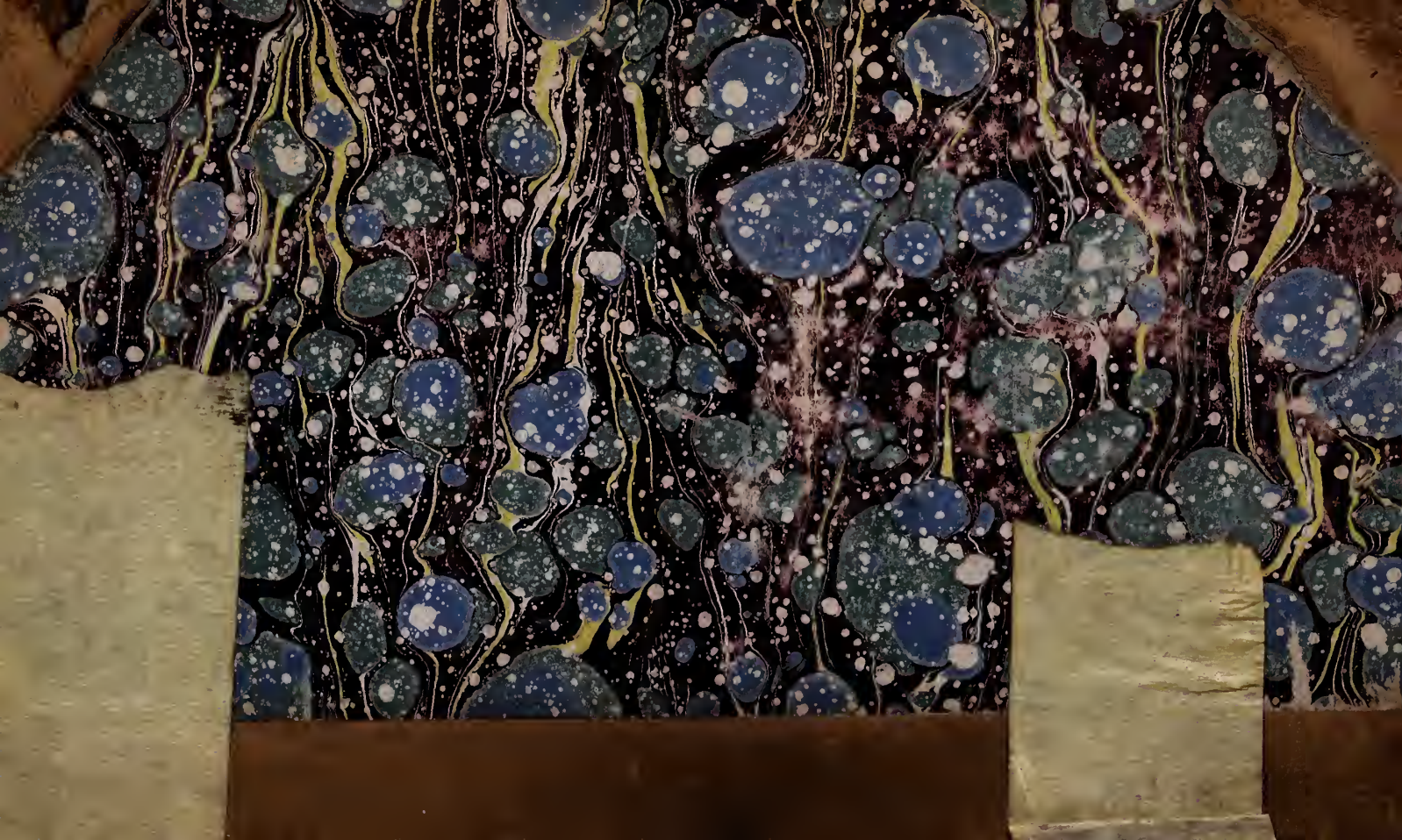

THE

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ART. I.—1. *Des Propheten Jesaja Weissagungen. Chronologisch geordnet, übersetzt und erklärt von* Carl Ludwig Hendewerk, Doctor der Philosophie, Licentiat der Theologie und Privatdocent an der Universität zu Königsberg. Erster Theil. Die protojesajanischen Weissagungen. Königsberg. 1838. 8vo. pp. cxxxi. 731.

2. *Notes: Critical, Explanatory, and Practical, on the Book of the Prophet Isaiah; with a New Translation.* By Albert Barnes. Boston and New York. 1840. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 517, 438, 770.

3. *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, translated from the original Hebrew: with a Commentary, Critical, Philological and Exegetical: to which is prefixed an Introductory Dissertation on the Life and Times of the Prophet; the Character of his Style; the Authenticity and Integrity of the Book; and the Principles of Prophetical Interpretation.* By the Rev. E. Henderson, D. Ph., Author of "Lectures on Divine Inspiration," "Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia," "Iceland," etc. London: 1840. 8vo. pp. xxxvi. 450.

HERE are three books on Isaiah, published within as many years, and in as many different countries. This shows,

not only the extent to which biblical studies are now carried on, but the interest felt in this particular part of scripture. We have reserved the two first until now, in order to examine them all at one view. Hendewerk is to us a new name: those of Barnes and Henderson have long been familiar. The titles of the three works, when successively announced, excited expectations of a somewhat different nature. Though we knew nothing of Dr. Hendewerk, we did know something of the German scholars, as a class, of their literary and religious character, and of the sentiments most prevalent among them. From a young German professor we were, therefore, prepared to see a book full of acuteness, learning, arrogance, and perhaps of bitter opposition to the truth. From Mr. Barnes we thought ourselves entitled to expect an unambitious, popular, laborious compilation, somewhat superficial, somewhat inconsistent, but, in the main, instructive, sensible, and in its form, peculiarly suited to the wants of common readers. From Dr. Henderson our expectations were less definite, because we knew nothing of him as an exegetical writer. But we knew him to be an oriental scholar, once a missionary, a biblical teacher by profession, a good writer, and the author of previous works evincing talent, sober sense, and piety. Of his precise theological opinions, and the course which his biblical studies had taken, we knew almost nothing. It was with these prepossessions that we entered on an examination of the works before us, the result of which we shall proceed to state as briefly and distinctly as we can. In so doing, we shall, of course, confine ourselves, as far as possible, to general statements, taking notice of particular interpretations only as examples. This will be necessary for two reasons. The first is, that a more detailed criticism of such books would far exceed our limits and the reader's patience. The other is, that our examination of the works, although sufficiently extensive and particular to enable us to form a general estimate of their character, has not been so close as to prepare us to pass judgment on their contents in minute detail. That would be a work of much more time than we have yet been able to bestow upon them. It will be understood, then, that while we are ready to abide by the general descriptions to be given of the works before us, we are not to be considered as expressing our assent or dissent, as to any particular interpretation which we do not specify, or which is not necessarily included in some general expression of praise or censure.

We begin with Dr. Hendewerk. It is almost superfluous to say of a work on Isaiah by a German professor, that it evinces Hebrew scholarship, an intimate acquaintance, not only with the Hebrew Bible, but with the various grammatical systems which have found currency in modern times. In Germany, a man would be unable to sustain himself, either as an author or professor, who should undertake to interpret such a book, without a personal knowledge of the original language, in its niceties, as well as in its broader features, and of the views maintained by eminent grammarians on some disputed points of etymology and syntax. To take such things entirely on trust, and at second hand, is a proceeding which, in that country, cannot now be dreamed of. The precise philological position of this author may be best defined by a reference to some others. It is not unknown to many of our readers, that after Gesenius had for some years been an undisputed authority in Hebrew philology, a new school was founded by Ewald, then of Göttingen. This writer we have more than once had occasion to characterize. In comparison with Gesenius, he may be briefly described as much superior in acuteness and invention, and as equally inferior in sobriety of judgment. His system, as a system, can never obtain currency; but his suggestions have helped to improve that of his rival, and have led to a more thorough, philosophical investigation of the whole subject. After Ewald's work on Hebrew Grammar appeared, it became fashionable to cite him as an authority in opposition to Gesenius. The Germans are fond of rotation in office, in the republic of letters. They are rather intolerant of old authorities, and in the same proportion prone to take up hastily with new ones. As Gesenius treated the older grammatical writers as obsolete, so others now took pleasure in treating him so too. His merits, as an inventor or discoverer, had been greatly overrated, and the merits of his successors and supplanters were still more extravagantly magnified. Contemporary writers availed themselves, not only of real improvements made by Ewald, but of extravagancies which he had proposed, merely to be original. Some, not content with this, laid Gesenius altogether on the shelf, as entirely "antiquirt," and represented Ewald as the regenerator of Hebrew Grammar. To this class belonged Hitzig, whose work on Isaiah, published in 1833, is dedicated to Ewald, as the "refounder of the science of Hebrew Grammar, and thereby of

the exegesis of the Old Testament."* It would really seem as if Hitzig had selected Isaiah to be the subject of his labours, for the very purpose of slighting Gesenius, both as a grammarian and an interpreter. It is scarcely possible to understand Hitzig's commentary, without consulting Gesenius as you read. Even where the latter is not mentioned, the exposition takes its form from a tacit reference to his. This uncomfortable method of expounding *ad hominem* is very apt to grow out of the German university-system. Most of the learned books published in Germany have their origin in academical lectures. These are written and delivered under the stimulus of lively emulation, first with the other professors of the same branch in the same university, and then with those at other universities who have written on the subject. A German professor is apt to think he does nothing, unless he does something new. He must excel others in the same department, and this very often he can only do by striking out a new track for himself. To this excessive competition we ascribe a great deal of that unwholesome appetite for novelty, which has come to be regarded as a characteristic of the German mind. The Germans themselves defend it, on the ground that any other course leads to a stagnant acquiescence in old methods and opinions. It need not do so; and if it does, there can be no longer any doubt which is the worse extreme. Looking at it merely as an intellectual question, without regard to moral and religious principles, who would not rather stagnate with the leviathans of old, than be in perpetual motion with the animalcules which have been generated by the other system? Whatever else may be imported from Germany, we do not wish to see included in the cargo that unmanly and unhallowed emulation, which has produced some of their most learned works, and given character to many more, and among the rest to that of Hitzig on Isaiah. In an incidental notice of this work, some four years ago, we pointed out a sort of literary retribution, which Gesenius had experienced for his own undue disparagement of older writers, and at the same time spoke of it as possible, that Ewald and his follower Hitzig might experience the same. This anticipation is, to some extent, fulfilled in the work before us. If Hitzig wrote, as we suspected, for the very purpose of de-

* Dem Neubegründer einer Wissenschaft hebräischer Sprache, und dadurch der Exegese des Alten Testamentes.

teeting Gesenius's errors of interpretation, and refuting his grammatieal doctrines, Hendewerk still more evidently writes, not to make Isaiah plain to those who never heard of Hitzig, but for the pleasure of detecting the latter in as many real or pretended blunders as his book eontains pages. As he has printed proper names in Italie type, we have only to turn over the leaves to be satisfied how eonstantly and prominently Hitzig was before him. Wherever we look, it is "*Hitzig*"—"*Hitzig*"—"*Hitzig*"—eombined with various epithets which may be looked upon as teehnical expressions in a German commentary of this modern sehool, sueh as "unwahr," "völlig unwahr," "falseh," "unstatthaft," "ungesehickt," &c.* These complimentary expressions are dealt out by our author *con amore*, espeeially when he ean apply them, not to Hitzig only, but his master Ewald. This is often the case, where Hitzig's interpretation is founded upon some grammatieal principle of Ewald's. But even when they differ, they are not spared on that aeeount. We recolleet one ease, though we have not marked it, in whieh they are cited as the authors of two different interpretations, of which Hendewerk coolly says, that the one is foolish and the other false, or something equally respeetful. Now, an English or American reader, unaequainted with the way of managing these matters in Germany, might naturally think that all this was an outbreak of zeal and resentment, on the part of some admirer of Gesenius, taking vengeanee on his rivals. Not at all. A young German would be heartily ashamed of such a retrograde movement. The only differenee in Hendewerk's treatment of Gesenius and the others, is that while he mentions the latter to insult them, he scarcely mentions the former at all, or, when he does, it is with that expressive adverb "sehon," *already*, which implies that even sueh an aneient writer as Gesenius was aware of this or that. Sometimes the same particle is eoupled with poor Hitzig's name, in whieh ease it implies that something is so clear, that even Hitzig sees it. No, the standard authority, to whieh our author appeals from the judgment of Ewald and Hitzig, is not that of Gesenius, any more than that of Buxtorf or Vitringa. It is that of Hendewerk. He is his own Magnus Apollo, and, in perfect keeping with the tone and spirit of his book, might have inseribed it to himself as anothcr "Neubegründer einer Wissensehaft hebräisehen

* Untrue, perfectly untrue, false, &c.

Sprache." This arrogant temper is becoming more and more characteristic of the younger German writers, even in this department. It was highly offensive in Ewald; it was worse in Hitzig; but Hendewerk seems to have out-heroded Herod. In the department of biblical learning these offensive peculiarities appear in strong relief, not only from the nature of the subject, but from the contrast presented by the dignified and courtly manners of Gesenius, both as a writer and a man.

But the question now arises, what is the worth of such a book as we have been describing? Very little by itself, but as an antidote and corrective, very great. Hitzig's book was arrogant and spiteful, but it served to break the spell of Gesenius's authority, and to make the reader feel that this or that must not needs be the meaning of Isaiah merely because Gesenius says so. The same good office, with respect to Hitzig, is performed by Hendewerk, and something more. Gesenius, though an infidel, is decent and decorous, nay, a man of taste, and therefore an admirer of his subject. Hitzig, on the other hand, treats Isaiah with contempt. Hendewerk, either from conviction, or in order to dissent from Hitzig, speaks of his author with admiring reverence, not only as a poet and (in his sense) a prophet, but as a holy man, a man of elevated moral character. This ethical view of the subject, which is almost wholly wanting in Gesenius, and of which Hitzig seems incapable, is prominent in Hendewerk. He belongs, in this respect, to that class of neological interpreters, of which De Wette may be mentioned as a leader, who profess to retain the feelings of the old evangelical system after ceasing to believe it. That is to say, they feel, or try to feel, as they would if they believed the scriptures to be inspired. They make a distinction between Faith and Knowledge, as not only different, but at variance, and try to enjoy the benefits of both. This is, to some degree, the spirit of the work before us, which is free, not only from Hitzig's coarse contempt of sacred things, but from Gesenius's supercilious disregard of them. The author talks much of the moral principles and precepts of the scriptures, often appeals to conscience, and concludes his preface, in the good old way, with a prayer to God for his blessing on the book. But while he is free from Hitzig's impious contempt of scripture, he indemnifies himself by larger measures of contempt for Hitzig himself. He attacks with spirit, and with great success, those parts of Hitzig's work in which he speaks of Isaiah with peculiar disrespect. This he charges very boldly on the

commentator's ignorance and utter incapacity to form an estimate of such a writer. We have neglected to note particular instances of this kind, and can only cite a single case from memory, in which, after quoting Hitzig as saying that such and such parts of a certain passage pleased him well enough, but that something else was more than he could well put up with, Hendewerk first directs attention to the arrogance and folly of the writer by a plentiful supply of exclamation and interrogation marks—a favourite mode of criticism with him—and then drily adds, that a thing's not pleasing Hitzig was by no means any reason why it should not please Isaiah, as there had been already too much occasion to perceive that the prophet and his commentator were two very different men. Now we must confess that we enjoy this greatly, and that nothing detracts from our enjoyment of it, but a feeling, half of anger, half of sorrow, that the word of God should be a whetstone for the keen wits of these graceless unbelievers. So far as this predominant feeling will permit, we do take pleasure in the very complete drubbing which our author gives his learned predecessor, and which could not have been given with as much effect by a more orthodox and pious writer. Any thing said by such a writer in rebuke of Hitzig's tone and spirit might be regarded as a mere display of pietism. But when one who goes as far as Hitzig himself in excluding all allusion to New Testament events, and who actually represents Socrates, Aeschylus, Demosthenes, and Edmund Burke, as prophets in the same sense with Isaiah—when a writer of this stamp treats another with the scorn which he deserves for his insufferable arrogance and blind contempt of scripture, we cannot help hoping that it may have some good effect even on German readers. This is one positive merit of the work. Another is, that the incessant effort to detect mistakes in other writers never fails to suggest some new and felicitous intrepretations; while the repeated sifting of the text with its grammatical phenomena, under the impulse of the same emulation, tends to bring the philological investigation some steps nearer to perfection. These advantages, however, it must be confessed, are apt to be practically neutralized by the unnatural and forced interpretations, which this same ambitious love of novelty produces.

We must not omit to specify one happy consequence of Hendewerk's unwillingness to coincide with Hitzig. The affectation of detecting glosses and interpolations, on the

most empirical and futile grounds, and in the face of all external testimony, had been carried far enough by Gesenius, but by Hitzig it was pushed *à l'outrance.* Hendewerk takes the hint and, in a masterly manner, shows up the folly of thus tampering with ancient writings. Besides the special refutation of Hitzig's arguments in many detached cases, we have read, with a peculiar satisfaction, his general remarks upon the practice of concluding that a passage is not ancient, because certain words are found in it which occur elsewhere only in the later books. This he shows to be precarious and inconclusive, from the very small amount of ancient Hebrew writings which we have in our possession, and from other analogous considerations. What he says upon this subject is marked with the strongest common sense, and goes far to confirm us in the belief, that those vagaries of the German mind, which strangers look upon as symptoms of a national idiosyncrasy, are really produced by the incessant and extreme competition among active minds under severe political restrictions. Here is a thorough-bred German theologian driven into what we should call common-sense conclusions, by his desire to differ from another who maintains the fashionable German doctrines. For we verily believe that, in the absence of this powerful repulsion, Hendewerk would have cancelled as much text as Hitzig. This we infer from the fact, that he has gone into another German whimsey of like nature, from which Hitzig's example was not suited to preserve him. Because Hitzig was fond of marking words and phrases as spurious, Hendewerk defends them as genuine, except in a few cases, where they stood in the way of his interpretation; but on the other hand, as Hitzig generally lets the prophecies remain in their original order, and is rather disposed to throw a number of chapters into one than to divide them, Hendewerk, true to his principle of action, brings back the old exploded notion of the Eichhorns and the Koppes, that a scrap is to be picked out here and another there, and then joined together like a piece of patch-work, in order to reproduce the text in its original and uncorrupted form. Thus he divides what he calls the genuine prophecies of Isaiah into three *cycles,* which he patches up in such a way as to exclude the thirteenth and part of the fourteenth chapter altogether, for the obvious reason that if Isaiah wrote them, he must have been a prophet in the proper sense. Ergo, they are not genuine. And yet this is the same man who ably vindicates so many

comparatively unimportant sentences from Hitzig's charge of subsequent interpolation, and protests against the practice of regarding mere detached expressions as a proof of later origin. But here there was a paramount reason for rejecting a whole prophecy. It was required by the fundamental principle, common to this man and his predecessors, that prophetic inspiration, in the old sense of the phrase, is not only unreal but impossible, and that consequently nothing which involves it can be true. This is the gulf which separates the rationalist from the true believer. It is idle to dispute about minor points so long as this essential difference remains. Of this we have received a new and powerful impression in reading the violent attacks made in the book before us upon Hengstenberg. It is plain from these, that if Hengstenberg had written a perpetual commentary on Isaiah, he would have occupied, so far as such a writer could be made to do it, the same unenviable place now filled by Hitzig. In writing on those passages which Hengstenberg has treated, Hendewerk seems to lose sight, for the time, of Hitzig. Taking advantage of some strong expressions used incautiously by Hengstenberg on different subjects, especially on that of the prophetic ἔκστασις, and of his somewhat arbitrary choice of subjects for his Christology, our author takes or makes occasion very frequently to diversify his contempt of one writer by his hatred of another. Nothing can be more marked than the distinction which he makes between them. While his charges against Hitzig are of ignorance, absurdity, and incapacity, those against Hengstenberg are charges of dishonesty, a want of candour, misplaced ingenuity, bigotry, hypocrisy, &c. &c. These accusations, in themselves, we grant, are vastly graver than the charges against Hitzig. But believing, as we do, from Hendewerk's own showing, that they are utterly without foundation, we adduce them as a proof of the respect with which the talents and learning of a great and good man are regarded even by his most determined adversaries. To illustrate the relativ position of the accuser and accused in this case, we need only state that, in a long-winded preface, which is chiefly filled up with abuse of Hengstenberg, the author gravely charges him with laxity of conscience, on the ground that while he admits the true reading of the word *Jehovah* to be *Jahveh*, he objects to the substitution of the latter form in common use; while on another page Hendewerk himself lays down the principle, that although the last twenty-seven

chapters of Isaiah are of later date than the others by a century or two, it is perfectly allowable for clergymen, whose knowledge thus exceeds their faith, to speak of these chapters to the people, and make use of them in popular instruction, as the writings of Isaiah. To such moralists, even though, like Hendewerk, they may have written books upon the principles of ethics, we are tempted to exclaim, "Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat and swallow a camel!"

We have said that one impression made by these attacks on Hengstenberg, compared with those on Hitzig, is the impression that the learning and talents of the former are respected and feared by those who love neither him nor the doctrines which have made him what he is. But another and stronger impression is, that nothing can be gained for the cause of truth, in opposition to neology, by the most successful maintenance of minor points, without regard to the impassable chasm which divides the parties, as to the inspiration of the Scriptures. Such skirmishes, even when favourable to the right side in their issue, foster the belief that the contending parties stand on common ground, so that when the fortune of the fight inclines the other way, however trivial the immediate subject of dispute, the champions of the truth appear to lose ground, though they utterly deny the very premises from which the others reason. Even Hengstenberg, with all his shining merits as the Abdiel of the German apostacy, may have done some damage to the cause which he espouses by these seeming concessions to the adverse party, or by reasoning with them in their own way upon subjects, with respect to which the disputants differ, *toto coelo*, in their fundamental principles.

