Servetus, and the intolerance which was manifested by the State of Geneva, he is just, and for once we have a Unitarian attributing these things, which were so injurious and disgraceful to the Reformation, to the spirit of the times, and the ignorance which then every where prevailed on the rights of conscience. But he does not even hint at the more remote and true cause of this intolerance—the union of the church and state—which, in a sense, made a deviation from the faith of the state, a civil or political offence, and which fact also excited the errorist to oppose the government, and

attempt to overthrow it, as a measure even dictated by his conscience.

7. The last work which stands at the head of this article is a biographical sketch of the lives and labours of Farel, Froment and Viret. It is written by a student in theology, and although the production of a very young man, it is a work of much interest, and abounds in important details. But we cannot notice it more particularly.

8. In addition to the above named works, several others have been published at Geneva, relating to the same event. One of these is entitled, *Dialogues (sur le Jubilé annoncé par les ministres) entre un Elève Catholique du Collège de Carouge, et un Elève protestant du Collège du Genève.* This book, which contains nearly seventy pages, is the production of a Roman Catholic. It is intended to ridicule the Reformation, and to maintain the Catholic religion, and is written with a good deal of talent. Of course, the Protestant pupil in the dialogues is made to know nothing, while the Catholic disciple of the little college of Carouge, is another Solomon. But the most interesting thing about this work, is the *Profession of Faith*, which it contains, and which was prepared by the present Catholic Bishop of Lausanne and Geneva, approved by the pope, and read in all the Catholic churches of the diocese, on the same 23d of August. It is a curious document, and truly Romish in its doctrines. We wish that we had room for this remarkable profession of belief. It is as thoroughly steeped in error as if it had been written at the Council of Trent. Not one error of Catholicism is abated. No, not a whit. And how could it be otherwise in an unchangeable religion? Here are the worship of the saints, purgatory, mother of God, and all the nameless errors of this worthless form of Christianity.

9. Another remarkable Roman Catholic production which has been published at Geneva, in relation to this Jubilee, is entitled, *L'Ombre de Rousseau, en réponse à L'Ombre de Calvin.* The ghost of Rousseau, in reply to the ghost of Calvin. It is a large pamphlet of one hundred and twenty-three pages, 8vo. It is written with no little ingenuity and talent, but with a much greater share of venom. It is, in a word, a collection of all the slanders which have ever been written by the Catholics and infidels upon Calvin and the Reformation. Of course, the whole story of Servetus is given at length, and much commented on. This pamphlet was written some weeks before the Jubilee on the rejection

by the committee of superintendence appointed for that fête, of a proposition of the Count de Sellon, we believe, to erect a monument to Calvin, on that occasion, in the cathedral of St. Peter. The Catholic author has made divers remarks on the probable reasons for this rejection.

10. Another publication of this epoch, is the Programme of the fête, published by the Committee of Superintendence. It contains a full account of what was to be done at it, and is remarkable for containing only one serious reflection, which was addressed to the children who were to attend the fête, and the purport of which is that they should remember that they would never see another Jubilee of the kind! Even the Catholics ridiculed the utter want of spiritual and serious remark in this official document.

11. Divers Cantiques or hymns, with the music, to be sung on this occasion were published. One of these was a work of some fifty or sixty pages, published by the Committee of the Company. Another was by the Rev. C. Malan, who is a poet, and has published an excellent collection of French Psalms and Hymns. His Cantiques for the Jubilee were evangelical and good.

12. The last work which we have yet seen touching this Jubilee, is an excellent *Almanac* for the year 1836, which contains a mass of valuable information respecting the Reformation of Geneva, and the chief actors in its scene. So that it is evident that the great event will be well signalized on this, its third secular celebration in the city of its occurrence.

In addition to all these publications, we have to expect the several sermons referred to already, the excellent Report of the Evangelical Society, and the *Proces-Verbal*, or History of the Conference, held at the Auditoire.

We must conclude not without announcing to our readers, that the Rev. M. Merle D'Aubigné, President of the Evangelical Theological School at Geneva, is now engaged in writing a History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century, and that the first volume will probably have been published before the appearance of our present number, by the Messrs. Didot, at Paris. From the talents and ardent piety of this excellent man, in connexion with the fine opportunities which he enjoys of obtaining ample and correct information on the subject which he has undertaken to handle, we are justified in expecting a better work than the church has hitherto possessed on this subject. It will occupy four or five volumes, 8vo.

In addition to this work relating to the Reformation of the sixteenth century, we mention another which promises to be exceedingly interesting, and which may with propriety be named here, inasmuch as it relates to a people who were, under God, instrumental in doing much good, directly and indirectly, towards bringing on the glorious Reformation. It is entitled *L'Histoire des Vaudois des vallées du Piémont et de leurs colonies, depuis leur origine jusqu' a nos jours*; par Alexis Muston, des vallées Vaudoises, Docteur en Theologie, Tome 1er. avec une jolie carte des vallées, Paris, rue de la Harpe, No. 81.—The History of the Vaudois (commonly called Waldenses) of the vallies of Piedmont and of their colonies, from their origin to the present time; by Alexis Muston, D. D., &c. This work is to comprise two or three large octavo volumes. The first has been published nearly a year. It is properly an introduction to the work. It gives a geographical description of the vallies of Piedmont, the origin of the word *Vaudois*, and an outline of the doctrines, moral and religious state of this people, including their mode of instruction, and of the accusations which have been brought against them. The work is written with talent, and promises to be a most valuable accession to church history. May the spirit of that martyr-people revive and diffuse itself again among those vallies and through all the churches of Europe! And may the blessing of God descend upon the excellent young Swiss Missionary, who has gone to labour among the remains of that wonderful people, from the ruins of which the church of God, Phenix-like, has arisen in modern times.

THE
BIBLICAL REPERTORY

AND

THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

CONDUCTED BY

AN ASSOCIATION OF GENTLEMEN

IN PRINCETON.

VOL. VII.

PHILADELPHIA :

HENRY PERKINS—159 CHESTNUT STREET.

I. ASHMEAD AND CO.—PRINTERS.

1835.

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Universe. By Thomas W. Jenkyn. With an Introduction,
by the Rev. Daniel L. Carroll, Pastor of the 1st Presbyterian
Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