We now take leave of Dr. Hendewerk's first volume (for no other has yet reached us) in the belief that we have said enough to show how far the hopes or fears, with which we took it up, have been fulfilled or disappointed. The first glance at Mr. Barnes's work convinced us that, in one point at least, our expectations were not realized. Instead of two or three convenient duodecimos, we find three octavos, one of them containing nearly eight hundred pages, and the others, though much smaller, of substantial size. This, to American readers, is a little alarming. It is not what Mr. Barnes's earlier publications had given reason to expect. Still it cannot be denied that this amount of paper might be profitably filled on such a subject. The mere size of the book is, therefore, no proof of its want of merit, though it

may operate to its disadvantage with many readers. Another disadvantage under which it labours, is that of an inelegant typography. The arrangement of the matter and the general execution are unsightly, and decidedly below the present standard not only of English but American taste. The common version, printed in a small type, and in double columns, at the top of the page, the "New Translation" in a single column under it, and the notes, in type of the same size below, in solid masses only subdivided by the paragraph mark (¶), all this is any thing but grateful to an eye which makes distinctions between different styles of printing. To us the *tout-ensemble* of the page is rendered still more uninviting by the tasteless and useless effort made to represent Hebrew words in Roman or Italic letters. We have formerly borne our testimony against this barbarous practice. We are yet to learn what useful purpose it can answer. If the reader knows the Hebrew letters, he can read them for himself. If he does not know them, what use can he make of the Roman or Italic equivalents? If it be said that the Hebrew is inserted for the benefit of those who understand it, and the equivalents in order that the English reader may not be obliged to pass some words unread, we answer that for this end the simplest notation would be best. Why must every consonant and vowel be exactly represented by a corresponding symbol? Why may not the Hebrew word רוּחַ be as well represented to the English reader by the simple form *ruah*, as by the complicated symbol *ru^{a}hh*? Because the former does not indicate that *u* is a long vowel, and *a* a furtive vowel, and *h* a strong guttural? But neither are these facts conveyed by the second form, except to those who are acquainted with the Hebrew alphabet and vowel system, and they are just the readers who have no need of any thing except the simple Hebrew. As to the aid supposed to be afforded to the English reader in pronouncing the Hebrew word, we should like to see the experiment fairly made upon a few selected cases. We doubt whether many English readers would find רֵעֵהוּ much more difficult than *rāy^{a}vâh* [page 436, vol. 3.] Any advantage to be derived from such a notation must be quite too small to compensate for its grotesque effect upon the general appearance of the work. The objections which have been made to the method would be perfectly valid, even if it were truly philosophical in theory, and accurate in execution. But neither of these conditions is complied with in the case before us. The

scheme, like many others of a like kind, makes a show of great precision, while in fact it is imperfect, inconsistent and confused; and even if it were the opposite of all this in theory, it is not reduced to practice with sufficient accuracy. We have observed, in glancing at the work, many minute errors in the notation of the vowels, most of which we are willing to regard as typographical blunders, or mere inadvertences, such as can scarcely be avoided in the execution of a plan which must require at least a thousand times more labour than it ever can be worth. But in some cases the mistakes of which we speak argue something more than mere inadvertence, as, for example, when the silent ה at the end of a word is entirely omitted, as it seems to be in a majority of cases, while in others it is written, as if to make the inconsistency more glaring. These and other instances, which might, with very little labour, be collected, show that the plan is neither well contrived nor accurately executed. Before we leave this point, let it be observed, however, that nothing which we have said has any bearing on the scheme for romanising oriental languages, of which we gave some account on a former occasion. Our remarks relate merely to the use of both alphabets in writing the same word, which we believe to be not only needless, but a great deformity.

But we are doing Mr. Barnes a great injustice in dwelling so long upon a mere point of typography. It is high time to apprise the reader of the qualities by which the work appears to be distinguished, after the unfavourable prepossessions caused by its exterior have been overcome. The first thing that strikes us is the amount of time and labour which have evidently been spent upon it. Nothing but the most constant, systematic industry could enable the pastor of a large congregation to produce a work of such size even in four years. We do not refer merely to the amount of writing, but also to the number of books consulted. The sphere of Mr. Barnes's reading on the subject does not indeed seem to be so large as we at first supposed. His direct acquaintance with the writers in German seems to extend no further than Gesenius, and there are some standard works of ancient date to which we see no reference, except such as might have been derived at second hand from other commentators or from Pool's synopsis. Still the regular, synoptical perusal even of a few works on the whole book of Isaiah, makes a vast addition to the time expended in the mere act of writing; and the two together constitute a task which few of

our working ministers would undertake to finish in four years. In this respect we think Mr. Barnes's example one of no small value. Not that we recommend to ministers in general the preparation of extensive works of this kind; but because the case of Mr. Barnes evinces how much may be done by persevering, systematic effort, in the midst of other duties, when there is a call to intellectual and literary labour. There are no doubt pastors, not a whit more active in parochial duties, who employ more time upon the preparation of their weekly sermons than is spent by Mr. Barnes in writing books and sermons too. Whether the difference of quality would always be the same as that of quantity, is quite another question.

Under this general head of diligence, we may mention a particular subject to which Mr. Barnes has evidently given great attention. We mean what is usually called the archaeological illustration of his subject, especially the kind derived from oriental travellers. This species of research, though cheap and easy and amusing in itself, was formerly neglected. Mr. Barnes's predilection for it appeared in his first work on the Gospels, and is still more manifest in that before us. As to the execution of his plan, in this respect, and especially the extent to which he has carried it, we shall say a few words in another place.

Another feature of the work which strikes us favourably is the devout and serious tone of the entire exposition, which affects us the more sensibly when viewed in contrast with the cool scientific flippancy of Hendewerk. The latter we have acquitted of direct irreverence, except so far as it is necessarily involved in the very principles of his interpretation. But this is a large exception. However favourably his mode of treating scripture may compare with that of Hitzig, it is still so far removed from that to which we are accustomed, and which we consider right, that on passing suddenly from Hendewerk to Barnes, we feel at once that we have left a heathen for a Christian atmosphere. It gives us pleasure to bear witness that, so far as we have looked at Mr. Barnes's book, it maintains a high tone of respect for revelation and of zeal for its authority in opposition to all forms of infidelity. At the same time it exhibits a decided fondness for the practical relations of divine truth, as the author understands it. This may have sometimes given to his treatment of his subject a homiletic, hortatory air, and to his style a tone of declamation, not in perfect keeping with the professed character of

the work. But these rhetorical defects are, in this case, symptomatic of a feeling which we value and respect. And as the general tone of the interpretation is entitled to this praise, so the principles which govern the interpretation seem to us more sound and free from rationalistic tendencies than we had feared. In Mr. Barnes's earlier publications there were passages which indicated lax opinions, with respect to inspiration and the authority of scripture. It was natural to fear that the study of Isaiah, with the aid of Rosenmüller and Gesenius, would have strengthened tendencies to error which appeared already to exist. It seems to us however that instead of sinking, Mr. Barnes has risen in his views of inspiration. We are exceedingly unwilling to give currency, by any influence which our opinion may exert, to false or even dubious positions on this fundamental point; and we must therefore remind the reader once more, that we are merely stating the impressions made by a cursory perusal of the most important portions of the work. But with this necessary qualification, we consider it no more than just to Mr. Barnes to say, that we have no where seen the slightest indication of a disposition to explain away the evidences of prophetic foresight, to detract from the plenary inspiration of the prophet, or to undervalue the New Testament as a key to the meaning of the Old; but that on the contrary, wherever the interpretations of the German critics come into collision with these fundamental principles, he seems to feel no hesitation in expressing his adherence to the latter. The influence of Vitringa and of Hengstenberg, in thus counteracting the effect which the authority of neological interpreters might otherwise have had upon he mind of Mr. Barnes, is quite perceptible. But be the means of preservation what it may, we think the fact so far as it exists, a matter of congratulation, both to Mr. Barnes himself, and to his many readers.

Our impressions, as to the religious tone and spirit of the work, being thus favourable, we proceed to look a little more attentively at its intellectual and literary character. And this examination leads us soon to the conclusion, which is more and more confirmed, that the book is too big; that its excess of bulk arises from a plethora of words and not of thoughts; and that proper care might have reduced it nearly one half, without any sacrifice of valuable matter. We were aware that Mr. Barnes was not an elegant writer; that his taste was somewhat vicious, and his style form-

ed rather upon vulgar usage than the highest models. But we also knew that these faults never showed themselves so much as when he gave himself free course, without restriction as to limits; that he never wrote so well as when he felt himself obliged to say a given thing in as few and simple words as possible; and also, that his first work, that upon the Gospels, furnished proof of his ability to be concise, and to compress within a narrow space a very large amount of matter. At the first sight of his volumes, we concluded that they comprehended, not merely his interpretation of Isaiah, but a pretty complete view of the progress of opinion on the subject, a synopsis of the leading exegetical hypotheses on all important passages. Had this been the case, we should certainly have had no reason to find fault with the size of the work. A still larger space might have been reasonably used for such a purpose. But it is not so. Wherever a digested view of different opinions has been furnished to his hand, by Vitringa, Rosenmüller, or Hengstenberg, he seems to have adopted it, sometimes with scarcely any modification, even of the form. But in many cases where there is great diversity of sentiment, and real cause for doubt, he merely gives his own opinion, with or without a general intimation that there are others extant, or perhaps a crude mass of unexplained discrepances from different translations. If it be said that this is the best method for the common reader, and especially the young, we answer that it ought, then, to have been pursued throughout, and that the convenience of that class of readers should have been consulted in the size and form and cost of the whole work. We believe ourselves, that a simple exposition of Isaiah, without any show of learning, or any controversial disquisition, merely stating the results of critical research, and what the writer holds to be the truth, would be a valuable present to a very large and important class of readers. But then there is a smaller but still more important class (on account of the influence which they exert on others) who need something more than this, who need the proofs as well as the conclusions which they lead to, and who naturally wish to know the views of more than one man on the subject. Now we think that Mr. Barnes should have written with a view to one or the other of these classes. But instead of this, he has tried to meet the wants of both, and, as might have been expected, he has met the wants of neither. While his work in many parts is far too meager for the higher class of readers, it is too pedantic, bulky, and expensive for the lower.

We are not prepared to say how far this vain attempt to make the book both popular and learned has contributed to its diffuseness, repetitions and verbosity. We are sure, however, that it is not the sole cause of those defects. They arise in some degree also from the author's mode of writing. Mr. Barnes's long continued habit of daily composition, while it has certainly enabled him to do wonders as to quantity, has evidently disposed him to be too easily satisfied with the quality of what he writes, and to feel that if he has written just so long, and just so much, he has performed his part. Like other literary men who have been early accustomed to the use of the pen, he studies on paper, he thinks in black and white. The first impression, which his mind receives, as to the meaning of a passage, he records. Further reading and reflection tend to modify this first impression, and he commits his second thoughts to paper likewise. At length he becomes settled in some one view of the matter, and he sets down his conviction. Now against this practice, as a personal and private one, we have not a word to say. We know its nature and its value by experience. But Mr. Barnes's error lies in this, that he preserves and prints the whole mass of crude and unformed thought, through which his own mind has passed in forming its conclusions. We do not mean, of course, that the first rough draft of his composition is retained without correction. As to that we know nothing. It is very possible that he may re-write his productions often. But we do know, that this process, if it really takes place, leaves the original defect, which we have pointed out, essentially unchanged. That the conclusions which he states should be accompanied by reasons, is natural and necessary. But it is not till the process of investigation is completed, that the reasons can be clearly stated to the minds of others. For in order to convince, or even to be understood, they must be separated from the crude suggestions which were subsequently dropped, and from the false impressions which were afterwards corrected. Our conclusion is then that the diffuseness and verbosity of Mr. Barnes's book arises in a great degree from his neglecting to obliterate the crude thoughts which preceded and prepared the way for his mature judgments. The best explanation of this strange proceeding in the composition of a learned work on such a subject, would be furnished by the fact that he kept up with the press, in the original production of his matter. But we are utterly unwilling to believe that a man of Mr. Barnes's years

and character would undertake to write an exposition of Isaiah, in the same way that Sir Walter Scott produced his novels. The difference of the subject would suffice to render such a course incredible, even leaving out of view the difference of the men. But even supposing, as we do, that Mr. Barnes is innocent of this presumptuous folly, there is still another circumstance which tends to aggravate the faults which we have mentioned. Even when he has made up his mind, he is not always happy in expressing it at once. His first attempt is very frequently a failure. Feeling this to be the case, he repeats it, very often with the same success. Failing to hit the nail upon the head, he strikes first on one side, then on another, indenting every spot except the right one, and at the same time pounding his own fingers, till at last his hammer takes the right direction, and the nail is driven home. There are few practised writers, we believe, to whom this metaphor will need an explanation. Now we cannot help thinking that if Mr. Barnes, in all such cases, had retained the last felicitous expression of his thoughts, and blotted all the rest, his book would have been much reduced in size, his style more free from that *aquosus languor* which oppresses it, and many of his sentences too strong to need so frequent a resort to that *italic* emphasis, which Blackwood's Magazine describes as properly belonging to the epistolary style of ladies. We shall only add, in order to prevent misapprehension, that we fully recognize the absolute necessity, on some occasions, of repeated paraphrases, as the only means of conveying the full import of a Hebrew phrase or sentence. This means has been employed by Mr. Barnes, in many cases, with entire propriety and good success. The preceding strictures are intended to apply to those cases only where no such necessity exists, and where the repetition evidently springs from a conscious failure to express the commentator's own ideas with complete precision.

But there is still another cause to be assigned for the undue size of Mr. Barnes's work in proportion to its substance. This is the fact, that he often loses sight of the end to be aimed at in exposition, and merely follows the example of those writers whom he has consulted. This has led him to do some things without distinctly knowing why he does them, and to push others, which were really necessary, to an excess altogether incompatible with any thing like brevity. An ex-

ample is afforded by what Mr. Barnes has called his "New Translation." We do not object to the epithet "new," as indicating any arrogant pretensions, which Mr. Barnes has very modestly disclaimed in his Preface. He has also thought it necessary to disclaim all intention to "supersede, in any degree, the common version." Why then has he given us a new translation at the top of every page? "Because," says he, "it was desirable that the sense expressed in the notes should be apparent in the text. Because a literal translation often expresses the sense of the writer better than any commentary can do, and saves the necessity of comment.*" These are good reasons, but with Mr. Barnes they seem to have been rather theoretical than practical. In order to secure the benefit proposed to be derived from a new version, as a part of an expository work, that version must itself be the text of the exposition. It is only in this way that the circumlocutions of a commentary founded on a version which the commentator thinks erroneous, are to be avoided. The plan pursued by those expository writers, who have given us new versions, has been this. They have first expressed the meaning clearly and precisely in a literal translation of their own. Sometimes, as Mr. Barnes has said, this precludes the necessity of further explanation, and requires merely to be justified by reasons. And even when additional comment is required, much room is saved by making it directly on the version which it presupposes as the only true one. But our author has combined the disadvantages of both these methods. He has given up a large part of his space to his own translation, and then commented on the common version. This looks as if the new translation had been added as a fashionable ornament and not for use. At all events, it looks as if the new translation and the notes, instead of being mutually necessary parts of one design, were independent of each other, and connected only by their juxtaposition. This suspicion gathers strength from the undoubted fact that the notes and the translation are not always in agreement. Of this we have observed one remarkable instance in a very important passage. The sixteenth verse of the seventh chapter is thus rendered in the common version. "For before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good, the land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings." This construction of the sentence, which is also

* Vol. 1, p. vii.

given by the Vulgate, Calvin, Grotius, Junius, Gataker, Piscator, and the national Dutch version, represents "the land" itself as the object of abhorrence, and threatens it with the loss of its two kings. To this view of the matter there are strong objections, both grammatical and otherwise, to remove which another construction has been proposed, which makes the kings themselves the object of dislike or dread, and threatens the land, not merely with the loss of these kings, but with desolation. As this construction is more purely idiomatic than the other, and at the same time free from the exegetical objections to which that is open, it is not surprising that the major part of the best writers on Isaiah are agreed in giving it the preference. Besides De Dieu, who seems to have suggested it, this construction is adopted by Cocceius, Vitringa, John David Michaelis, Lowth, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, in his abridged Scholia, Hitzig, Maurer, Hengstenberg, and Hendewerk. This being the case, it was for Mr. Barnes to choose between these two constructions which, the reader will observe, are quite irreconcilable. And accordingly he does choose, but he chooses both. In his new translation he has given the same version as Gesenius. "For before the child shall learn to refuse the evil and to choose the good, desolate shall be the land, before whose two kings thou art in terror." Here the object of terror is the two kings, not their land, as in the common version, and the verb means to be desolate, and not to be forsaken or deprived of its two rulers. All this we believe to be correct. But in the notes it is expressly said: "Ahaz, however, evidently looked upon the nations of Syria and Samaria with disgust, as well as with alarm.—*Shall be forsaken:* shall be left. It shall be without either of these kings.—*Of both her kings:* By both her kings. They shall both cease to reign." We know it may be said that this is a mere oversight, and ought to be leniently dealt with in a work of such extent and difficulty. This is true, and we should never think of using it to show the general character of the interpretation. But the very nature of the oversight is such as to suggest the idea, that the new translation is not the result of the expository process, but a mere appendage to it, manufactured in a more compendious manner, with the help of other versions. Even one such case of discrepance would go far to confirm the truth of the conclusion, that the new translation has been added rather in compliance with the fashion, than with any clear perception of its use. And thus it tends to swell the work without any proportionate

increase of value, the rather as the new translation often consists merely in the substitution of synonymous expressions, such as "plunder" for "rob," "accomplish" for "perform," "deeds" for "doings," and in some cases the exchange of the exact word for one less appropriate, as for example "cut down" for "cast down," (ch. 9, 10,) where the new translator may have been misled by Gesenius's *gefällt*. We give these instances because they meet our eye upon the opening of the book, without the least research. To what extent they might be multiplied, we have neither time nor disposition to inquire. We are even willing to allow that they are casual exceptions to the general merit of the New Translation. We remain convinced, however, that its merit is not such as to compensate for the space it fills, especially when added to the common version, and spread out by being printed in the metrical form. On this mode of printing, and on new translations generally, we propose to say a few words in another place.

Another particular, in which the size of the work has been increased without a proportionate increase of value, is one which we have already mentioned, that of archaeological illustration. We commended Mr. Barnes's diligence in applying illustration of this nature, but we cannot commend his moderation in the use of it. He seems to have been sometimes under the delusion that the more he could insert, in point of quantity, the better. He has therefore not only introduced far-fetched comparisons with usages in Hindostan and other remote countries, but in cases where the illustration is correctly chosen, he has filled whole pages where he ought to have filled lines. As an instance of this error, we refer to his note upon the third verse of the fortieth chapter, where the simple fact that the prophet alludes to the ancient custom of preparing roads before the march of royal travellers, is illustrated or obscured by two or three closely printed pages of annotation and quotation. The same passage will afford a specimen of Mr. Barnes's favourite repetitions. "The time of the exile at Babylon was about to be completed. Their long and painful captivity was about to end. The people were about to be restored to their own land. Jehovah was about to conduct them again to their own country, &c. &c."* As to the illustrations, the mistake arises here too from his losing sight of their design. He

*Vol. 3, p. 16.

ought to have remembered that all such quotations would be perfectly irrelevant, unless they served to make the prophet's meaning plain, and that as soon as this end is accomplished, the accumulation of examples and authorities can only serve to swell the bulk of the performance, without adding to its value. We should be more disposed to bear with this excess of illustration, if it cost the author much additional labour. But it is in fact the easiest way of filling out his pages. Books full of such illustration now abound, and it is certainly much easier to let the compositor set up several pages from a printed volume, than to supply him with a brief condensed abstract.

There is yet another class of passages, in which a large amount of needless matter is inserted, in the attempt to imitate distinguished models. We refer to the lexicographical details, with which Mr. Barnes sometimes entertains his readers. All the great critical commentators enter, more or less, into this species of investigation. But they do it either for the purpose of correcting the errors of the lexicons; or for the purpose of affording explanations which the plan of a lexicon does not admit; or, lastly, for the purpose of selecting from among the minute statements of the lexicon such as the commentator wishes to make prominent in application to his present subject. But our author seems to have imagined that this sort of illustration was a matter of display, or something to be valued for its own sake, without any regard to its effect upon the exposition. Of this several instances occur in the notes on the fifty-third chapter, which is, as it ought to be, the most elaborate portion of the commentary. See for example the concordance of equivalents to the word יַצְדִּיק, ch. 53: 11, and in the notes upon the same verse, the account of the different senses of the verb translated *justify*, in which the Kal and Hiphil are confounded, and the causative or declarative meaning of the latter given as a fifth sense of the former. But the most amusing instance is contained in the note upon the ninth verse, where an article is transcribed from Gesenius's lexicon, with all its subdivisions, and without the least apparent purpose, as the author gravely adds that the word is "evidently" used here in a certain sense, for which, although correct, he gives no reason, and for which his extract from Gesenius certainly affords as little. We regret that Mr. Barnes should have been led into this error by his laudable endeavours to resemble his great models, even where he did not altogether understand the motive and de-

sign of their proceedings. It is one of the inconveniences arising from the practice of studying a book for the immediate purpose of expounding it, and thus attempting to supply deficiencies and overcome difficulties, which the expounder himself has not had time to feel. The same cause may be seen to operate in many German books, especially by youthful writers. Genuine thorough exposition can be looked for only from those who have repeatedly gone over the same ground, and seen its main points in a variety of lights. Such books are not to be composed extempore, or by "cramming," as the English say, for the occasion.

We have now exhibited, at length, the grand fault of the work before us, with the causes which appear to have occasioned or increased it; and, in doing this, we have, of course, suggested the proper method of removing this defect in any subsequent edition. At the same time we have incidentally mentioned certain other faults, more or less connected with the one in question, and shall therefore not be under the necessity of further noticing defects of style, the want of nice exactness in grammatical details, and the confusion of arrangement, which is sometimes very great, and which arises, we presume, from the mode of composition which has been already mentioned as a principal cause of the diffuseness and prolixity with which the work is chargeable. We shall conclude our strictures by referring to a fault of which, we doubt not, Mr. Barnes esteems himself pre-eminently innocent, but which is not, on that account, less real and important. His interpretation is, in certain cases, influenced too much by theological prejudice, and in others by an undue deference to authority. We are aware, from Mr. Barnes's former writings, that he rather piques himself upon his independence, and his rigorous adherence to the rule of letting every scripture speak for itself. Nevertheless, we do not hesitate to say that where the letter of the scripture, and its obvious meaning, are a little too decidedly old-calvinistic, Mr. Barnes has been evidently haunted by the dread of being ultra-orthodox, and this has led him to throw in gratuitous insinuations as to what is *not taught* in a given text, and as to what the author knows and believes to be true, independently of that text. We were pleased, though not surprised, to find that even Mr. Barnes had not been able to disguise from himself the real import of the fifty-third chapter, as containing the doctrine of vicarious atonement in the strictest sense. We say this, because we are willing to

understand the orthodox expressions, which he uses, in their true sense, although well aware that the school which he belongs to, has attached new meanings to the ancient terms. One of their favourite neologisms is, that Christ did not suffer the penalty of the law; that although he suffered for our sins, he was not punished for them. They talk of substitution and vicarious sufferings; but by substitution they mean something done or suffered which will be a substitute for the fulfilment of the law's demands; and by vicarious suffering they mean something suffered, not to satisfy God's justice, but to answer the same purpose as if satisfaction had been made. With this disingenuous abuse of language we will not charge Mr. Barnes. But even taking his expressions in the obvious and proper sense which usage has attached to them, we grieve to say, that theological prejudice has led him to forget his own rules of exegesis, and to qualify his own interpretation by combining it with certain expressions of his private opinion, not professing to be founded on the passages interpreted, but really intended to relieve the Prophet from the Calvinistic stigma put upon him, by our author's own unbiassed exposition of Isaiah's own expressions. Sometimes the prejudice is so strong as to force him to transgress the plainest rules of exegesis and deprive words of their natural and common meaning. Thus, in his note upon the fifth verse of the fifty-third chapter, he says that the word commonly translated *chastisement* "does not of necessity denote punishment, though it is often used in that sense. Here it cannot possibly mean punishment, for there is no punishment where there is no guilt." Had he admitted that the punishment of our sins was laid on Christ, he must have admitted also that he bore the penalty of the law, which, in his other writings, he has utterly denied. Let the common and proper meaning of the word be what it will, it CANNOT be the meaning here, because the author has decided and published long ago, that Christ did not suffer any punishment for those in whose behalf he died. "There is no punishment where there is no guilt." An innocent man may be hanged and quartered, but he suffers no punishment! Mr. Barnes's mastery of the English language is, in our opinion far too small to admit of his confounding all our notions of its meaning, however convenient such a result might be to the New Divinity. * Another instance

* Dr. Henderson translates the sixth and eighth verses thus: "But Jehovah hath inflicted upon him the PUNISHMENT of us all." "The PUNISHMENT with

of the force of prejudice is furnished by his note upon the sixth verse of the same chapter, where, in direct opposition to the context, he gratuitously brings in the doctrine of universal atonement. He seizes on the word "all," without inquiring "all whom?" or waiting for the answer which the eighth verse would have yielded. His own translation of that verse is as follows: "For the transgression of my people was he smitten." This defines the meaning of the "all" in the sixth verse, and indeed this limitation follows inevitably from the very notion of vicarious atonement.

In the remaining notes on this important chapter, there will be found a strange apparent mixture of the Old and New Divinity, the one suggested by the prophet, and the other by the commentator. For it generally happens, that the old-school doctrine, or at least its phrascology, occurs in the interpretation of the prophet's language, while the new-school doctrine, in its undisguised form, has been superinduced upon the exposition, in the way of assertion or of declamation. Though we cannot compliment our author on his candour or consistency in this thing, we can forgive many of his groundless allegations, for the sake of his unsolicited concessions. We are frequently so well contented with what Isaiah says, even as Mr Barnes expounds him, that we give ourselves but little trouble as to what the commentator says besides, upon his own authority.

Another example, both of prejudice and deference to certain great authorities, is furnished by the course which Mr. Barnes has taken with respect to what is technically called the *double sense* of prophecy. The evident result of his investigations was a strong conviction that there is in many instances a *double sense*, according to the old and proper import of the phrase, that is to say, two or more distinct fulfilments of the same predictions. He has accordingly applied this principle of exegesis with what we consider an excessive liberality. He certainly sees double senses in important prophecies where we can see but one, as for example in ch. 7: 14, and ch. 40: 3. But it is not to this that we object; for greater men have done the same before him. But the strange part of the business is, that while he thus makes free use of the double sense, he is continually haunted by the

a view to our peace was upon him, that by his stripes we might be healed." Dr. H. seems to think the meaning "punishment" is possible. Does this arise from ignorance of Hebrew or of English?

recollection that Professor Stuart, and perhaps some other writers in the Biblical Repository, have spoken of the double sense as an impossibility, and of its application to the scriptures as absurd. This, to be sure, has arisen from a gross misapprehension of the meaning of the phrase itself. But Mr. Barnes, not knowing this, and dreading to be censured as a man of double sense, tells his readers, and, we verily believe, persuades himself, that he is no believer in the double sense at all. In order to sustain himself in this position, he seems disposed to take shelter under the hypothesis of gradual or progressive fulfilment. But the two theories are perfectly distinct. The one supposes that a prediction, which began to be fulfilled at one time, was more perfectly fulfilled at another time. The other supposes that the prediction was fulfilled in one event, but that the terms employed in the prediction were so chosen as to be applicable to another event entirely distinct. Now this, which Mr. Barnes calls *prophetic suggestion*, we call *double sense*. It is precisely what the older writers called by that name. We believe it to be frequently the true hypothesis, and have no hesitation in applying it as such. But we believe that Mr. Barnes assumes it where it is not necessary, as for example in the two important prophecies before referred to. In ch. 7 : 14, we see no reference whatever to the birth of any other child than Jesus Christ, and in ch. 40 : 3, it is at least not necessary to suppose an allusion to the Babylonish exile. We are disposed to think, with Hengstenberg, that there is reference to the whole series of events until the coming of Christ, and that the captivity is thus included. But that it is the primary and immediate subject of the prophecy, appears to us to be a mere assumption, which has arisen, in a great degree, from the confounding of the metaphor here used, with an analogous one used elsewhere. In ch. 57 : 14, Isaiah calls upon the heathen to cast up a highway for the return of Israel from exile. This is a metaphorical prediction that the heathen should be the instrument of Israel's restoration. But here it is God's own way that is to be cast up, the way for his return, not with his people, but to them. It may be said, indeed, that this part of Isaiah abounds with allusions to the Babylonish exile. This is true. It is one of the most prominent figures in this great prophetic picture. But it is not the only figure. It is grouped with others, and especially with that of the Messiah's advent. They are continually interchanged, often abruptly. Because the exile

is a prominent subject of the book, it no more follows that it is mentioned in this particular context, than that it is mentioned in the fifty-third chapter, where the sufferings of Christ are so vividly painted The application of the prophecy to John the Baptist is a. clear and simple one ; its application to any thing else is very dark and doubtful. In him it was both literally and figuratively verified ; figuratively, because he called men to make a way, by repentance, through the spiritual desert which divided them from God ; literally, because he came preaching in the wilderness of Judea. But what was the voice which cried in the wilderness to announce the return from exile ? Did any one literally announce it in the wilderness ? No, the description is admitted to be figurative. Here, then, is the case of a prophecy figuratively fulfilled in the type, literally in the antitype. For it cannot be dissembled that the theory of prophetic suggestion has betrayed Mr. Barnes, most innocently we are well assured, into the once dreaded and despised absurdity of types and antitypes. Such is the potency of names ! We do not blame but rather praise him for this late return to good old doctrines, and if the shame of his retreat can be relieved by putting new names upon old things, we are heartily content, and think the process quite as harmless as the putting of old wine into new bottles. It is the contrary process which destroys both the one and the other. We cheerfully admit our author's right to put two senses upon these predictions, where we feel disposed ourselves to be content with one. We only beg that, while he does so, he will cease to use disparaging expressions with respect to those who, like himself, but under other names, believe in types and double senses. And if others, finding out his change of sentiment, should taunt him with believing in an obsolete absurdity, we hope he will console himself with Warburton's remark, that although other men complained of writers who had double senses, he had been more plagued himself with those who had no sense at all.

We have one more example of the force of prejudice, which, at the same time, betrays a not very scholarlike treatment of the sacred text, and shows how much influence mere vulgar usage, when combined with prejudice, may have upon the student with his books before him. In reviewing our author's work upon the Gospels, some years since, we had occasion to take notice of a case in which his zeal for the new-school doctrine of ability had led him to

insist upon it in connexion with a phrase made use of in the English Bible, but unfortunately not to be discovered in the Greek. The remarks were founded on the phrase "we cannot tell," whereas the original expression was οὐκ οἴδαμεν, "we do not know." Both before and since that time, we have observed that preachers of a certain class are fond of ringing changes, in a similar manner, but for another purpose, on these words of Isaiah as translated in our Bible, (ch. 5 : 4.) "What could have been done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it?" The words *can* and *could* occur most frequently in scripture in connexions which are utterly destructive to the notion of man's plenary ability. When the context is not thus decisive, these expressions are caught up with great avidity by those who preach that doctrine; and by some strange association, they attach themselves to that now in question, which relates not to man but to God, and appears to assert his inability, and not the opposite. Why the same persons who delight in representing man as able to do any thing, should also take delight in the discovery of things which God cannot do, we leave others to determine. But the fact in point is this, that the notion of ability is only to be found in the translation. For the simple meaning of the Hebrew phrase is *what to do more?* i. e. what shall be done next?* And the fifth verse gives the answer. "Go to, I will tell you what I will do (further) to my vineyard." Or, referring it to past time, *what more was there to do or to be done?* This may be supposed to involve the idea of obligation—'what more was I bound to do?' But even this is not expressed, and it is perfectly gratuitous to foist in the idea of ability, much more to insist upon it as a substantive part of what is actually said. It may be said indeed, that if this notion had not evidently been implied, it could never have occurred to so many translators to use the form, "what COULD be done?" So many translators! How many? The English version, and some others upon which it has exerted direct influence; and, unless we are much mistaken, this is absolutely all. So far as we know, not a single independent foreign version, whether ancient or modern, introduces the idea of ability or possibility in rendering this sentence. We grant that the latest German commentator, Hendewerk does use the word *möglich* (possible) in his note upon the passage. But he may have borrowed that idea from the English, which he seems to read with ease, and as

* See Esther 1 : 15. 6 : 6.

to his *translation*, it is a literal one, *was war zu thun*, what was (there) to do? And even granting that translators generally thought that the notion of ability or possibility was implied in the original—which they evidently did not—they have all excluded it from their translations. And a mere implication, not entitled to a place in the translation, ought not surely to be made a proof of doctrine. We are confident that no one would so use it, unless unacquainted with the Hebrew on the one hand, or carried away with zeal and prejudice upon the other. We have long regarded this text as a trap for preachers; but we scarcely supposed that it could be a trap for commentators, with their eyes open and their books before them. But we now know better.

"*What could I*, &c. As a man who had done what is described in v. 2, would have done all that *could* be done for a vineyard, so God says that he has done all that he could in the circumstances of the Jews, to make them holy and happy. He had chosen them; he had given them his law; had established his religion among them; had sent them prophets and teachers; had defended them; had come forth in judgment, and mercy, and he now appeals *to them* to ask what *could* have been done more? What more could they ask? A similar appeal he makes in Micah vi. 3: 'O my people, what have I done unto thee? And wherein have I wearied thee? Testify against me.' The same appeal may be made to sinners every where; and it may be asked, what God could have done for their salvation more than has been done? *Could* he have given them a purer law? *Could* he present higher considerations than have been drawn from the hope of an *eternal* heaven, and the fear of an *eternal* hell? COULD he have made a more precious, and valuable, and full atonement than has been made by the blood of his own Son? And the question may be asked with emphasis, what *could* he have done more? The conclusion to which we should come would be in accordance with what is said in the prophet, that God has done all for the salvation of sinners, that in the circumstances of the case could be done, and that if they are lost, they only will bear the blame." Vol. I, p. 188.

The italics and capitals are Mr. Barnes's own, and as they point out the emphatic words, they bring more clearly into view the curious fact, that all his emphasis is spent upon that part of the translation which has nothing corresponding to it in the word of God. We shall make no further comment than by asking two short questions. 1. Are there not some doctrines which are wholly supported by the errors of translations? 2. It has been a matter of complaint with certain writers, that the doctrine of imputation is inferred from texts in which the word does not occur; but did they ever know it to be founded upon phrases which exist in English, but are not to be discovered in the Greek or Hebrew?

We now take leave of Mr. Barnes's work with sincere respect for his untiring industry, the serious tone of his interpretation, and the general soundness of his exegesis; but

with less exalted notions of his learning, logic, taste, impartiality, and independence. We have used too great a freedom (though with no unfriendly temper) to avoid a place among those captious critics, from whose judgment, in his Preface, he prospectively appeals. By the way, these protestations, in advance, against the justice of one's future critics, argue sensitiveness rather than indifference to censure. They likewise savour of an egotism which we had not seen in any former work of Mr. Barnes, and which indeed would have seemed still more ungraceful in the modest volumes which have gained him his celebrity, than in this more ambitious and more ponderous performance. A spice of the same temper is perceptible in certain formal statements of the pleasure which the making of the book has yielded, and which seems to be regarded as an ample compensation for the want of any corresponding feeling in the reader. Into some of these new attitudes of authorship, however, Mr. Barnes has been betrayed by his just admiration of his noble predecessor, old Campegius Vitringa. We could trace the influence of his example even in the Preface, and the fact is placed beyond a doubt by the conclusion of the whole work with a peroration which, though sensible and pious, is entirely at variance with the customs of the present day, and winds up with a quotation of the very words in which Vitringa took leave of his readers, a hundred years ago. To the many benefits for which the world has been indebted to this admirable writer, may now be added that of having led a man of such celebrity and influence as Mr. Barnes, at least some distance, in the good old ways from which his habits and associations have too much estranged him. We rejoice in this example of conservative influence exerted by the healthy, pure, and solid erudition of the olden time, and sincerely hope that Mr. Barnes will still continue to drink long and deeply of those ancient springs, from which neology, American as well as German, first derives its stream, and then pollutes and poisons it.

We have left ourselves but little room to speak of Dr. Henderson. We shall need the less, however, on account of the detail into which we have already gone, with respect to his predecessors. This will enable us to say more briefly, in the way of reference and comparison, what otherwise we must have said at large, in the way of description. We shall begin, as in the case of Mr. Barnes, with the external aspect of the volumes. And here the first impression is the opposite

of that produced in Mr. Barnes's case. In the latter we were startled by the unexpected number and dimensions of the volumes; while in this case we are equally surprised at the narrow limits into which the author has compressed his work. If we felt disposed to fear that Mr. Barnes had made his work unreadable from its unwieldly size, we were still more uneasy lest that of Dr. Henderson should prove unsatisfactory for an opposite reason. The difference in the size of the two works, computed merely by the number of pages, might appear greater than it really is. Measured in that way, Dr. Henderson's is less than a third of Mr. Barnes's by about a hundred pages. But the notes of the former are printed much more closely and in smaller type, while, on the other hand the text in Henderson fills, in proportion, a much larger space. Without going into a minute calculation, or invoking professional assistance, we believe that the proportion may be fairly stated, on the whole, as being about three to one in favour of our countryman. This is the first presumptive ground of objection to the work of Dr. Henderson; that he has undertaken, in too small a space, to give a critical exposition of Isaiah. This presumption, however, is considerably weakened upon closer inspection. For it then appears that by the use of a compact and pregnant style, and by excluding all superfluous detail and every thing like declamation, he has come very near to a complete inversion of the ratio between Mr. Barnes and himself. It would be certainly unfair to use sweeping expressions with respect to the whole work; but we have no hesitation in saying that, in some important passages, which we have had occasion to compare, the excess of solid matter is as much upon the side of Dr. Henderson, as that of surface on the side of Mr. Barnes. It is but just, however, to observe, that Mr. Barnes's plan includes a good deal more than Dr. Henderson's. The latter professes to exclude all matter merely doctrinal and practical, while much of Mr. Barnes's space is filled, not with doctrinal discussion, but with practical appeals to the reader, in the loose style of an extemporaneous sermon. He would have gained a vast deal both of space and power if, in executing this part of his plan, he had adopted a more pointed and sententious style. But laying out of view the matter which is thus peculiar to the plan of Mr. Barnes, and looking merely at the critical and exegetical department of the two works, it is certain that the praise of saying most in fewest words is due to Dr. Henderson. We have indeed been much sur-

prised at the brevity and clearness with which different opinions are in some cases stated, both in the philological discussions and the archaeological illustrations. An example of the latter kind is furnished by the statement with respect to the position of the fountain of Siloam. We had long ago observed the contrariety existing among writers on this subject, and perceived that Mr. Barnes had been misled by his authorities into confusion, if not contradiction, which is the less surprising, as Gesenius most expressly contradicts himself on this point of topography. We saw with pleasure, therefore, that Dr. Henderson had noted this diversity and warned his readers of it. He has added nothing, it is true, to facts already known upon the subject, which we hope to see elucidated soon in Dr. Robinson's forthcoming work. We refer to the note on ch. 7: 3, merely as an instance of the author's clearness and economy of words. In other places, which we have consulted, the same qualities have been displayed in the succinct and comprehensive statement of the views of the best writers, from the oldest to the latest. For it adds not a little to the value of the work, that Dr. Henderson appears to be familiar with the whole encyclopaedia of writers on Isaiah. There is no interpreter of note and sterling merit, unless it be Cocceius, and indeed no work which can be thought important in the illustration of the subject, which we do not see referred to. The list of German writers is brought down to Hendewerk, and even Mr. Barnes's book is mentioned in the Preface, although not in a manner either fair or complimentary; for it is represented as occupying altogether different ground from that of Dr. Henderson, by which we understand, from the connexion, that while the latter is merely critical, the former is merely doctrinal and practical. But Dr. Henderson's examination of his predecessor's work must have been very superficial, or he could not have overlooked its obvious pretensions to the praise of learning, which, it must be owned however, might be hidden from a first view in the verbose declamation of the practical department.

We are pleased to see, too, that while Dr. Henderson is thus familiar with the modern German writers, he shows no disposition to submit to their authority, but canvasses their arguments and statements with a coolness and a dignity which might be an example to some blind idolaters among ourselves. Dr. Henderson's judgment of the German critics seems to be correct in the main, although he does speak of Rosenmüller as distinguished for 'acumen,' which seems to us

as wide from the mark as Mr. Barnes's saying of the same well-known writer, that "he does not resemble Grotius, who is said to have 'found Christ nowhere,' but is almost always, particularly in the first part, an advocate for the Messianic interpretation." Would any unlearned reader guess from this, that Grotius, though an errorist, was still a christian, and that Rosenmüller, though he admits that the ancient Jews expected a Messiah, was himself an infidel? The injustice done to Grotius is the more surprising, as he is the writer whom Mr. Barnes resembles most in his interpretation. The only sense in which Grotius can be said to have 'found Christ nowhere,' is that he every-where avoids the immediate and exclusive application of a prophecy to Christ, and prefers the supposition of a type or a "prophetical suggestion." One of the ablest and most elegant defences of the double sense of prophecy, as then understood, is to be found in his note upon Matthew, i: 23. We do not deny the literal truth of Mr. Barnes's statements as to these two writers. We only say that it would make a false impression on the unlearned reader, and that it argues not a very correct judgment of these celebrated critics.

But to return to Dr. Henderson. It is almost superfluous to say that he is free from any sympathy with rationalism. He seems to have escaped even that degree of neological influence exerted upon John Pye Smith. Nothing has pleased us more than the clearness and decision with which he has stated, in his introduction, the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of the German infidelity. This inspires a confidence in his particular interpretations, which we cannot feel towards writers, who dissent from this or that conclusion of Gesenius and his school, but at the same time seem to grant that their principle of exegesis is the only sound one. It is satisfactory to find in the same writer so correct an apprehension of the errors of the rationalists, and so familiar an acquaintance with their writings, as displayed in these condensed views which we have already mentioned. But in praising Dr. Henderson for his synoptical exhibitions of the views of other writers, we must not forget to say, that in this, as well as other points, he is unequal. We have turned to some passages of interest and importance, in the hope of seeing the conflicting views of commentators marshalled and compared, and have merely found a statement of the author's own opinion, with a general remark that it was evidently true, to which we have not always felt quite ready to assent. The same charge of inequality has

been suggested by the comparison of the latter chapters, some of which we think have been too slightly dealt with. In this part of the work there are unambiguous appearances of haste.

Dr. Henderson's book is beautifully printed. In arrangement, paper, type and execution, it is truly English. To this general commendation there is one exception. The space between the lines is very frequently doubled for the purpose of introducing Arabic, Syriac, or Ethiopic, but particularly Arabic. We should have thought that oriental printing had been brought to such perfection in Great Britain, that the Arabic and Roman type could be completely matched. If not, we think it would have been advisable to introduce the oriental alphabets less frequently. We think there is sometimes an appearance of parade in the citation both of roots and definitions from the Arabic lexicons; and not unfrequently whole sentences are given, with no effect but that of spoiling the appearance of the page. We are not disposed to view this as mere pedantry, but rather to explain it from the author's personal acquaintance with the oriental dialects as spoken. We have before had occasion to observe that missionaries and oriental travellers, in writing upon learned subjects, are sometimes disposed to make use of their practical knowledge in a way not altogether scientific, under the influence of associations which are unknown to their readers.

Dr. Henderson's style is strong, perspicuous, and generally scholar-like. Its great defect is in the attribute of purity. We certainly did not expect to find a writer of such merit and distinction using several of the most inelegant vulgarisms of that common dialect, which some call American, but which really belongs to the newspaper literature of both countries. Whatever breaches of propriety we may have been accustomed to put up with, in the public prints, we did not expect to see the pages of a learned, beautiful, and in the main well-written English book, defaced by such expressions as "transpire" for "happen," and that vulgar solecism "was being carried on." "Tested" and "located" are perhaps beyond the reach of all objection, more especially from this side of the water, where the use of such expressions may enable Dr. Henderson to pass for a native American writer.

Each of the three works before us contains a new translation of Isaiah. As to Hendewerk's we say nothing; but the other two we look upon as unadvised attempts. Mr.

Barnes and Dr. Henderson have been misled by Bishop Lowth's example. Even supposing his translation to be better than we think it is, there are important points of difference between his case and that of these two writers. In the first place, translation was his main design. It was on this that he laid out his strength. The notes are something merely incidental, growing out of the translation, and intended really to justify those changes which the Bishop thought himself at liberty to make in the text of the original. But with the writers now before us, the translation is confessedly a secondary thing, and cannot have received as much attention as the commentary to which it is added. Now in our opinion a complete translation is a work of far more time than the most thorough and detailed interpretation of the text translated. The latter is a task requiring only sense and learning, while the former calls besides for taste and skill in composition, and is subject to many of the same delays which would attend the original production of a finished poem. In the next place, every English reader's ear is so completely prepossessed by the familiar diction of the common version, that a new translation must infallibly be viewed at disadvantage. Something more than an equality of literary merit will be needed to displace the old traditional expressions from the reader's recollection. No biblical translation can be tolerable to the ear, unless elaborately written in the purest idiom, and with a primitive simplicity approaching that with which we are familiar. Modern pedantic phraseology seems doubly flat and odious in a translation of the Bible. Bishop Lowth's attempt to re-translate Isaiah may be pardoned in a writer of such literary eminence, himself a poet and acknowledged master of the modern English language, and the rather as translation was the very task to which he bent his powers. But we must take leave to question whether either Dr. Henderson or Mr. Barnes has any such pre-eminence in English composition as to give their versions any chance of being well received by ears which have been taught to love the pure and simple English of King James's Bible. If the translation be merely part and parcel of the commentary, it might have been printed in a style less ostentatious, such as that employed by Hengstenberg in his Christology. By following Lowth's example, the translators have invited the attention of the reader to their versions, as independent literary compositions, and as such they will be judged. In both we see a frequent want of native idiom, and of that taste which instinctively prefers

plain words to fine ones, and a homely Saxon phraseology to flaunting French and pompous Latin. On the whole, we think both authors would have done more wisely for themselves, if not more profitably for their readers, by forbearing to exhibit a new version as a prominent object independent of the commentary. We are well aware that there are German as well as English examples of this method; but in Germany a version of Isaiah stands nearly on the same ground with a version of Demosthenes or Homer, and has not the same religious prepossessions to encounter with respect to Luther's Bible, which are still connected, among us, with the authorised version.

Another point in which Lowth's example has been generally copied, and with very doubtful benefit, is the metrical arrangement of the sentences, the revival of a mode of interpunction used in some old manuscripts, for the purpose of rendering the parallel constructions more distinctly visible. The reason given is plausible enough; but the effect does not keep pace with the design. This failure arises from two causes. In the first place there are multitudes of passages as really prosaic in their structure as the books of Kings and Chronicles, and all attempts to make the members parallel are wholly unsuccessful. Where this is the case with a continuous context of some length, even the metrical editors adopt the usual mode of printing, which would be equally appropriate, however, in many other cases which are intermingled with decided instances of parallel construction. Now the absence of all metre in such cases disappoints the expectation raised by the arrangement of the lines. And the same effect, but in a less degree, takes place, even where a regular parallelism does undoubtedly exist. For the metrical arrangement being associated in the mind of every reader with poetical measure, in the strict sense of the terms, the ear is offended by the absence of such measure, and the parallelism passes unobserved; whereas, if printed as mere prose, the parallel constructions strike the eye and ear at once. The style of some vernacular prose writers is so rhythmical and balanced that it approximates to blank-verse measure, and the reader almost doubts whether it is prose or verse. But let the very same sentences be parcelled into lines, and made to look as well as sound like verse, and the illusion vanishes. At first, there was more rhythm than the reader looked for; now there is less, and the disappointment makes it seem like none at all. For our own part, we never

find the parallel constructions of Isaiah half so striking when we read the book in Lowth's version as we do when we read it in the old prose form. We are not surprised that Lowth, who first reduced the theory of parallelisms into a system, should have been disposed to set it forth by printing his translation in this manner, and that the Germans should have followed his example. We observe, however, that De Wette, who has more taste than his countrymen in general, has gone back to the old method in his translation of the Bible lately published.* But even admitting Lowth's to be the best mode of printing the text of the prophecies in mass, we object to the affectation of printing all quotations from the prophets in blank-verse, even in the midst of of a prose sentence, where there is no more reason for so doing than there would be for printing some of Mr. Barnes's synonymous parallelisms in like manner. If, for example, when we quoted a short passage from his third volume, we had arranged it thus:

> The time of the exile at Babylon was about to be completed—
> Their long and painful captivity was about to end—
> The people were about to be restored to their own land—
> Jehovah was about to conduct them again to their own country—

would the sense be any clearer, or the merits of the composition any more apparent? As to beauty of appearance and convenience in reading, we have only to refer to those parts of Dr. Henderson's volume, where the text is printed like prose, but in paragraphs, and ask the reader to compare them with the rest. By the way, this metrical mode of printing is directly at variance with the paragraph-system which is so much applauded, and by some of the same men who make use of the other. If the division into verses, each containing two or more parallel clauses, mars the sense, how is it that the same effect is not produced by printing single clauses, one by one? The simple truth is, that in all such matters, authors and editors are guided more by fashion than by any reference to principle or reason. It would be well if the effect were never worse than in the present instance.

We shall mention, in conclusion, two particulars, in which both the English works before us seem to be defective. We have found in neither of them any application of the

* Even according to the Jewish rhetoric, the prophecies are prose in form, that is, not poetical in the same sense with the Psalms and Proverbs.

great improvements which are thought to have been made in the science of Hebrew Grammar, nor any allusion to the questions which have been so learnedly discussed in reference to some great principles of Hebrew Syntax, and on which the meaning of some difficult passages in part depends. We have even noticed some grammatical inaccuracies, not of the most creditable kind, though unimportant; but we prefer to treat all such minutiae as errors of the press.* What we refer to now is something very different. We are aware that some writers have expended an immense amount of time and paper on the *difficiles nugae* of philology. The absence of such matter we regard as an advantage. But we certainly should not have been displeased to see a little more attention paid by both our authors to the general principles of Hebrew Grammar, as a means of solving difficulties in the exposition, and some signs of a more intimate aequaintance with the questions upon which the best grammarians have been divided.

The other defect is somewhat similar, but more important. We have seen, in our perfunctory inspection of the two books, no discussion, and not even any general statement, of the question, so essential in interpreting Isaiah, as to the literal or figurative import of the propheeies relating to the restoration and future glory of the Jewish people. Of all the general exegetical questions which have ever been agitated as to prophecy, this is perhaps the most deeply interesting to a majority of English readers. In England, espeeially, we cannot help believing that by far the greater part of those who open Dr. Henderson's volume will be apt to turn at onee to his interpretation of the last seven chapters. And on doing so, they would discover the hypothesis of literal interpretation, which refers the great things there promised to a period still future, carried out with great consistency in all its striking consequences. But if the same reader should fall in with Mr. Barnes's work and turn to the same part of it, he would find the very same predictions explained and applied, upon a prineiple of exegesis diametrically opposite. In either ease, too, he would find the author's theory dogmatically stated without any demonstration of its truth or any

* Since the former part of the article was written, we have observed, with much regret, a number of typographical errors in the Hebrew of Dr. Henderson's notes, a fault which seems to us materially aggravated by the extraordinary beauty of the printing.

reference to different hypotheses as subjects of discussion. Yet it seems to us, that an attempt to settle this important question, or at least to tell the reader what it is, might well have filled a little of the space now occupied by Dr. Henderson's Arabic quotations, and by Mr. Barnes's extracts from the books of travels. The omission here referred to, while it sensibly diminishes the merit of both works, may also serve as an example of the ease with which interpreters can lay down contradictory positions, each believing his own doctrine to be not only true, but so clear that it does not need to be established. We have often been amused to see, not only in the writers now before us, but in others, that the confident expressions, "clearly," "evidently," "certainly," are seldom used more freely than in those very cases which admit of most diversity of judgment, and in which the author seems to have experienced most difficulty in reaching his conclusions. We have also had occasion to observe how precarious and short-lived the most plausible opinions may be, and how dangerous it consequently is to treat those of our predecessors with contempt as obsolete. An example occurs to us. The eating of butter and honey by Immanuel, predicted in Isaiah 7: 15, was regarded by some of the older writers as an intended proof of his humanity. This Mr. Barnes rejects, with some degree of scorn, as an instance of the lamentable way in which the scriptures have been sometimes dealt with. In the rejection he is probably correct; but it unfortunately happens, that his own interpretation, which is likewise very ancient, has been exploded in its turn by Gesenius, Rosenmüller,* Hitzig, Hengstenberg, and Hendewerk. Contemptuous pity for the blunders of a Calvin is a feeling not to be indulged too freely by the commentators of the present generation.

We must now conclude our desultory criticisms with the observation, that while neither of the works before us seems to have added any thing new to the amount of knowledge which the world possessed before upon the subject, all of them, and especially the last two, may be useful, as the means of throwing open, to some readers, treasures of knowledge which to them were inaccessible. Looking forward as we do to their extensive circulation, it is natural and right to wish that they may be used as instruments of good, and that the errors, great or small, which they contain, may be effectually neutralized.

* Scholia in Compendium Redacta, tom. ii. p. 127.

ART. II.—*Huldreich Zwingli's Werke. Erste vollstandige Ausgabe durch Melchior Schuler und Joh. Schulthess.* Zurich.—*Huldrici Zuinglii Opera. Completa Editio prima, curantibus Melchiore Schulero et Jo. Schultessio.* Turici. 1828—1836. Seven volumes royal octavo. James W. Alexander

THE History of the Reformation, after all the volumes which the event has produced, is still to be written. To the complete view of such a revolution, extending over so great a portion of the civilized world, there is indispensably necessary a body of evidence which it takes generations to bring together. During the progress of great actions, men's minds are so absorbed in the changes of which they are a part, that little care is bestowed upon matters of record. Papers and books are allowed to perish, and witnesses die off with all the valuable knowledge which they possess. After many years, when the sources of exact information, like the books of the sibyl, become precious from their rarity, a few antiquaries lead the way in searching among the rubbish of libraries, and sometimes succeed in awakening a general zeal for the same object. It is to such endeavours that we owe the numerous publications which are now in progress of documents pertaiaing to the Reformation from popery. Among these a high place is due to the correspondence of the Reformers themselves. We bring before the view of our readers the first complete edition of the works of the great Swiss Reformer.

The first two volumes contain the German works: all the rest are in Latin. Most of these works are on the cardinal doctrines of Christianity. This will surprise such as have read Dean Milner's assertion, in derogating from the excellence of Zwingle, that "his time and thoughts were for years entirely taken up with the sacramental controversy, and with disputes respecting baptism."* If this were true, it would only show his zeal against unscriptural teaching: it is however so far from the truth, that out of six volumes, averaging 600 pages each, all the writings on the subjects named by Milner do not occupy 500 pages.

There is reason to believe that a part of the correspond-

* Vol. V. page 584.

ence is yet to appear, as the latest date in the seventh volume is December 1526. No memoir of the author is given, but we shall endeavour to supply this deficiency from other sources. For this our chief reliance will be upon Gerdesius, Hess, and the recent life of Zwingle in the fifty-second volume of the Biographie Universelle, which is known to be from the pen of Labouderie.* But we shall draw largely from the works themselves, especially the correspondence, and the historical and bibliographical prefaces of Schuler and Schultess.

Ulrich Zwingle was born on the first day of January, 1484, at Wildenhausen, in the county of Toggenburg.† His father, though a peasant, was Amman, or magistrate of his little Alpine village, and gave the son the opportunity of acquiring a good education. The youth received his elementary training at Basle and then at Berne, under Henry Lupulus, a scholar of great celebrity. The Dominicans discerned his genius, and sought to gain him for their order, but his father, in order to remove him from their seductions, sent him to finish his studies at the university of Vienna. Here he seems to have learnt little more than the astronomy, physics and metaphysics of that age. On returning to his native land, after an absence of two years, he went again to Basle, where he was soon made regent. Scarcely eighteen years old, he devoted himself with ardour to the studies of the place, and acquired a profound knowledge of the languages in which he was expected to give lessons. We shall see that he was through life regarded as one of the most eminent classical authorities of his country, which is confirmed by the tone of the correspondence between himself and Erasmus, then the very coryphæus of literature. A number of the letters in this collection are in the Greek language. We are told that he gave himself especially to the works of Plato, Aristotle,

* Danielis Gerdesii Historia Reformationis, 4to. Groningae, 1746.—The Life of Ulrich Zuingle, the Swiss Reformer, by J. G. Hess. Translated from the French, by Lucy Aikin. London, 1812.

† We do not say *Ulricus Zuinglius*, any more than *Martinus Lutherus*. The form *Zwingle* is as well settled by English usage, as that of *Luther* or *Calvin*. Perhaps no name or surname in history has been written more variously than this. We have noted the following in works cited hereafter: Ulrich, Ulricus, Udalricus, Huldrychus, Uldricus, Hulderych, Huldrichus, Uldaricus, Huldericus, Uldericus, Huldrich, Urech, Urich; and Zwingli, Zwingle, Zuingle, Zuinglius, Zwinglius, Zuingli, Zuynglius, Zinlius, Zwinglin, Zinglin, Zwingel, Cinglius. Strange to say, a large number of these are used in his own signatures.

Demosthenes, Sallust, Horace, Seneca, and Pliny, studying them night and day; a fact which may account for the elegance of his style. He also studied theology, under the direction of Thomas Wyttenbach, of whom he always spoke with veneration, and by whom, as he often declared, he was first brought to understand that Jesus Christ by the will of the Father provided righteousness and satisfaction for us, and for the sins of the world.*

In the midst of his most assiduous labours, says one of his biographers, Zwingle never lost his engaging gaiety of temper, nor ceased to cultivate the art of music, which he had learnt in his childhood. This was an essential part of clerical education in Switzerland; but Zwingle considered it as a resource for the mind when jaded by study. He accordingly recommended music to men of sedentary and laborious occupations. We know how earnestly Luther and Milton did the same. The second of these volumes contains several of his musical compositions, one of which accompanies a poem made by him when he was suffering from the plague.

In 1506 he took the degree of Master of Arts, and was presented to the cure of Glaris, in which he remained ten years. The benefice suited him well, as it brought him near to his parents; and it was honourable to a young man of twenty-two years to be pastor in the chief town of a canton.

The bishop of Constance readily gave him orders, and subscribed his installation. From this moment Zwingle began his theological education anew, on a plan of his own. After having reperused the classical authors of ancient Greece, in order to familiarize himself with their language and their beauties, he devoted himself with enthusiasm to the study of the New Testament. For the writings of Paul, in particular, he had a profound regard. He not only made a copy of all his epistles in the original with his own hand, but committed them to memory, as Beza and others are known to have done.† He then betook himself to the Fathers, especially Origen, Chrysostom, Ambrose and Jerome. Nor did he altogether neglect the moderns, even those who had been anathematized, such as Wiclef and Huss. At first he contented himself with sighing in secret over the abuses of the

* Gerdesius, i. 100. ii. 251.

† Zwingle's copy of the epistles is still extant in the public library of Zurich. Hess, p. 15.

church, but he soon began to speak out his convictions, and his example had its effect on many others.

One of the earliest of Zwingle's writings is a poetical effusion entitled the 'Labyrinth,' which is referred to the year 1510; a little later is the 'Fable of the Ox and other Beasts.' Both these apologues were the expression of that Swiss patriotism which always actuated him, and of which he became the martyr. The verse is of ten syllables, and the dialect is that uncouth High-German which prevails in Switzerland.* In 1512, when twenty thousand Swiss, at the summons of Julius II. marched to Italy to bear arms against Louis XII. Zwingle accompanied the contingent of Glaris in the capacity of an almoner. After the battle of Novara, at which he was present, he returned to his parochial duties, which however he quitted again in 1515, to march with his countrymen to the succour of the Duke of Milan, who was attacked by Francis I., and he was witness of the battle of Marigniano, which was as disastrous as the other had been glorious. Zwingle had forseen this result, and predicted it in a discourse to the soldiery delivered at Monza, near Milan, where he implored the chiefs to sacrifice their rivalries, and the soldiers to obey their superiors. This battle confirmed him in his opposition to all offensive war.† It has been clearly ascertained, that as early as the year 1516, Zwingle began to preach the pure gospel, and this as an independent reformer. Let us hear his own words: "In the year 1516, when as yet the name of Luther had not been heard in these regions, I began to preach the gospel of salvation. It was my custom, when the mass was celebrated, to explain the gospel for that occasion, not by the comments of men, but by comparing scripture with scripture." It will be observed

* As a specimen we give a few couplets: they will show how undesirable a task it is to read the German works of Zwingle.

Von einem garten ich uech sag,
Umzuent und bhuet mit starkem ghag,
Mit bergen hoch an einem ort,
Am andren fluess man ruschen hort;
In welchem dickes koerpers wont
Ein ochs mit roter farb geschont,
Ein gharer krusen schoenen stern,
Einer breiten brust mit wytem ghuern,
Ein hals mit laempen, grossem lust,
Vom kinn behenkt bis an die brust.

Fabelgedicht, u. s. w.

† Hess, Ursprung, u. s. w. p. 45.

that this was before Luther made his public opposition to Indulgences. Capito likewise testifies, in a letter to Bullinger: "Before Luther emerged into light, Zwingle and I conferred together about casting off popery; even while he was yet living in his cloister." That the assaults of these two heroic men on the superstitions of popery were not by agreement, is plain enough; and from this almost simultaneous impulse in distant regions, we may learn, that the work of reformation was not the result of human counsel but was in a peculiar manner begun under the guidance of divine providence. Far be it from us to detract from the fame of Luther. He and his associates must forever be held in honour by the church; but as all the glory which comes to them proceeds from God, so it should redound to God.*

The first mention of Luther in these volumes, so far as we have been able to discover, occurs in a letter from Beatus Rhenanus to Zwingle, of date Dec. 1518: *De Lutherio nihil dum comperti habemus.* In the next year the same person writes his earnest wish that some books of Luther, especially his popular exposition of the Lord's Prayer, should be widely circulated in Switzerland, *oppidatim, municipatim, vicatim, imo domesticatim.*†

But, returning to our narrative: soon after his return from the Milanese in the autumn of 1516, Zwingle having become famous as a preacher was nominated to the cure of a Benedictine monastery at Einsiedeln. This abbey was then under the direction of Theobald, baron of Geroldseck, who administered in consequence of the old age of the abbot Conrad von Rechberg. Though more a soldier than a monk, Theobald was able to appreciate the gifts of the young ecclesiastic. Here Zwingle was associated with several persons of views like his own, and who were afterwards helpers in his work. Among these were Oswald Myconius, Francis Zingg, John Oechsler, and Leo Juda, an Alsatian, celebrated as a translator of the Bible. In their society he spent his time in studying the fathers and the writings of Reuchlin and Erasmus. One of his first acts was to procure the removal of an inscription over the principal door of the abbey, which promised plenary remission.‡ He introduced altera-

* See this point well established in Gerdesius, by pertinent authorities, against such assertions of over-zealous Lutherans, as Milner has reiterated. Vol. i. p. 130 sq.

† Zu. Op. vii. pp. 57, 81, 82.

‡ Hic est plena remissio omnium peccatorum a culpa et poena.

tions into the discipline of a nunnery which was under his direction. He wrote to Hugo von Landenberg, bishop of Constance, to procure the suppression of many puerile and ridiculous practices in his diocese. He unfolded the same plans in an interview with the Cardinal of Zion, and urged the necessity of a general reform. Bossuet acknowledges, in his Variations, the need of these reforms.

It has been asserted by Romish writers, that the reforming zeal of Zwingle was not awakened till the time when Samson came into his neighbourhood to sell indulgences; but the contrary is well ascertained. His works contain the discourse which he delivered at Einsiedeln, against will-worship, invocation of saints, and the like. Its effect was astonishing: for though some were scandalized, the greater number gave tokens of entire assent. It is even said that some pilgrims who had brought their offerings to our Lady of Einsiedeln, took them back again. This, however, diminished the revenues of the monks, and excited their enmity. Yet about this time Leo X. sent by his nuncio Pucci a brief, in which he gave Zwingle a pension, with the title of chaplain of the Holy See. The discourse abovementioned was pronounced some time in the year 1516, and of course a year before the similar demonstration of Luther. Myconius relates, that when Luther's books first came into that region, Zwingle recommended them cordially to his hearers, but refrained from reading them, lest he should seem to derive from Luther those doctrines which he had in truth imbibed from the Scriptures, and from the Holy Spirit.

In 1518, the chapter of Zurich presented him to the cure of the first parish of that city. This was partly owing to the solicitations of his friend Myconius, who was master of the academy there. Zwingle repaired thither in the latter part of the year, and a few days after his arrival presented himself to the chapter, and declared it as his intention to abandon in his discourses the order of the Sunday-lessons, which had been followed from the time of Charlemagne, and to expound the books of the New Testament without interruption.* This was approved by the majority, though some of the canons thought it a dangerous innovation. Zwingle replied to these, that he was only returning to the usage of the primitive church, and the method observed by the Fathers, in their homilies; and that, with divine assistance, he would

* Bullinger Schw. Chr. tom. iii. ap. Labouderie.

preach in such a way that no portion of gospel truth should be neglected. His sermon on New Year's Day, 1519, shows that he was faithful to his plan; and the commentaries on the New Testament in the sixth volume of this collection, testify to the labour of his preparation and the faithfulness of his preaching. While he thus unsealed the fountain of divine truth from which the people had been so long debarred, he took occasion to inveigh against the abuses and superstitions and enormities of the church and clergy with a keenness which made him many enemies.

It was at this time that there came into the canton, under the auspices of Leo X., a cordelier named Bernard Samson, a seller of indulgences. He had for eighteen years been in the habit of pursuing this traffic in Switzerland. The insolence of this man was equal to that of Tetzel. He used to cry with a loud voice: "Let the rich come first, who can pay for pardon! When they are satisfied we will hear the prayers of the poor!" Even the most tolerant were offended. The bishop of Constance forbade the curates to receive him into their parishes. This, however, was not enough for Zwingle, who had anticipated the prelates, and caused him to be expelled from the canton. He took this occasion to declare more fully the scriptural doctrine of the remission of sins, only through the merit and death of Christ. He further pleaded the cause of evangelical truth before Pucci, the pope's legate, declaring it to be his unalterable purpose, to go on inculcating pure doctrine, and impugning the errors of popery.

The labours of Zwingle at Zurich were attended with such success, that at the close of the year 1519, two thousand persons professed their adherence to the truth, and the town-council passed a decree, that within their jurisdiction nothing should be preached which could not be established by the word of God. And in this, or in the following year, it was resolved, that all preachers and pastors under their authority were at liberty to reject the mass and other human inventions. In 1520, Zwingle renounced the pension which he had been receiving from the Romish See, "bidding," to use his own expressions, "the Pontiff, and his gifts, a long farewell." He was about this time made one of the canons of Zurich, on the resignation of Engelhard.

It was in the midst of these troubles that Zwingle addressed a letter to Myconius, which will show the temper of the man better than any relation of a third person: "The attacks are so incessant, the blows so vehement, of those who try to

overthrow the house of God, that one might justly think them not merely wind and rain, but hail and thunder; and unless I plainly perceived that the Lord keeps the city, I had long ago abandoned the helm. But when I behold Him strengthening the cords, adjusting the yards, spreading the sail, and, in a word, controlling the winds, I should be a dastard unworthy the name of man if I deserted my station, even at the risk of perishing ignominiously. I will, therefore, leave all to his benignity. Let him rule, conduct, hasten, delay, or immerge, at his pleasure! I will not rebel. I am his poor vessel, which he may use, either to honour or to dishonour."*

During the season of Lent, in this same year, 1522, certain persons attached to the new doctrine had infringed the idle regulations of the church in regard to abstinence: they were imprisoned by the magistrate and refused to yield. Zwingle espoused their cause in a 'Treatise on the Observance of Lent,' which he concludes by praying all men versed in scripture, to refute him, if he had done violence to the sense of the gospel. This was regarded as a manifesto on his part. It opens with those words of Christ as a motto: "*Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden,*" &c.; and it may afford a glimpse of the author's character, that he prefixes the same words to every work of any size, on whatever subject.† The controversy which ensued upon this gave great offence to Hugo, bishop of Constance, who left no stone unturned to bring about the removal of Zwingle, but without success. The latter joined with his colleagues in a petition to Hugo, which was couched in the most respectful language. This paper is the more memorable as being subscribed by the names of the first Helvetic reformers, to the number of eleven pastors, who besought the bishop, not to publish any edict against the gospel, and urged him to allow the marriage of priests as a means of removing the horrible impurities of the ecclesiastics.

While Zwingle was engaged in writing the treatise abovementioned, the Diet of Baden ordered the arrest of a village curate, who had preached the new doctrine, and caused him to be imprisoned within the diocese of Constance. Zwingle resorted to the governments of the cantons, and in his own name and that of nine others, addressed to them a syllabus of his doctrine, and a petition for freedom to preach the gos-

* Op. Zu. vii. p. 217.

† Op. Zu. vol. i. The title is: "Von erkiesen, und fryheit der spysen."

pel. "In granting us this liberty," said he, "you have nothing to fear. There are infallible signs, by means of which every one may recognise true preachers of the gospel. He who, to the neglect of his own personal interest, spares neither cares nor toils in order to render the will of God known and honoured, to bring sinners to repentance, and give comfort to the afflicted, is united to Jesus Christ. But when you see teachers offering daily to the people new saints, whose favour must be gained by offerings; when these teachers incessantly vaunt the extent of sacerdotal power and the authority of the pope, be assured that they think much more of their own riches than of the good of souls committed to their care. If such men counsel you to arrest by decrees the preaching of the gospel, close your ears to their insinuations, and know that their aim is to prevent any attempt on their benefices and honours; tell them that this work, if it be of men, will come to nought; but that if it be of God, the powers of earth will combine against it in vain."

Zwingle next addressed a request to the bishop of Constance, that he would put himself at the head of the reform, and allow "that to be demolished with caution and prudence which had been erected with temerity." This called out all the fury of the priests and monks, who denounced him from the pulpit as a *Lutheran*, a name of ignominy at that crisis. The scandal was now at its height. The bishop addressed a letter to the senate, full of complaints, in which, however, he artfully avoids the name of Zwingle or any of his colleagues, but informs the people that pope Leo and the emperor Charles V. had forbidden any change to be made in religious rites, even the smallest, until they to whom it properly belonged should take the whole matter in hand, by a general council or otherwise; he also forbids all dispute on the existing questions. But he was obeyed by neither party, and the contest was renewed with more acrimony than ever. And it was not long before Zwingle prepared an answer to the episcopal exhortation, entitled 'Archeteles,' in which he inveighed against the impositions by which the sheep of Christ were misled; denouncing the prelates as false bishops, such as Isaiah predicted under the name of dumb dogs, and our Saviour as wolves in sheep's clothing.*

About this juncture, the new pope, Adrian VI., addressed a letter to Zwingle. He was seeking aid from the allies, and

* Vol. iii. p. 26, sq.

particularly desired the favour of Zurich, in order to which it was obviously needful that Zwingle should be won over. How much he had this at heart appears from a letter of the pontiff to Francis Zingg, a friend of Zwingle's, in which he commands him to leave nothing untried in order to gain the bold reformer. When Zingg was once asked by Myconius, what Adrian had promised Zwingle, he replied, "*Omnia usque ad thronum papalem. Omnia vero sprevit Zuinglius.*" The letter runs thus:

"Beloved son, Health and the Apostolic benediction! We send the venerable brother Emius, bishop of Verulanum, prelate, and nuncio of the apostolic See, a man of great wisdom and fidelity, to that unconquered nation, hitherto joined to us and to this holy See, in order that he may treat of great affairs, concerning us, our See and the whole Christian commonwealth. And though we have given him in charge to discuss these matters publicly and with all persons, yet in consideration of your high excellence which is well known to us, and our special love for your devotion, and certain peculiar confidence which we repose in you, we have given command to the aforesaid bishop, our legate, to communicate our private epistle to you, and to make you acquainted with our good will towards you. We therefore exhort your devotion in the Lord, that you repose all confidence in him, and that as we regard your honour and convenience, so you would with the same mind proceed in our affairs and those of the holy See; for which you shall enjoy our favour in no common degree. Given at Rome, at St. Peters, under the seal of the fisherman. January 23, 1523, in the first year of our pontificate." *

* See the original, vol. vii. p. 26. We insert this letter the more readily, as Milner, vol. v. pp. 590, 591, has cited it for the strange purpose of showing that Zwingle "so managed his opposition, as to be courted even by the pope himself, long after Luther had been in open rebellion against the existing hierarchy." Let the history given above of Zwingle's success stand as an answer to the insinuation. The pope's letter to Zwingle is no more to the discredit of the latter, than the mission of Miltitz to Luther. In truth the reformation was more advanced in Zurich at this moment, than it was at Wittenberg at Luther's death; for then Lutherans retained in their churches much of the paraphernalia of popery. The whole of Milner's comparision of Luther and Zwingle is partial, disingenious, and highly unjust to the latter. While we readily place the Swiss reformer far below his Saxon brother, the process of depreciation is carried too far when he is blamed for opposing consubstantiation; when the *onus* of the sacramentarian controversy is laid on him; and how far justice or common honesty admits of the charge of asperity in this controversy, by one who confessedly compares him with Luther, will be doubtful to no one who has read the correspondence of the latter.

This letter was never delivered, because, on the arrival of Ennius, Zwingle had already committed himself in a remarkable manner. That is to say, he presented himself before the grand council, and solicited a public conference, where he might give account of his doctrine before the deputies of the bishop. He promised to retract, if it could be proved that he was in error, but he demanded the special protection of government, in case he proved his adversaries to be wrong. The grand council consented, and a few days after this convoked all the clergy of the canton, on the 29th of January, 1523, "that each one might have liberty to indicate the opinions which he regarded as heretical, and might combat them, with the gospel in his hand." As soon as the summons became public, Zwingle issued sixty-seven articles to be submitted to the conference. On the day appointed, the conference was opened. The bishop of Constance was represented by John Faber, his grand-vicar, and by other theologians; the clergy of the canton had at their head Zwingle and his friends. There were more than six hundred persons of distinction assembled in the state-house on this occasion; for great wonder was awakened as to the result of the disputation. The conference was opened by Marx Röust, the burgomaster of Zurich, who explained the object in view, and invited all persons to express their opinions without fear. Discourses were delivered by the chevalier d'Anweil, intendant of the diocess, by Faber, and by Zwingle. The reformer was earnest in his demand that they should convict him of heresy if he were guilty, always referring to scripture as the standard. The grand-vicar evaded the question, but in the course of the argument he was vehemently pressed by Zwingle, who expressed himself with easy and fervid eloquence. Faber was shrewd enough to perceive that the battle was going against him, and declined to proceed. The conference was terminated, and the council ordained "that Zwingle, not having been convicted of heresy, nor refuted, should continue to preach the gospel as he had done; that the pastors of Zurich and its territory should strictly rest their preaching on the scriptures, and that both parties should abstain from all personal violence." This decision was received by the Papists with cries of dissatisfaction, but it assured the reformers of their triumph, and from that moment they went on fortifying themselves by the writings and discourses of Zwingle. Concerning this conference, Hoornbeck remarks justly, that he

was acquainted with no public disputation conducted with more dignity or advantage. He also relates that Faber affected to regard the place as unworthy of his presence as a disputant, and hinted that at some university of reputation, such as Paris, Cologne, or Louvain, he would be willing to appear. "What if we should fix on Erfurt or Wittenberg?" asked Zwingle. "By no means," exclaimed Faber, "*quia Lutherus nimis vicinus est.*"

A full account of this debate was published as soon as was practicable.* Faber was much incensed at seeing the poor figure which he presents in this report; he accordingly issued one of his own. Some expressions in this greatly irritated the men at Zurich, seven of whom united in a rejoinder, which, as its title says, "contains both jest and earnest"—*ist voll Schimpfs und Ernstes.* "Each of us," say they, "has taken a part of this lying book to answer, that Faber may learn to know the tailors and cobblers of Zurich, whom he despised, saying: 'Did I come to dispute with tailors and cobblers?'" — "We, the boors and workingmen of Zurich, will take the war on ourselves, and give you battle enough: there needs no scholar for this. If Faber brags that he has brought his Hebrew and his Greek Bible from Constance, he has shown but little acquaintance with them."†

Zwingle laboured with great diligence to prepare an exposition of his sixty-seven articles, which occupies 450 pages of this work.‡ It was finished upon the 14th of July, and is a complete exposition of evangelical truth.

The effects of the first Disputation at Zurich were soon visible; indeed we have seen the record of no similar conference in any age, of which the fruits were so remarkable. And we call attention to this with the greater earnestness, because this is the precise point of time on which Milner fixes, as that in which Zwingle had as yet made no successful demonstration against popery. Clergymen now began to enter into the married state; the nunnery at Oetenbach was thrown open; the baptismal service was performed in German, without the exorcism, spittle, and other ceremonies; the chapter at the Great Minster was reformed, and turned into a school for theological students, and the surplus

* Vol. i. p. 105: Handlung der versammlung in der loblichen statt Zurich.
† Vol. i. p. 108–9.
‡ Vol. i. p. 169: Uslegen und grund der Schlussreden oder artikeln, u. s. w.

revenues were devoted to charity. The doctrine gained favour among clergy and laity that the mass was no sacrifice, and that the invocation of saints was forbidden. This was in some degree promoted by a writing of Ludwig Hetzer, entitled the 'Judgment of God against Images,'* but still more by Zwingle's treatise on the 'Canon of the Mass.' In this performance, the work of only four days, the reformer assaulted the very acropolis of the papacy, by holding up to view the contradictions, absurdities, and false pretensions of this most sacred and vaunted portion of the Missal. The book is in classical Latin, and may be read at this day with delight by all who have a taste for stringent argument, pure wit, and intrepidity of purpose. There is nothing in Pascal more keen or galling.†

Such was the zeal of the populace against image-worship, that a shoemaker named Hottinger, with a large body of citizens, proceeded to throw down the great cross of the Stadelhofer suburb. This and other like proceedings in two of the churches aroused the old party, and the council caused the offenders to be arrested. Zwingle conceded that the act was civilly irregular, but denied any intrinsic evil in it. In this perplexity, the council convoked a second conference, to determine whether the worship of images was authorized by the gospel, and whether the mass should be abolished. It took place on the 28th of October, 1523, and was attended by more than nine hundred persons from the cantons of St. Gall, Schaffhausen, Zurich, and some others; the place was the city of Zurich, and the time spent in discussion three days. Zwingle made a great impression on the majority, moving them to tears by his closing address,‡ but failed to bring the grand council to any determination, from their fear of offending the absent cantons. Yet, by actions, they conceded almost every thing that was sought. Zwingle was immediately directed to prepare a popular address to the pastors of the canton, instructing them in the proper way of discharging their office.§ From this time, the greater part of the city pastors abandoned the mass, and the greater part of the people refused to assist at it. Even

* Vol. iii. p. 461. † Vol. iii. p. 83—116.

‡ Diss redt Zwingli mit so grossem ernst und mit so getruwem gemut zu christlicher einigkeit, dass er sich selbs mit viel andern bewegtzu weinen, also dass er nyt wyter vermocht zu reden. See vol. i. pp. 459—540, for a full report of the debates in this convention.

§ Ein kurze christenliche ynleitung, u. s. w. vol. i. pp. 541—565. v. also, the letters, vol. vii. pp. 313—330.

the use of organs and of bells was prohibited. The council forbade image-processions. The 'Brief Introduction' of Zwingle was sent to the other cantons, and all persons were ordered to abstain from violence in word or deed; which last provision was very distasteful to the fanatical or ultra-reformers who now were on the increase. The conference and its effects were ably defended by Myconius, the bosom friend of Zwingle.*

On the 13th of January, 1524, says Labouderie, (and we have his sole authority, as we have found no trace of any such thing in these volumes,) there was a third conference, which caused a new triumph for the reformer. The abolition of the mass was the result, and henceforth the senate and people of Zurich showed the greatest deference for the opinion of Zwingle. This fact, preserved in the "Musée des Protestants célèbres," is not found in Hess's Life of Zwingle. This biographer merely says that the bishop of Constance, having sent to the senate an apology for the mass and the worship of images, was answered by the reformer with so much solidity,† that the government allowed the statues and pictures to be removed from the churches, and substituted for them inscriptions from the Bible. As to the mass, it was not definitively suppressed until Easter, 1525, on which day the *Lord's Supper* was solemnized as at the present day."‡

We learn from Gerdesius, that as early as the year 1524, several persons came to Zurich to confer with Zwingle, respecting the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In this conference, he expounded the words of institution, "This is my body," to mean, this signifies or represents my body: and from the very commencement of the reformation, Zwingle insisted on the propriety of administering this sacrament in both kinds, according to the command of Christ. In discoursing on the eighteenth article, he adds that the Helvetic churches, from the remotest antiquity, were accustomed to administer the sacrament in both kinds, and not only to adults but to children; which he proved from an old manuscript found in the church of Glaris, and of which another copy was extant in the neighbouring church of Molis. And

* Ad sacerdotes Helvetiae, qui Tigurinis male loquuntur, Suasoria, ut male loqui desinant. Tig. 1524.

† Vol. i. pp. 584—630. Christenlich antwurt Burgermeisten und rates zu Zurich, u. s. w.

‡ Biog. Univ. vol. ii. p. 535.

having ascertained that this church had been set off from the former not more than two hundred years ago, he concluded, that it could not have been more than two centuries since the sacrament was administered in both kinds in both these churches; for as the manuscript is a manual for the administration of the sacraments, the church of Molis could not have needed a copy before it was erected into a separate communion.

The celibacy of the clergy had been made a question in the conference of 1523, where Zwingle undertook to prove that it had no foundation in scripture. The government of Zurich pronounced nothing definitive on this delicate point; but allowed the marriage of priests. Accordingly, on the 2d of April, 1524, Zwingle entered into the state of wedlock, with Anne Reinhard, widow of a magistrate.* The lady was about his own age. Of the issue of this marriage, two children survived their father; namely, Ulrich, afterwards archdeacon and a canon of Zurich, and Regula, who became the wife of Rodolph Gualter, an excellent clergyman. As Madame Reinhard was wealthy and of noble descent, the circumstance was much bruited by his enemies. He published an apology, from which we make some extracts; "It has been charged on us, the ministers of Zurich," says he, "that our stipends are too large; an accusation both false and foolish. I can testify in regard to myself, that my income for the last year has never amounted to sixty crowns, exclusive of the perquisites accruing from my office in the college. I do not say this as complaining of want, or of my poverty. For God is my witness, by whose beneficence I live and am nourished, that I am contented with my condition, and with what I receive; and the only grief I experience is that I have so small means of supplying the poor, especially the multitude of indigent widows. And, indeed, if I took counsel only of the flesh, I would not receive a farthing of salary; for I can safely say, that I could readily extricate myself from this dangerous profession. But neither the iniquity of the times, nor the talent committed to me, would permit. And here, very reluctantly, I am compelled, by the injustice of my enemies, to speak of my wife, Anne Reinhard, whom these stupid men declare to be exceedingly rich. The truth is, that with the exception of clothes and female ornaments, she has not more than four hundred gold

* See the letter of Bucer, vol. vii. p. 335.

crowns. And though she possesses splendid dresses, rings, and other jewels, yet, from the day that she became my wife, she has never worn any of these, but has chosen to conform herself to the dress of other reputable matrons of our city. Those things which she receives for her support from her children (for the family of her ancestors is illustrious) she cannot well reject; especially as she has now attained her fortieth year. In regard to her right of dower, I was unwilling to claim it, fearing the trouble in which it would involve me." He then justifies this personal apology by the precedent of the apostle Paul.

The bull of pope Adrian, issued in the preceding year, August 5, 1523, and the letter carried by his legates into the Swiss cantons, were not without their effect. As many as ten of the cantons not only expressed strong disapprobation of the proceedings at Zurich, but announced to the magistrates and citizens of that place that they would have no civil intercourse with them, nor permit them to be present at their conventions. They further charged them with sacrilege, and with a design of subverting the Christian religion. The men of Zurich were firm, and appealed to the cantons of Berne, Schaffhausen, and St. Gall, to determine whether it was just and reasonable to dissolve the Helvetic union for such a cause.

The suppression of many religious houses was a natural consequence of the Reformation in Zurich. Among these was Fraumünster, an ancient abbey near the city, endowed with valuable privileges and revenues. The lady-abbess, Catharine de Cimmern, with the consent of all in the house, delivered to the magistrates of Zurich all their property, requesting that the revenue might thenceforth be appropriated to sacred uses, and for the relief of the poor. This example was followed by the superiors of several convents; the older men were maintained out of the revenues of the houses, and the younger learned mechanic arts. For some time mass was celebrated in these establishments, but by degrees, under the convincing discourses of Zwingle, it fell into contempt. The magistrates wisely avoided any hasty measures, and waited until the people were enlightened upon the subject of the Lord's Supper. The revenues of the suppressed abbeys were very extensively employed in the endowment of professorships in the university which was organized with great skill by Zwingle, who gathered around him some of the most learned men of the age. Among these were Con-

rad Pellican, a Hebraist from the school of Reuchlin; Collinus, who was an eminent Grecian; Ceporinus, and Lambert. Such was the influence of these schools, that twenty years afterwards it was not uncommon to meet with magistrates and merchants who could read the Old and New Testament in the originals.*

There is an interesting letter to Pellican, of which we shall insert a part, as characteristic of a man who has been so much misunderstood, even by good men: "It is impossible for me to express the gladness produced in me by the letter in which you express your disposition to grant our request. You have lain long enough in that prison of human darkness [the monastery]: though I am not ignorant that wherever you are, there is light. For you know in whom you have believed, and you cannot but sometimes behold the light with joy. Although therefore I am loth to vex you with letters declaring how wholly we are bent upon having you, and although the city which loses you may better suit your convenience, yet I say hasten to us with all speed. Why need I make many promises, when I wish you to make the experiment at my peril, not your own. In the name of the Lord, whose cause I am pleading, I declare to you, that no city can better suit your age, pursuits and accomplishments, than Zurich. The proposal is this. You will expound some Hebrew book every day; we are now beginning Exodus; and this will give you no additional burden. The annual stipend is the same with mine, sixty or seventy, perhaps even eighty florins, with a neat and convenient house; Oecolampadius and Hetzer are familiar with it. No one will disturb you as long as you live, unless your ill-temper should be intolerable; this is in jest, however. These conditions will not be altered by any sickness or misfortune on your part. There are three vacations, each of which is more than a month; so that with Sundays, holidays and the like, you may reckon upon a fourth of the year as your own. If you propose to keep an establishment of your own, here is a house, as I said. If not, you can be at lodgings, as long as is convenient. And I make you the offer of my own house: come and go as you will. Every thing will be at your pleasure. The *cowl* is an object of ridicule here, but only when constantly worn; it will be otherwise, if you bring yours, in order to discard it."†

* Bullinger in Comm. ad Epist. Pauli. † Vol. vii. p. 462, ep. 4.

As tares will always be found springing up among the wheat, so the field of the reformed churches was not without a growth of pestiferous errors and abuses. Of these none was more to be deplored than the schismatical and tumultuous excesses of the Anabaptists, against whom Zwingle was forced to take up his pen in 1525.* The occasion was as follows: Balthazar Hubmeyer was by his eloquence one of the most formidable of the Anabaptists. As early as 1516, when he was preacher at Ratisbon, he showed his fanatical turn, by urging from the pulpit that the magistrates should expel the Jews; in which he was so successful that they razed their synagogues and dwellings, and erected a church in their room. At a later date he went to Waldshut, where he became a zealous defender of Zwingle and the Reformation. He took part in the second conference at Zurich, and prevailed on the majority at Waldshut to adopt reforming measures. The notorious Thomas Münzer visited Waldshut, and inoculated Hubmeyer with his virus, which, however, was kept secret for a while, and he continued in friendly correspondence with Oecolampadius. When the Austrian government interposed to hinder the Reformation, he fled to Schaffhausen. On the 16th of January, 1525, he wrote to Oecolampadius, avowing his new opinions. About Easter of the same year he was rebaptized by Roubli of Basle, and a hundred and ten with him; after which he rebaptized three hundred persons himself. He then proceeded to write a work against Zwingle and the Zurich reformation. About the same time Grebel, a leading Anabaptist, was imprisoned at Grüningen. The next step was to have a public disputation with Zwingle. The concourse was great, and when the doors were opened, a mob of Anabaptists burst in, crying, "Zion, Zion! free thyself Jerusalem!" and caused a great tumult. The debate lasted three days. Bullinger says, that the best arguments on both sides are given in Zwingle's answer. During the debate, one of the Anabaptists showed a great eagerness to speak with Zwingle, declaring that he could bring the dispute to an immediate issue. His brethren would have restrained him, but he broke away, rushed towards his opponent, and cried, "O Zwingle, I adjure thee by the living God, that you declare to me a single truth."—"I will," replied Zwingle, "and it is that thou

* Uiber doctor Balthazar [Hubmeyer]'s toufbuchlin, warhafte grundte antwurt: vol. ii. pp. 337—369.

art as malignant, tumultuous a clown as my good lords have in their service." This unexpected retort amused the assembly, and settled the combatant. As the Anabaptists persevered in their irregularities, some of them, according to the false notions then universal, were cast into prison, but soon afterwards enlarged. Hubmeyer, at a later period, made a feigned retractation. It is painful to relate, that when he returned to Austria he was burnt alive at Vienna.

It was not merely against Infant Baptism that these fanatics raged; and this, notwithstanding the sneer of Milner, already quoted, abundantly justifies our reformer in spending some of his strength upon this subject. They wrought great confusion, by declaring that the Reformation which had been effected was incomplete and superficial; that it lacked spirituality; that Zwingle was frigid and tardy; that the time was come for more thorough work; that a separation of believers from all others should be made. Some of them girded themselves with ropes, and, in imitation of Jonah and other prophets, ran through the city, crying, "Zurich will be swallowed up in a few days! Wo unto Zurich! Wo! wo! Repent! The axe is laid at the root of the trees!" Indeed it was for these tumults, and for their rejection of all civil government, that they were dealt with by the magistrates. Besides the work already cited, Zwingle wrote another in the Latin language, which, however, did not appear till 1527.*

It is difficult after such a lapse of time to discriminate between the merely theological and the political errors of these sectaries. The account given by Schuler and Schultess, who follow Bullinger, is that when they found that they could not succeed in their opposition to Zwingle on the ground of political agitation, they began to make an outcry against infant baptism, which they declared to be unscriptural, an invention of pope Nicholas II., or rather of the devil.† But they likewise accomplished much by appealing to the natural sense of liberty among an oppressed people. There were among them no doubt pious and noble spirits, who without regard to circumstances, sought a radical reform in human society, and flattered themselves with an approaching millennium of liberty. Conrad Grebel was a leader among them; a man of unsound judgment, exalted fancy and great passion, and not

* In Catabaptistarum Strophas, Elenchus Huldrici Zuinglii. Turici. 1527. pp. 191. V. vol. iii. p. 358.

† Vol. ii. p. 372.

without learning; in a word, a dangerous demagogue. He excited the people especially against tithes. Simon Stumpf, pastor at Höngg, was banished on account of his seditious discourses. Roubli was imprisoned in 1524. In Germany, where the yoke of despotism lay heavy on the people, the ecclesiastical and civil uproars became so violent, that the blood of the populace flowed in streams under the infliction of their tyrants: in free Switzerland, there were commotions without bloodshed. They were in general allowed the free expression of their opinions. "They vaunted the writings of Münzer," says Bullinger, "as far above those of Luther and Zwingle; and told the latter to his face, that Münzer was a true prophet, who kept in view the promotion of God's truth, and of his new kingdom." These were the circumstances in which Zwingle wrote his book on 'Popular Tumult, and its causes.'* His temper in the controversy may be discerned in a letter to his friend Vadianus, of May 28, 1525: "You may if it is proper advise your council in my name, that no greater hinderance can befall them in their defence of evangelical purity, than this same Anabaptism: so violently are they turning against every thing, unless opposed by the counsel and prayer of the church. You have seen me in combat with the enemies of the gospel; all foregoing battles were child's play to this. I have been unwilling to inveigh against them without reserve, lest the Senate should be exasperated against them, but they use no terms concerning me but such as parricide, robber, thief, wizard, poisoner and the like. *Vicit semper veritas.*"†

As all applications to the bishop of Constance proved unavailing, the ministers Zwingle, Leo, Engelhard, Megander and Myconius convened the senate of two hundred, and having adduced many arguments from the word of God, obtained a decree that the mass, together with all adoration of the bread and wine, should be abolished. Before the decree was passed, however, a certain scribe arose and declared his firm belief in the real presence; and entreated the senate not to be moved by the sophistry of Zwingle. Engelhard, who had once been a doctor of canon law, a man distinguished for sound judgment, and an humble disciple of Christ, replied: "Only attend, and I will prove to you from the Holy Scriptures, that the bread cannot be the body of

* Welche ursach gebind ze ufrueren: 1525. vol. ii. p. 370.
† Zu. Op. vol. vii. p. 398.

Christ." And then addressing himself to the senate, he proceeded, in an argument which is preserved by Gerdesius, to show that the words of institution contain a trope. The only answer made by the scribe was that Christ was born of a virgin, which is more abhorrent to reason than the eating of his flesh; to which a reply was made by Zwingle.

The mass was abolished at Zurich, as we have before said, in April 1525. This was not an unimportant event in the estimation of the reformers. *The triumph of the mass*, said Luther, *is the triumph of the papacy.* Zwingle went further, and included the figment of the real presence. "The priests and their abettors," said Oecolampadius "would concede all that we have taught, if we would but leave untouched this dogma of the eucharist, whether taught by the pope or by Luther. *Est enim arx et praesidium impietatis eorum, per quam recuperare sperant successu temporum quod nuper amiserunt.*"*

During the debates to which we have alluded, the scribe abovementioned alleged that the instances of scriptural tropes which had been adduced were irrelevant, because they were spoken in parables. The ministers tried to recollect some instance not liable to this objection, but were unable that day, to think of one.

"But the next day," says Zwingle, "and what I relate is true, and though I would gladly conceal it, as knowing the ridicule to which it will expose me, my conscience obliges me to disclose it—that which I was in search of, the Lord imparted to me. On the morning of this 13th of April, I seemed to myself to be in a slumber, still engaged in tedious dispute with the secretary, but my tongue refused to do its office. How I was tormented will be understood by such as are wont to be thus deluded in their dreams. For I speak of nothing more than a dream, though it was not a trival thing which I learned in it, by the grace of God, to whom be all the glory: on a sudden an adviser seemed to stand by me, (what his colour, white or black, I remember not†—I relate a dream) and said; 'Sluggish man! thou shouldest answer him from what is written Exodus xii. 2. *it is the Lord's passover.*' On which I awoke, leaped out of bed, and sought the text in the Septuagint. I discoursed on this passage before the congregation, with all my ability, and

* Ep. vol. vii. p. 409.

† Ibi απὸ μηχανῆς visus est monitor adesse.—The allusion plainly is to the Greek proverb, Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, the *deus ex machina* of Horace.

with the effect of dissipating every doubt from the minds of our theological students."

As Zwingle apprehended, the publication of this dream exposed him to ridicule and reproach, not only from the Papists but the followers of Luther; who were pleased to assert that his adviser was *black*. Even the compilers of the history of the Augsburg Confession have not thought it beneath them to ascribe the sacramentarian doctrine to a black ghost.* Worldly wisdom would indeed have taught Zwingle to refrain from the publication of his dreams, however edifying; especially as every thing may be accounted for without supernatural interposition. "There is scarcely any studious man," says Andrew Rivet, on Genesis xxviii. "who has not experienced something similar, namely, that while asleep something has been brought to his mind which he had at some time read in a book, or which had occurred in argument, but which had been forgotten until now." As to the expression, that he knew not the colour of his adviser, it is plainly the allusion of a learned man to the Latin proverb *aterne an albus nescio*, which may be found in the Adages of Erasmus.

The reformation at Zurich was completed by the utter abolition of the mass, and by the observance of the Lord's Supper, on the 13th, 14th and 15th days of April, 1525; the last of these days being Easter Sunday. It was a joyful day to many tender consciences. For the monks had taught that the body of our Lord received in the bread was of the same dimensions with that which hung upon the cross, and that all who had not faith to believe this were doomed to perdition. There were therefore many humble persons who had bewailed day and night, their unhappy lot in being unable to approach this ordinance. In the celebration of this sacrament, Zwingle was careful that every thing should be done according to the scripture model. He therefore drew up in writing a sketch of the manner in which he would have it observed: this has been maintained in Zurich till the present day. A table, covered with white cloth, was brought into the church after the sermon. On this were placed a basket of unleavened bread, plates and wooden vessels filled with wine. The first pastor, who was Zwingle himself, read the account of the insti-

* Ed. 1584, fol. p. 37. in margin: Zwingel folget dem Rath des schwartzen Gespenstes, daher der Sacramentirer Wesen enstanden, und bisher getrieben worden. So also Schlusselburg, Schutz, Hunnius, Agricola, Von Hoe, Balduinus, Walther, Loescher, Cyprianus. See Gerdesius, i. 322.

tution from the first epistle to the Corinthians, and another recited part of the sixth chapter of John. The Apostle's Creed was then rehearsed; after which the pastor exhorted to self-examination. All falling on their knees then repeated the Lord's Prayer. After which the pastor took the unleavened bread into his hands, the whole congregation looking on, and uttered in a loud voice the words of institution, and then gave the bread and the cup into the hands of the deacons to be distributed. Each one handed the elements to his neighbour. During the participation, one of the deacons read our Lord's discourse uttered while he washed the disciples' feet. As soon as the vessels were returned, the church again knelt, and gave thanks to God for the blessings of redemption in Christ. In country churches, the pastor alone read whatever was necessary, and the communicants came up one by one to the table.

In this year, 1525, the study of the Bible was in a remarkable degree promoted. A version of the Scriptures into Swiss-German, which had been commenced by Leo Juda and Caspar Grossman, with the aid of Zwingle and others, was now completed, so far as the Pentateuch and historical books. There is reason to believe that this was at first made without any reference to Luther's version, of which the prophetic portion was not completed until the year 1531 or 1532; whereas the Tigurine version was published in 1529. The reading of the Scriptures was now substituted for the mass. It was their method to read them in several languages in the choir of the university-church; and Zwingle, who presided, was accustomed to introduce the service with the following prayer:

"Our mighty, eternal and merciful God, whose word is a lamp to our feet, and a light to our paths; open and enlighten our minds, that we may piously and devoutly understand thine oracles, and may be changed into the likeness of that which we understand; so that we may in no respect displease thy Majesty; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

A chapter was read first from the Latin, by one of the students; then in Hebrew, by Ceporinus; in the Greek of the Seventy, by Zwingle; and lastly in the German, with an exposition. Prayers were then offered, and the assembly was dismissed. This method of reading the Bible was afterwards exchanged, however, for the theological lectures common in the Protestant universities. That Zwingle was much occupied in the critical study of the Scriptures appears from what he says in his German treatise

entitled, 'The Pastor:'* "I had determined," says he, "to write nothing for a season, but to spend the full half of this year in collating the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin text."

The work of exposition had, however, been begun by this reformer long before. "By the fourth year of my ministry," says he, "I had expounded the whole gospel of Matthew, when as yet I not so much as heard the names of those [Lutherans], whom I am now accused of following. To the gospel I added an exposition of the Acts of the Apostles, that the church of Christ might see by what persons and by what means the gospel was propagated in the beginning. I then expounded the first epistle to Timothy, which is admirably fitted to furnish rules of living to the Christian church. But lest young learners should fall into error respecting the faith of the gospel, I deferred finishing my lectures on Timothy until I had explained the epistle to the Galatians. I also expounded both the epistles of Peter, to show that both apostles were imbued with the same spirit, and spake the same things. Having gone over these sacred books, I took up the epistle to the Hebrews, that my hearers might obtain a clearer view of the salvation and glory of Christ. Here they could learn that he is their great High Priest: most of them indeed have learnt it."

The fruit of these labours is to some degree extant in the exegetical works of Zwingle; which occupy two volumes of this edition, and of which, as well as of the numerous doctrinal and practical works of Zwingle, we must in charity suppose Dean Milner to have been ignorant when he represents him as having been a mere controvertist about the sacraments.† The notes on Genesis and Exodus were taken from what he delivered *ore tenus*, by Leo Juda and Grossmann. The prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah are presented in a new Latin version, and somewhat largely expounded. The Enchiridion of the Psalms is in both Latin and German, and was a posthumous work. The Four Gospels are treated chiefly in the way of brief scholia.‡ The reader of these works, most of which were never completed for the press, will find much that savours of an age when hermeneutics had not received all the aids of philology and criticism; but he will at the same time be struck with the perspicuity, the genius, the learning, the courage, and the affectionate sympathy of the author. While he is as clear,

* Vol. ii. p. 631.—Der Hirt, wie man die waren christenlichen hirten und widerum die falschen erkennen.

† Vol. v. p. 584. ‡ Vol. v. and vi.

logical, and cogent as Calvin, his personality presents many more points of contact with the reader.

It will afford a glimpse into his laborious life at this time to extract a passage from a letter of business to his friend Vadian, April, 1526: "To-day, about dawn," he writes, "I preached, and at eight o'clock, as usual, I expounded some passages in Exodus, in consequence of which I grew feverish, and used the bath, with friction, at 9; but returning home I almost lost my breath. In about an hour, I regained my breathing, but was scarce able to refrain from sighs which came from the deepest part of my chest. At 2 o'clock I fell asleep, though I never indulge thus in the daytime; and on awaking was myself again."*

In the year 1526, the Romanists, with a view to remove Zwingle from the field of his labours, and thus to gain possession of his person, proposed a convention at Baden in Argovia, to which the leaders of the reformation were invited. The scheme was Faber's, and he employed Eckius of Ingolstadt, famous for his combats with Luther, to address a letter to the cantons, denouncing their reformer as a "rebel, a heretic, and a perverter of scripture," and offering to confute him publicly. The colloquy was held, and was attended by Oecolampadius, Haller, Boville, Piscator, and other friends of the reformation, who were met by Faber, Eckius, Murner, and many other papists.† But the senate of Zurich, perceiving the design of the meeting, refused to send any deputies, and particularly forbade the attendance of Zwingle.‡ On the 17th of May, the disputation was opened with much pomp and arrogance on the part of the papists; but the friends of the Reformation were treated with great indignity, and were scarcely allowed to speak. And while the town was vocal with Romish sermons, the Reformed were forbidden to preach. Eckius defended seven theses, relating principally to transubstantiation, invocation of saints, and purgatory. He was answered with characteristic modesty by Oecolampadius. Zwingle, in his absence, received every night from his friends, by a faithful servant, an account of the transactions of the day, and in turn sent to Oecolampadius his suggestions as to the conduct of the debate. "I thank God," the latter wrote to his friend, "that you are not here. The turn that matters take makes me clearly perceive that had you been here, we should neither

* Vol. ii. p. 484. ep. 23. † Hess, p. 241 et seq. ‡ Vol. vii. p. 512. ep. 49.

of us have escaped the stake." The absence of Zwingle disconcerted the plans of his enemies, but did not prevent them from pronouncing an anathema against him and his adherents, and requiring the town of Basle to banish Oecolampadius.

The conference or disputation lasted eighteen days. Immediately after its close Zwingle prepared and published an answer to every one of the theses of Eckius; to this no answer was ever given. He also appealed to the minutes of the proceedings to show the ingenuity and truth with which Oecolampadius had conducted the disputation, so that there was no room for an answer on scripture grounds. The enemies of Zwingle did not fail to ascribe his absence to fear, a principle of which he seems to have felt the force as little as any man that ever lived.

In writing to his friends he indulged in many sportive anecdotes of this colloquy. Among others, we find in these volumes a letter to Grynaeus, in which he relates, that "Eckius, in the midst of a very learned harangue, broke forth thus: 'Oecolampadius, is it Hebrew that we are talking about? I learned Hebrew so long ago that I have almost forgotten it.' Then with a great book open before him, he began to mutter some Hebrew—I might, perhaps, as truly call it Greek or Latin. There was providentially present one who had long suspected the pretences of Eckius and his prompters: when Eckius therefore had ended his Hebrew discourse, and was sending the book down from the pulpit to Faber, our friend, suspecting that it was furnished with an interleaved version, ran forward as if in haste to place it on the immense desk that was provided for that purpose. But Faber instantly closed the books." Some one however opened the volume, and it was seen to be the Complutensian edition, which, as Zwingle says, he had then never seen.

In the early part of the year 1528, Berne embraced the principles of the Reformation in the most solemn manner. A numerous assembly was convened in that city, for the discussion of the *new doctrine*. Zwingle was present, with Oecolampadius, Pellican, Collinus, Bullinger, Capito, Bucer, and Haller. They discussed ten theses drawn up by Haller, and were employed upon these for eighteen sessions. A great majority of the clergy of Berne signed the theses, declaring that they judged them consonant with the sacred books. "During the time of the conference, the reformed clergy

preached by turns in the cathedral of Berne; and from the same pulpit where ten years before Samson the Franciscan had abused the credulity of the people, [divine grace by the means of] Zwingle worked a conversion which produced a great effect. Just as he was mounting the pulpit, a priest was preparing to say mass at a neighbouring altar. The desire of hearing the famous heretic led him to suspend the celebration of the office and to mingle with the throng of auditors. Zwingle in his sermon unfolded his opinion on the eucharist with so much eloquence, that he subverted and changed all the ideas of the priest, who instantly, in the sight of the assembled people, laid down his sacerdotal ornaments at the altar at which he was to have officiated, and embraced the reformation."* Indeed the vehement eloquence of Zwingle, as Labouderie remarks, shone during this visit with its highest splendour, and acquired for him a marked ascendency.

No very remarkable events in the life of Zwingle occurred after this until the year 1529, when the sacramentarian controversy having become very hot between the Lutherans and the Reformed, Philip Landgrave of Hesse proposed a conference between the leading theologians of the two opinions. To render what we are about to say intelligible, we must refresh the reader's memory as to this ill-starred controversy, the greatest stumbling-block in the way of the Reformation. When Luther was excommunicated and put under the ban of the empire, Zwingle testified the highest admiration of him; and caused an asylum to be offered him in Switzerland.† But the two great men were exceedingly unlike, and it was remarkably true of Luther, that the forms under which he had received his religious faith were in his esteem inviolable. In his view, the real corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist was a fundamental doctrine. In the view of Zwingle, it was a ridiculous, incredible and unscriptural invention, and he so demonstrated it to be, in his 'Commentary on True and False religion,' and in many subsequent works. In his opinion there is no bodily presence of Christ in the communion, and no participation except by faith; there is therefore no sacrifice, no eating or drinking of Christ's body and blood, except metaphorically; in fine, the ordinance

* Hess, p. 256. A full report of these debates, and of two sermons preached by Zwingle at Berne, will be found in the second volume, pp. 70—230.

† Gerdesius, i. 265.

is symbolical and commemorative.* He was followed on the same side by Oecolampadius, in a treatise of so much learning and persuasive eloquence that Erasmus declared it sufficient to deceive, if it were possible, the very elect.† As soon as Luther heard of this doctrine, which was associated in his mind with his bitter conflict with Carlstadt, he was filled with such indignation as few but he could feel, and from that day onward never ceased to speak of the Sacramentarians, as heretics, deceivers, enemies of God, and in terms which we gladly leave, from filial respect for their author, in the original language.‡ The frankness of Zwingle, in addressing himself directly to Luther, served only to provoke a vehement reply which precipitated the rupture. The Saxons, and most of the Northern Germans embraced the opinion of Luther; the Swiss and several of the imperial cities followed that of Zwingle.§

It is pleasing to observe on the part of the Swiss theologians a temper much more moderate than that of their adversaries. Zwingle, though a man of high spirit, never suffered himself to revile Luther, under any provocation. His course may be expressed in the words of Bucer's advice to him: "Luther, my valued Zwingle, is all in a rage. Be you therefore I entreat all meekness, in order to deal with your frenzied brother."‖ This is manifested strikingly in the very title of Zwingle's 'Friendly Exposition,' in 1527, and in the prefatory letter to Luther.¶ He addresses him in a

* De Vera et Falsa Religione Commentarius. Op. vol. iii. pp. 145 et sq.

† Hess, p. 273 et seq.

‡ For example. Una illa haeresis jam quinque habet sectas—ideo peribunt statim; ep. 779. Secta sacrilega; ep. 819. Pestem, quia blasphema, etc.; ep. 858. Pestes istas rabiosas Sacramentiorum; ep. 981. Valeant viperae, etc. ep. 1019. And, we grieve to record it, when the violent death of Zwingle should have quenched his wrath, he writes, Sed iste est finis gloriae, quam quaerebant blasphemiis in coenam Christi; ep. 1423. Judicium Dei nunc secundo videmus, semel in Munzero, nunc in Zwinglio. Propheta fui, qui dixi! Deum non laturum diu istas rabidas et furiosas blasphemias, quibus illi pleni erant, irridentes Deum nostrum, vocantes nos carnivoras et sanguibibas, et cruentos, aliis horrendis nominibus appellantes; ep. 1431. Besides the letters here cited, we note the following, referring always to De Wette's incomparable edition, viz. Epp. 743, 747, 774, 819, 865, 866, 867, 878, 904, 914, 938, 944, 995, 1011, 1153, 1216, 1266, 1347, 1365, 1366.

§ Hess, 275, Buddei Isagoge, pp. 433, 1038, 1045.

‖ Vol. vii. p. 451. ep. 22.

¶ Vol. iii. p. 459, sq. Amica Exegesis, id est Expositio eucharistiae negotii, ad Martinum Lutherum. Milner has cited some intolerant and even damnatory expressions of Zwingle's, chiefly against the Anabaptists. Alas! who of that age is free from this fault? But surely it is not on *this* point that a friend of Luther's character would choose to found a comparison with Zwingle.

tone rare in the controversies of that age; hoping that he will be neither obstinate nor implacable; declaring that he enters the field not with arms but a flag of truce; and pleasantly cites the story of Alexander the Great, when one appealed to him as softened by a three day's consideration. "To many" says Zwingle, "you have seemed to treat this difficult subject in great warmth, and not to have spared pious and inoffensive men, as befitted their worth. Show yourself then for a little moment unprejudiced and placid, and remember how dangerous are wrath, obstinacy, rashness, strife and the like, when they take the place of justice, courage, constancy and sobriety." And again to the reader who might be ready to expect a bitter warfare between the two great reformers: "Fear not! I will use such temper in writing that Luther can take no offence, and Papists have nothing to glory of. Luther contended with us publicly, and heaped on us curses, which we bore with the grace of peace. No one of us muttered, and no one now will indulge in vituperation."

In this state of things the Landgrave of Hesse hoped that by means of a conference some compromise might be effected, to remove the bitterness of an endless dispute. He therefore in 1529 invited the two leaders to meet him at his town of Marpurg. Zwingle consented without hesitation, and set out in the month of September, in company with Rodolph Collinus, Hedio, and Oecolampadius. Luther brought on his part Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Agricola and Brentius. This was the only meeting which ever took place between Zwingle and Luther. After a fruitless attempt to bring the parties to some agreement, it was resolved that they should live in peace and treat each other as brethren. That the conference might be made more profitable, a confession was drawn up containing the principal articles of faith maintained by the Protestants. This formula was signed by all present except one. The correspondence of Luther, Melancthon, Oecolampadius and Zwingle, recently published in Germany, affords us many lively glimpses into the very scenes of the Reformation, such as were not enjoyed even by the great historians who have preceded us. We have before us Melancthon's formal report of the conference to the Elector of Saxony. In this he says, "Zwingle and Oecolampadius were greatly desirous that we should receive them as *brethren.* This we were altogether unwilling to do, and told them strongly, that we wondered with what

conscience they could hold us as brethren, when they believed us to be in error."* Luther went reluctantly to the conference, and cited the ill results of similar colloquies with the Arians. He appears to have looked with little respect upon his opponents. *In summa, homines sunt inepti et imperiti ad disputandum.* He was however elated by the result, declaring that the prayers of the righteous had been answered in the confusion and humbling of the Sacramentarians. The truth is, Luther and his friends had not allowed themselves to become acquainted with the exact views of the brethren whom they opposed; so that when, at Marpurg, the latter disavowed several heresies charged upon them, this was seized on as a grand concession. After all, the benevolent but stormy heart of Luther was somewhat mollified, as appears from the following letter to Gerbel.

"You will learn from the conversation and written report of your delegates [Sturm and Hedio] how far we profited in our comparison of doctrines at Marpurg. After we had stoutly defended our views, and they had conceded many of their own, being pertinacious only in the article touching the sacrament of the altar, they were dismissed in peace. We did this lest too much wringing of the nose should bring forth blood. Prov. xxx. 33. Charity and peace, we owe even to our enemies. We warned them, however, unless they repented in regard to this article, that however they might enjoy our charity, they could not be numbered by us among brethren and members of Christ. You will judge what fruit will come of this. Certainly not the least part of the scandal is removed, when contention in writing and speaking is taken away, and this is more than we had hoped to effect. Would to God that remaining scruple were at length removed by Christ! Amen."†

It is no more than is just to Zwingle to add, that the silence pledged at Marpurg was observed by him, and that the plighted peace was not violated until after his death, After his return home, he addressed to Philip a book on 'The Providence of God,' which gave occasion to some to

* Corpus Reformatorum, vol. 1. p. 1099. And again in a letter to Agricola, p. 1107: "*Visi sunt frigidiores*, quam fore arbitrabar. Magnopere contenderunt, ut a nobis fratres appellarentur. Vide eorum stullitiam! Cum damnent nos, cupiunt tamen a nobis fratres haberi. Nos noluimus eis hac in re assentiri."

† These facts concerning Luther do not appear in the common histories; and have been gleaned by us from his letters; v. Epp. 1119, 1120, 1138, 1154, 1162, 1190, 1216, 1217.

allege that he made God the author of sin. While some of his expressions cannot be justified, it was altogether unseemly for the reproach to come from the Lutheran side, since language equally unguarded and very similar abounds in Luther's treatise on the Will. Whether Zwingle clearly made the distinction between the physical act and its formal nature, is not obvious; it was scarcely to have been expected at such a stage of the Reformation in a man embarrassed with a thousand cares and a thousand enemies; but we are bound in candour to understand him as maintaining, that while the entity of the act and its direction are from God, that in which it is moral and sinful is entirely from the creature. On such a subject it is the part of wisdom to avoid all rash judgments and harsh expressions unwarranted by scripture. In the same work he offended many of his party by the favourable opinion which he expressed concerning the salvation of the heathen.

At the diet of Augsburg, in 1530, the Zwinglians presented a confession of their faith to the emperor, in the name of the cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Landau. This was drawn by Bucer and Capito. It was less acceptable to the emperor than that of the Lutherans, and he commanded Faber and Eckius to prepare an answer to it, which was read in a full diet. The Zwinglians were thereupon ordered to renounce their doctrine. Zwingle himself sent to the diet his own confession of faith, in twelve articles. Soon after these events Zwingle addressed to the Protestant princes a letter in defence of his opinions against Eckius, particularly in respect to the sacrament of the Eucharist. In this he expressly denies the real presence, concerning which the Lutherans had been less explicit; for Bucer had drawn up the article in ambiguous terms so as to avoid condemnation. Melancthon and Brentius, after this, published a treatise to show that the doctrine of the Zwinglians was altogether different from that of the Lutherans. When the emperor had published the decree of the diet, the Protestant princes and the reformed cantons of Switzerland entered into a confederacy to defend themselves and their religion against the emperor and other Roman Catholic powers. This was the league of Smalkalde, concluded in 1531.

In the same year the discontents, which had long existed in Switzerland, burst out into open war between the five Roman Catholic cantons and those of Zurich and Berne.

On the 6th of October, the five cantons published their manifesto, and took the field. The Zurichers were unable to send more than a few hundred men. Zwingle was ordered to accompany them. It was, as Sleidan and Oecolampadius have observed, the custom of his canton from time immemorial, when engaged in war, to take their chief minister with them to perform religious services. And this is reasonable and scriptural. No order of men more need religious instructions than soldiers; nor are they ever more in need of the gospel than on the field of death. Zwingle was not a man to forsake his friends in the hour of peril, and he doubtless had in mind the similar service enjoined on the priests under the old law. "Our cause is good," said he, "but it is ill-defended. It will cost my life, and that of a number of excellent men who would wish to restore religion to its primitive purity, and our country to its ancient manners. No matter! God will not abandon his servants." The engagement was at Cappel, which is only three leagues from Zurich; but the road crosses Mount Albis, and its rapid descent impeded the heavy armed soldiery. In the meantime the roar of cannon announced that the battle was begun. "Let us hasten our march," said Zwingle, "or we shall perhaps arrive too late. As for me, I will go and join my brethren. I will assist in saving them, or we will die together."

In the beginning of the battle, while Zwingle was encouraging the troops by his exhortations, he received a mortal wound, transfixing his throat. He was heard at this moment to exclaim *Ecquid hoc infortunii!* "What is there of misfortune in this?" He remained senseless for some time, but recovering his consciousness, he raised himself with difficulty, crossed his feeble hands upon his breast, and lifted up his dying eyes to heaven: *Âge*, he cried, *age, corpus quidem occidere possunt; animam non possunt:* "Well, they are able to kill the body; the soul they cannot kill." Some Romish soldiers found him in the attitude we have mentioned, and offered him a confessor; which, with a motion of the head, he declined. They exhorted him to pray to the Holy Virgin. A second sign of refusal enraged them. "Die, then, obstinate heretic!" cried one, and pierced him with his sword.* His body, as soon as recognised, was

* These particulars were learnt from some peasants, who recognised Zwingle the moment he was killed. Hess, 320. Gerdesius. Labouderie.

burnt to ashes by his ruthless enemies. Thus died Ulrich Zwingle, at once hero and martyr, at the age of forty-seven years. It is an interesting coincidence, illustrative of Swiss customs, that the celebrated Lavater, who was also a pastor at Zurich, came to his end in a similar manner, being wounded on the 26th of September, 1799, after a bloody battle between the victorious French and the combined forces of Austria and Russia.

The true monument to Zwingle exists in the Reformed Churches of Switzerland. Next to this must be placed the productions of his pen, which are here for the first time collected. These, even where their intrinsic value is not great, and where we less feel the need of them on account of the more accurate works which have superseded them, nevertheless have uncommon attractions. In the use of the logical weapons of his day, Zwingle was as dexterous as he was intrepid, and his dialectic was singularly free from the rust of the schools. In the conduct of an argument he baffled all his opposers. There is nothing like finesse, nothing like circumvention. Courage is as much imprinted on his reasonings as on his life. In his theological opinions he was sometimes incautious, especially on the subject of Original Sin; but concerning this he is believed to have satisfied the more rigid Calvinists that he was substantially sound. On this point his frank and copious declaration to Urbanus Rhegius may be consulted.* "He had," says a great and eloquent enemy of his opinions, "much neatness in his diction. None of the pretended reformers has expressed his thoughts in a manner more precise, more uniform, or more connected; none has pushed them further, or with greater hardihood."† As a scholar, he had passed his early days in that rapture of enthusiastic attachment to the disinterred relics of Greece and Rome, which has never been felt since the age of the revival of letters. In this ancient literature, he was, like Erasmus and Melancthon, thoroughly steeped. When the faith of the gospel came to occupy his soul, he still wrote in the idiom of the classics. Scarcely a page can be pointed out in his letters or his works which does not sparkle with allusions to the ancient lore.

As a pastor and a man, Zwingle, as reported to us, stands free from all imputation of unfaithfulness or extravagance. "He instructed his flock daily from the pulpit, and possess

* Vol. iii. p. 627. † Bossuet, Histoire des Variations, liv. 2.

ing in the highest degree the art of speaking to the comprehension of every one, he was able to give to his sermons an ever new attraction. He was still more admirable in his private conversations. With affecting condescension, he brought himself down to a level with the most humble capacities, and tranquillized such as came to confide to him their doubts, and disclose the agitation of their minds. His house was the asylum of the unfortunate, and he employed his small income, his credit, his connexions, his ascendency, in rendering service to those who had need of him. When we think of all that he performed during his abode at Zurich, it seems as if a whole life would scarcely suffice for so many labours; yet it was in the short space of twelve years, that he succeeded in changing the manners, the religious ideas, and the political principles of his adopted country, and in founding establishments, many of which have endured for three centuries."*

"It was in the midst of his friends," the same biographer beautifully observes, "that he sought relaxation from labour. His serenity and cheerfulness gave a great charm to his conversation; his temper was naturally hasty, and he sometimes gave way too much to his first feelings; but he knew how to efface the painful impression that he had produced, by a prompt and sincere return of kindness. Incapable of retaining the smallest degree of rancour from the recollection of his own faults or those of others, he was equally inaccessible to the sentiments of hatred, jealousy, and envy. The amiable qualities of his disposition gained him the attachment of his colleagues, who united around him as a common centre, and it is worthy of remark, that at this period, when all the passions were in motion, nothing ever troubled the harmony that prevailed among them: yet they were neither united by family connexions, nor by early acquaintance; they were strangers, attracted to Zurich by the protection afforded to the reformed, or sent for by Zwingle to take part in the labour of public instruction. They came with habits already formed, with ideas already fixed, and of an age when the ardour of youth, so favourable to the formation of friendships, was past: but a stronger tie than any other united them—their common interest in the new light that began to dawn over Europe. These learned men communicated to each other all their ideas without reserve:

* Hess, pp. 280. sq.

they consulted upon the works that they meditated, and sometimes united their talents and their knowledge in undertakings which would have exceeded the powers of any one singly. In our days each individual seems to be connected by a thousand threads with all the members of a society; but these apparent ties have no real strength, and are broken by the first shock. The men of the 16th century had something more masculine and more profound in their affections; they were capable of a forgetfulness of self which we find it difficult to conceive."*

That he was not a Luther, or even a Calvin, is saying of Zwingle what may be said of all the rest of mankind; but we have little patience with those ecclesiastical historians, who, in order to exalt even the great Reformer, enter upon petty arguments to degrade his brethren. And especially do we lament the hasty warmth and incorrectness of Dean Milner, whose admirable continuation of his brother's work is seldom marred by such passages as those to which we have already alluded.

When these remarks of ours were brought thus near to a close, we obtained for the first time the 'Life of Ulricus Zuinglius,' recently issued by the Board of Publication; and we can freely recommend it as a useful and interesting little work. The compiler has made very valuable additions to Hess. The whole series of biographical works prepared for the Board is highly valuable, especially as the external appearance of these, as of all their books, is such as leaves nothing to be desired.

John C. Lord.

Art. III.—*Finney's Sermons on Sanctification, and Mahan on Christian Perfection.*

The prevalence of Arminian views in Theology, in portions of the Presbyterian Church, has been largely insisted upon by some, and as confidently denied by others. While the defection from our standards existing in certain localities has undoubtedly been exaggerated, it ought not to be denied that serious evils have prevailed, and the more orthodox among New School Presbyterians have always admitted the

* Hess, p. 286.

existence of disorders and heresies, demanding the discipline of the church, although they have resisted the measures actually pursued by the General Assembly of 1837, as unwise if not unconstitutional.

The Professors at the Oberlin Institute, whose names appear at the head of this article, and whose theological views have of late attracted much attention, commenced their ministry in the Presbyterian Church, and, long before they resorted to Congregationalism, advanced, in common with many others in our communion, sentiments at war with our standards, and which have led them legitimately to their present position which may be considered the 'Ultima Thule' of new divinity. Many who have sympathised with their original errors, and still maintain them, are not prepared to take the final leap into the gulf of Perfectionism; but they cannot remain long where they are, they must either fall back upon the great truths which they have rejected, or go forward in the path of error to its natural termination, already reached by the Oberlin Professors. There is reason to hope, that many are retracing their steps, seeking the 'old paths' and abandoning the various devices of a vain philosophy, by which they have been bewildered, and the simplicity of the gospel marred, while others are receding further and further from the truth. In the region round about the seat of this heresy, where the Professors and the young men educated at Oberlin are known and where their influence is felt, and where Arminian and Pelagian views have to some extent prevailed for many years, the great obstacle to the spread of their errors is the fact that they offer themselves and their examples as illustrations of the truth of their doctrine. Their old friends and natural allies are startled at the amazing declaration, that many of these teachers and their pupils do perfectly obey the law of God, in thought, word and deed; always an arrogant and false profession, but no where as likely to be felt to be so, as in the region where the influence, temper and conduct of such professors are subjected to the constant notice of the church and the world. It is not unusual for errorists to claim extraordinary communications of the divine Spirit and to speak of increased light and joy, but these pretensions are more apt to be credited at a distance, than at home. A recent opponent of the Oberlin heresy seems disposed to concede that some of the leaders in this new way have made extraordinary attainments in piety. He "cannot but indulge the pleasing thought that God has

granted them a high degree of his gracious influence and raised them to an elevation of Christian affection and joy to which they had never before attained." This is passing strange in the mouth of a reviewer, whose professed object is to show the error of the system which has produced such excellent fruits. Can it be possible that God grants a 'high degree of his gracious influence,' to men under the influence of dangerous errors, and while they claim too, that these heresies are at *the foundation* of their advance in holiness? Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles? Does the Holy Spirit communicate a measure of grace to the errorist, which he did not enjoy when he held more nearly to the truth? Is there no connexion between doctrinal soundness and a holy life? Such concessions, to such errorists, are painful; they destroy the face of the whole argument of the writer, and must unavoidably leave the impression upon the public mind that the testimony, borne by neighbouring ecclesiastical judicatories against these errors and their fruits, are false and slanderous, that no dangerous heresies can be taught by such men, and if there be apparent departures from the truth, they are so trivial and unimportant that the Spirit of all grace does not hesitate to dwell with and honour, in a peculiar manner, those who teach them. Christian charity and courtesy never demand the yielding of the main point in dispute, and if these teachers preach another gospel, they are not entitled to credit in regard to these alleged attainments, nor to expect, while hurling their anathemas at those who resist them, and while seeking to divide and distract the churches, that they are to be treated as 'brethren beloved for their work's sake.' It is the fashion of the day to repudiate the sternness and severity of the Polemics of the seventeenth century, those giants of old, whose ponderous weapons can scarcely be lifted by the pigmies of the present age, and perhaps there is policy if not charity in covering our lighter arms with the flowers of compliment, but when great errors are to be grappled with, we may stand excused if we omit useless ornaments and limit our courtesy to the demands of truth.

The heresy promulgated from Oberlin is by no means a a novelty, although its advocates rejoice in the supposition that it is so, or at least that what was dimly seen by the old Arminian divines is now clearly elucidated, proved and established for the first time by them. In the Augsburg Confession of faith, from the pen of Melancthon, and approved

by Luther, there is a formal protest against this error, contradicting its first and main position, which is by some strangely conceded, to wit, the *attainableness* in this world of a state of perfect holiness. In the 12th Article of the Augsburg Confession, the Reformers condemn the Anabaptists and particularize "*those who contend that a sinless perfection is attainable in this life.*" "I infer," says Mr. Mahan, page 30 of his Christian Perfection, "that a state of perfect holiness is attainable in this life, from the commands of scripture addressed to Christians under the new covenant," an inference which he long before made with regard to the ability of the sinner to regenerate himself, from the fact that God commanded "the house of Israel" to make them a new heart. May we not be allowed to inquire of Mr. Mahan, whether he supposes that "the commands of scripture addressed to Christians under the new covenant" are any thing different from the general claims of the law of God upon all men? Does he intend to make a distinction between the demands of God upon the church and upon the world, or does he mean that the duties enjoined upon the church are founded upon a gracious ability? Mr. Finney is more explicit in his statement of his views of ability. "But certain it is that men are able to resist the utmost influence that the truth can exert upon them, and *therefore* have ability to defeat the wisest, most benevolent, and most powerful exertions which the Holy Spirit *can make* to effect their sanctification," Ob. Evan. Lec. 21. page 193. Not only is truth the sole instrument in regeneration and sanctification, in Mr. Finney's opinion, but men have the ability to resist it when wielded with the utmost energy of the Holy Ghost. Surely this is a combination and carrying out of the worst errors in new school divinity, which should arouse those who remain halting between two opinions, to take a decided stand for the truth. So far as the argument for perfect sanctification rests upon the ground of the requisitions of God and the natural ability of man, (properly understood) it may be reduced to this statement: God commands men to be holy, they are accountable moral agents and ought to be holy, therefore some men are holy; which is clearly a non sequitur. It is obvious, however, that the views of ability entertained at Oberlin are Pelagian and not Edwardean, for we think they avoid all recognition of the distinction between natural and moral ability, and we have seen that they make truth or motive the only efficient cause in regeneration and sanctification, and yet as-

sert that men are able to resist the utmost influence of the truth, even when applied by the "most powerful exertions which the Holy Spirit can make." No conclusions from such premises need surprise us, and if the Oberlin folly should open the eyes of the church to the real tendency of modern speculations and professed improvements in Theology, it will serve a valuable end and add another to the numerous illustrations of the truth, that God is able to bring good out of evil.

But Mr. Mahan informs us that he does not use the words 'attainable or practicable' with reference merely or chiefly to our natural powers, but to the provisions of divine grace and in their most common and popular acceptation. Dr. Woods denies that Mr. Mahan differs from the generally received opinions of the church, in maintaining that God has made full provision for the entire perfection in holiness, in this life, of the believer, and that perfect sanctification is consequently attainable, but rebuts his inference, and asserts that we have no right to conclude from the simple fact that provision is made for the entire sanctification of believers in this life, "that such sanctification will actually take place." Are these things so? Has the church always believed and does the word of God teach, that "full provision is made for the entire perfection of the believer in holiness in this life," and that perfect sanctification is consequently attainable in the common and popular acceptation of the term? The fallacy of this statement is not at once apparent, but we think it may be seen by an analysis of the terms "provisions of the gospel." What is intended by the phrase, and what does it properly include? Can it be limited to such general and vague expressions as these "that the gospel contains a remedy for all our spiritual diseases, and that there is a fulness in Christ adequate to supply all our need. This might be said by a Unitarian, and would be true if there were no Holy Ghost and no divine purposes in regard to the regeneration and sanctification of the soul. The gospel is not *merely* a provision for salvation, but an *effectual means* to those that are saved according to the purpose of God. To leave out effectual calling and the effectual working of the Holy Spirit, in sanctifying the believer, is to leave out *those provisions of the gospel by which all the others are made effectual.* Now what is the purpose and design of God in regard to the conversion of the sinner and the sanctification of the Christian? Does any Calvinist doubt that God *is able* in regen-

eration to bring the soul into a state of perfect holiness and to keep it there, if this be according to his purpose? Is it a part of the design of God in the gospel scheme to do this? Then is the declaration of Mr. Finney, in the Oberlin Evangalist, true, that the new covenant, or gospel, '*confers* what the old covenant, or law *demands*,' so that perfect sanctification, in this life, is the thing specifically designed in the gospel. Has this been the received opinion of the church? Is this sentiment found in the Bible? Are the provisions of the gospel designed to secure the perfect holiness, in this life, of every Christian? If they are, they will infallibly accomplish the end. It may be said that this is a mere question of obligation and duty; then it is folly to talk about the 'provisions of the gospel,' for obligation and duty exist in full force under the law, and we may as well say that the law contains provisions for perfect holiness, seeing that it demands complete obedience from accountable moral agents, who are under *infinite* obligation to obey. The scriptures teach us that sanctification is the "gift of God's free grace," earned by no previous "works of righteousness which we have done," and that this work is not, in this life, perfect, but progressive; we are exhorted "not to think of ourselves more highly than we ought to think, but to think soberly according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith." To say then that the provisions of the gospel are designed and intended to produce perfect sanctification in this life, is to yield the whole controversy, and to affirm that there are provisions in the gospel for perfect holiness in this life, (in the only sense in which we can suppose he intends to use this term), is to declare, simply, that the gospel sustains the claims of the law, and that Christians might obey it if they would, or that it contains "a remedy for all our spiritual diseases, and an infinite fulness," which the believer might receive and enjoy if he would. Does not Dr. Woods hold this to be equally true of the world, or does he maintain that the Christian may have a gracious ability to do that which he, in fact, does not do, and otherwise would not be bound to do? Now our duty to God is not the necessary measure of his grace to us in this life, and we deny that it is proper to say that perfect holiness is attainable in this world on the ground of obligation merely, for moral inability is really as insuperable an obstacle as physical disability, and 'attainableness,' in its popular sense, can no more be predicated of the one than the other. The "carnal heart," says the apos-

tle, "is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed *can be;*" and if the measure of grace and faith which God grants his people comes short of perfect holiness, to say that it is attainable, is to mislead the church by the use of terms which convey a meaning contrary to the truth; and to affirm that God has made provision in the gospel for the perfect sanctification of the church in this life, is really to admit either that true believers are perfectly sanctified, or that God has failed in accomplishing what he intended and designed in the gospel. If, then, by the provisions of the gospel it is meant that the gospel maintains the same standard of duty as the law; that it is adapted to our circumstances and our wants, and that there is an 'infinite fulness in Christ;' this was never denied by the orthodox, and certainly proves nothing for Mr. Mahan; but if he intends that it is a part of the design of God in the gospel, by the appointed means of grace, in connexion with the influences of the Holy Spirit, perfectly to sanctify his chosen people in this life, we deny the position, and challenge the proofs. We believe that the Bible teaches that at regeneration the believer is wholly justified, while in this life he is but partially sanctified. He is like one recovering from a deadly disease, who is certain to get well, but whose progress towards health is gradual, who is convalescent, but who still requires the Physician and the means of recovering, and who could not, while in this condition, make a more fatal mistake than to fancy himself every whit whole. We might suggest some reasons why the work of sanctification is partial and gradual in this world, and show that God has valuable purposes to answer by it, but it is enough at present to say, that it is according to the "good pleasure of his will." In reply to the standing argument of Messrs. Finney and Mahan, that this is an apology for sin and imperfection in the church, we answer, that this may be fairly urged when they are able to show that the purposes of God are our standard of obligation, or that our duty to him is the necessary measure of his grace to us; but until they are prepared to maintain these positions, such assertions are gratuitous, and such an argument unworthy of a good cause.

There are so many strange sentiments advanced by Perfectionists, which have not been particularly noticed in any recent review of their system, that we may be excused for leaving, here, the topics in Mr. Mahan's book, brought to view by his opponents, and which we should not have dwelt upon so long were it not for the conviction that

positions have been conceded which are more than questionable, and concessions made which are likely to advance rather than retard the progress of this giant error. Had all that has been published at Oberlin by leading Perfectionists been read by eastern reviewers, or had they been familiar with the practical results of this error, the attempt to smother it with kindness, and the effort to reconcile its leading principles with the gospel, would never have been made.

That all holy exercises are perfect both in *kind* and *degree* has been largely insisted upon at Oberlin, as one basis of their system. They allege that there is no such thing as imperfect holiness, and, of course, that there is no such thing as being sanctified in part. "It seems to be a very general opinion among men," says Mr. Finney, "that love to God and men may be genuine in *kind* but deficient in *degree;* (i. e.) that we may have some true love to God that is not supreme love; now this cannot be true, for God lays great stress in his law upon the degree of love,"* &c. Again, in the same discourse, he says: "It seems to be a very general opinion, that there is such a thing as imperfect obedience to God; (i. e.) as it respects one and the same act, but I cannot see how an imperfect obedience, relating to one and the same act, can be possible. *Imperfect* OBEDIENCE! what can be meant by this, but *disobedient* OBEDIENCE! a *sinful* HOLINESS. Now, to decide the character of any act, we are to bring it into the light of the law of God; if agreeable to this law, it is obedience—it is right—*wholly right.* If it is in *any respect* different from what the law of God requires, it is wrong—*wholly wrong.*" He goes on to say, that he was formerly of the opinion himself that an 'exercise might be put forth in view of several motives, and partake of the complex character of the motives that produced it,' but he is now persuaded that "this philosophy is false." He affirms, afterwards, that "holiness must be supreme in degree to have the character of holiness at all." In order to be well understood, Mr. Finney again tells us, in the same lecture, that he chooses, for the sake of perspicuity, "to reassert the mistake in this form, viz: that holiness may be *real*, while deficient in *degree* as well as permanency;" and again, that *some degree of selfishness* may coexist with *some degree of holiness;*" all of which he labours at large to disprove, and the whole argument is brought to bear upon the question of sanctification. He ad-

* Ob. Evan. vol. i. page 42.

mits that obedience may be imperfect in respect to its constancy, but never in regard to degree; and insists that if a Christian, at any given moment, has any holiness, it must be perfect both in kind and degree, and the individual of course, for the time being, wholly sanctified. The whole scope of the argument amounts to this: that the soul is nothing but its exercises: that there are no permanent dispositions; that character is what the exercises of the individual, at any given moment, may happen to be, and that these fluctuating states are always perfect for good or evil, both in kind and degree.

It is no doubt a convenient philosophy for Perfectionists, for it drives every believer to one of these conclusions, that he is at the present moment either perfect in holiness, or without any degree of holiness; and if not conscious of the former, he must conclude himself an unconverted man, or fallen from grace; and it is not surprising that under its influence the great majority of pupils at Oberlin should profess perfect sanctification, which profession is not to be discredited by occasional lapses, as those only prove what Mr. Finney asserts, that a state of perfect sanctification "may be imperfect in respect to its constancy!" Nor will the offences of to-day at all disturb the complacency of the Oberlin pupil in the contemplation of his holy exercises of yesterday, or his expectation of the same state of holiness to-morrow, because permanency is not an attribute of perfect sanctification; and a present fall is no proof that he was mistaken in his former *consciousness* of holiness; nor should others doubt his testimony, for Mr. Finney tells us, (page 44,) that those are in an error "who suppose we are incompetent witnesses of our own sanctification," and that "we are just as competent witnesses to testify to our entire sanctification as that we have any religion at all." Mr. Finney might have added, what follows clearly from his former position, that if his hearers and pupils could testify that they had "*any religion at all*," they must esteem themselves to be *perfectly* sanctified, because there is no such thing as *imperfect obedience;* for if all holiness is perfect in *kind* and *degree*, "then none are sanctified at all who are not wholly sanctified," and none obey whose obedience is not a full answer to the claims of the law, and "to have any religion at all" is to have as much religion as we ought to have!! Who can doubt the tendency of such a scheme, or wonder at the presumptuous professions which follow such teaching?

Another foundation upon which this heresy is made to rest is in strange contrast with, if not a direct contradiction of, all their other premises. It is Finney versus Mahan—Finney versus Finney. It is expressly and repeatedly declared by Mr. Finney, that the new covenant or gospel is the 'actual gift' of what the old covenant or law demands. That the free and unconditional gift of God in the gospel, to all his people, is perfect sanctification, not promised or provided, but *conferred* in regeneration; that is, "the very spirit required in the law is produced in the heart by the Holy Ghost." Now if the new covenant or gospel, *as a matter of fact, does confer the gift of perfect sanctification*, then there is an end of the controversy. Mr. Finney alleges, (Ob. Evan. vol. i. p. 98): "the old covenant was mere law; the second or new covenant *is the writing of this law on the heart.*" Again, "the first covenant said thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart; the *new* is the fulfilment of what the old required." He tells us again, that "the new covenant is the *causing* God's people to render perfect obedience," and that the new covenant is not a promise, but it is the thing promised." "The new heart and the new spirit: these are the new covenant itself, and the promise of this new covenant is quite another thing." "It cannot be too distinctly understood," says Mr. Finney, "that the new covenant, or gospel, is neither law nor promise, but the very spirit required by the law, *produced* in the heart by the Holy Ghost." Again, "the new covenant, or gospel, is the producing of this *perfect* and *perpetual* obedience." Mr. Finney then attempts to prove that this obedience is both perfect and perpetual! (page 99.) He must have forgotten, while pursuing this line of argument, that he was contradicting himself, in labouring to show that obedience or holiness is perpetual or permanent in this life; for he asserts the reverse of this in his fifth lecture, where he says, that "an individual may obey at one time and disobey at another." Mr. Mahan and Mr. Finney do not agree at all in their respective statements upon this point. "Whatever the old covenant or the moral law requires of the creature, the new covenant promises to the believer," says Mr. Mahan, page 100 of his Christian Perfection; and at page 108, he mentions the conditions on which these promises will be fulfilled. Mr. Finney contends that the gospel is neither law nor promise, but the actual and unconditional gift of perfect sanctification; Mr. Mahan, that it promises perfect holiness

upon conditions to be performed by the Christian. These positions are wholly irreconcilable. It follows plainly from Mr. Finney's statement, that none are regenerated who have not received the gift of perfect obedience, and that nothing but entire sanctification can constitute the evidence of a work of grace in the soul. If the gospel produces in the life of the believer what the law requires, then those who are not perfectly sanctified are not sanctified at all; which agrees so far with his dogma, that all holiness is perfect both in *kind* and *degree*. That the views of Mr. Finney are the prevailing ones at Oberlin, we infer from his commanding influence there, and from the general tone of his followers, and their treatment of those who differ from them.

But the most startling proposition, upon which the doctrine of perfect sanctification is made to rest, is to be found in the declaration *that the law of God levels its claims to our debilitated powers*. It is assumed that our natural powers were debilitated in the fall, and have been subsequently weakened by transgression; or, as Mr. Finney expresses it, "by the intemperance and abuse of the human constitution through so many generations," and that the law constantly accommodates itself to the declension. But let Mr. Finney speak for himself. Ob. Evan. vol. ii. page 50: "It is objected that this doctrine" [of perfect sanctification] "lowers the standard of holiness to a level with our own experience. It is not denied that in some instances this may have been true. Nor can it be denied, that the standard of Christian perfection *has been elevated much above the demands of the law* in its application to human beings in our present state of existence. It seems to have been forgotten, that the inquiry is, What does the law demand—not of angels, and what would be entire sanctification in them; nor of Adam, previously to the fall, when his powers of body and mind were all in a state of perfect health; not what will the law demand of us in a future state of existence; not what the law may demand of the church in some future period of its history on earth, *when the human constitution, by the universal prevalence of correct and thorough temperance principles, may have acquired its pristine health and powers;* but the question is, What does the law of God require of Christians of the present generation; of Christians in all respects in our circumstances, with all the ignorance *and debility of body and mind* which have

resulted from the intemperance and abuse of the human constitution through so many generations?

"*The law levels its claims to us as we are*, and a just exposition of it, as I have already said, under all the present circumstances of our being, is indispensable to a right apprehension of what constitutes entire sanctification."

These views are doubtless a sufficient foundation for the doctrine of perfect sanctification, if they are true. The idea of the adaption of the law to our wants has always been a pillar in the edifice of impenitence; it is the standing argument of legalists, and the oft repeated excuse of the dissolute. But what proof has Mr. Finney that the powers and faculties which constitute man's accountability were debilitated in the fall, and have been progressively weakened by ages of intemperance, and by the continued abuse of the human constitution? Is it not obvious, upon such a principle, that in this downward progress the time may come when all obligation will cease, and when sin shall have destroyed accountability? Can Mr. Finney tell us, what is the probable debility in the moral powers of those lost spirits "who kept not their first estate," when this debilitating process has been in operation since the apostasy of the angels? How low has the law of God levelled its claims in regard to those inhabitants of the cities of the plain "who are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire?" The views advanced by Mr. Finney make sin its own remedy, as well as its own apology. If the "universal prevalence of thorough temperance principles is to restore the human constitution to its pristine health and powers," and so increase obligation and accountability, would it not be better for the impenitent to remain as they are, with the excuse for their disobedience which is furnished by their debility? And may they not be tempted to remove still further the claims of the law, by increased intemperance and sensuality? A more dangerous sentiment can scarcely be conceived than that which allows men to place their sins to the account of debilitated powers. Does the immutable law of God change and fluctuate with the circumstances of its subjects, and level its claims 'pari passu' to accommodate the transgressor in his downward course, as he plunges along in his progress towards the depths of hell? We shall not undertake to reconcile Mr. Finney with himself, or explain how so great a stickler for ability should come to talk of "debilitated powers," placing his doctrine of perfect sanctification in one

breath upon the ground of ability and obligation, and in the next, hurling the law of Jehovah down to meet our weakened powers. These things are contrary to each other, and to the word of God. It was thus that Paul was "alive without the law once," and David did not see an "end of all perfection" until he discovered "that the commandment was exceeding broad." If it is by positions like these that the church is to be encouraged to profess perfect sanctification; if by accommodating the law of God to their experience, and placing their sins to the account of their infirmities, Perfectionists justify their vain-glorious boastings; if the flames of Sinai are to be extinguished by the overflowing waters of sin, and its inaccessible heights levelled down to our debilitated powers, we would say with Israel, "O, my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united!"

There is also, connected with this error, a tithing of "mint, anise and cummin." The Professors at Oberlin urge a literal mortification of the body, with the zeal of the ancient Gnostics. Most largely is a dietetic reform insisted upon as essential to the spirituality of the church, and it is more than intimated that a steady course of abstinence is a constant prerequisite of perfect sanctification. We are even encouraged to believe that a careful attention to the physical laws of our system will in time restore us to our "pristine powers before the fall." Quotations to this purpose might be multiplied, but the following must suffice. Ob. Evan. 2 vol. page 35.

"Are not many of us," says Mr. Finney, "exceedingly ignorant, in regard to the physiology of our own bodies, and of those dietetic habits which are most congenial to bodily health? Are we not exceedingly ignorant or utterly unmindful of the necessary connection between health of body and health of mind? Is it not true, my brethren, that the mind is, in this state of existence, dependent upon the physical organization for all its developements—and that every transgression of physical law tends strongly to a violation of moral law?"

And again in the same connexion. "I am now fully convinced, however, that the flesh has more to do with the backsliding of the Church than either the world or the devil. Every man has a body, and every man's body, in this age of the world, is more or less impaired by intemperance of one kind or another. Almost every person, whether he is aware of it or not, is in a greater or less degree a dyspeptic,

and suffering under some form of disease arising out of intemperance. And I would humbly ask, is it understood and proclaimed by ministers, that a person can no more expect healthy manifestations of mind in a fit of dyspepsia than in a fit of intoxication? Is it understood and preached to the Church, that every violation of the physical laws of the body as certainly and as necessarily prevents *healthy and holy developements*, in proportion to the extent of the infraction of physical law, as does the use of alcohol? I am convinced, that the temperance reformation has just begun, and that the total abstinence principle, in regard to a great many other subjects besides alcohol, must prevail, before the Church can prosper to any considerable extent."

Mr. Finney asserts here substantially, that a healthy state of body is necessary to healthy manifestations of mind, and that disease uniformly hinders "healthy and holy developements," which can no more be expected in "a fit of dyspepsia than in a fit of intoxication." This is a most absurd compound of Gnosticism and Materialism. Does not Mr. F. know that the soul is often vigorous and active when the body is diseased and dying? Does he not know that the most glorious exhibitions of faith are made by the believer when the earthly house of his tabernacle is about to be dissolved, and when the spirit, not yet clothed upon with its house from heaven, is, upon his theory, dependent for its 'healthy and holy manifestations,' upon the shattered organization from which it is about to escape? Are we to believe that the Christian is liable to fall from grace by exposure to a current of air, from which illness ensues, or by unguardedly eating some innutritious substance by which dyspepsia is induced? The bare statement of such propositions is a sufficient exposure of their folly.

But we have from the Oberlin Professors another kind of argument, always mighty with the censorious, the disaffected and the presumptuous, in the visible church. We are virtually told to "stand aside," and for the old reason, "I am holier than thou." It is assumed that the church at large "are a public, standing and perpetual denial of the gospel," which is really to say, that they are no church at all, but the synagogue of Satan, and, by implication, that the true light which is to chase away our darkness, has arisen at Oberlin.

We know that an impression has been produced in the minds of some of the readers of the Oberlin Evangelist, that the Millennium has already begun there, and from that fa-

voured spot is to be spread over the world, and the notion that order, harmony, humility and forbearance, with every other Christian grace, are dominant at this fortunate institute, is naturally communicated by their wholesale denunciations of the church and the ministry, to those who forget, that to use "great swelling words" of reproof is easy, and that our piety is to be tested by our fruits and not by our professions.

Mr. Finney does not hesitate to represent the great majority of his brethren in the ministry, as carnal, unfaithful and unworthy of the sacred office. He exhibits the more spiritual members of the churches, as going about groaning under their barren ministrations, and the churches themselves, "as living and remarkable contradictions of the gospel." Let the reader carefully mark the following language of Mr. Finney. Ob. Evan. 2 vol. page 35.

"I would humbly inquire whether ministers themselves are not in a great measure under the influence of sensuality? Is it not true, my brethren, that we are given up very much to the influence of our appetites—that many of us indulge ourselves freely in the use of those things that give the flesh dominion over the soul? Are not ministers, as a general thing, so *far sunk in sensuality*, as to be in a great measure blind to the influence of the body over the mind, both with respect to themselves and also with respect to the Church of God? Beloved brethren, is it not true, that the most spiritual members of our churches are sighing and crying over the great want of spirituality in the ministry, and that while they treat us with respect, they look upon us with compassion, and in reality have very little confidence in our ability to guide them? They respect our station—they love us as men. They perhaps regard us as Christians. But, beloved, I have good reason to know that great multitudes of the most spiritual members of the Church regard their ministers as exceedingly in the way of the advancement of the cause of true religion, through a lamentable want of spirituality.

"Are there not classes of passages of the most spiritual and important character, upon which we cannot preach, dare not preach, and should be regarded as hypocritical if we did preach, until we reform our lives and habits? Are not our own lusts, and lives, and habits, virtually leading us to temporize on the subject of self-denial, bearing the cross, contempt of the world, and many of the most important subjects upon which the Church of God need to be instructed?"

We notice next the testimony of Oberlin in regard to the church. Finney's letters, Ob. Evan. vol. ii. page 28: "Are not the church, in their present state, a *standing, public, perpetual denial of the gospel!* Do they not stand out before the world, as a *living, unanswerable contradiction of the gospel;* and do more to harden sinners, and lead them into a spirit of caviling and infidelity, than all the efforts of professed infidels from the beginning of the world to the present day? Now I have not made these inquiries in a spirit of railing or accusation, but in deep seriousness. They are not the language of vituperation and censoriousness, but of solemn truth. *Nay, indeed, they are but a hint at the real facts as they exist almost every where.*" What shall we say to this attack upon the church of the living God? Will Mr. Finney's disclaimer, that he is not moved by a spirit of railing, and that his language is not that of vituperation, aid him? It is a poor consolation to a slandered party to be told that the attack upon his fame, violent and outrageous though it may be, is made in a *good spirit.* What is this but to re-affirm the truth of the charges and add insult to injury?

"Tantaene animis coelestibus irae?"

Nor does the more cautious President Mahan, (whose profession of perfect sanctification has been in some measure authenticated and verified, by the testimony of a pillar of the New England churches, as to his extraordinary attainments in divine life,) come far behind his associate. He speaks of the aspect "of *living death* which the church now presents to the world."—Page 61, Chris. Per.

But what are the fruits of this new divinity? This is, of course, delicate ground; but, with peculiar opportunities for determining the legitimate influences of Perfectionism, we shall not hesitate to state our conclusions, believing that forbearance to utter our entire convictions on this subject would be a sacrifice of principle. The sweeping and ferocious denunciations of Oberlin, by which the entire church have been outraged; the arrogant and lofty professions which seem to challenge investigation, though they may be forgiven, ought not to be forgotten in a review of the system by which they have been originated. Nor do we find any thing in the language of the Saviour, to those who fancied themselves rich and increased in goods, not knowing that they were "poor and blind and naked;" nor in the words

of the apostles, by which they reproved the early heresies in the church, to justify a tame submission to heretical arrogance, or which demands a soft and compromising treatment of dangerous spiritual maladies. The readers of the Oberlin Evangelist, the proper organ of Perfectionism, cannot fail to observe a constant shifting of the ground by which this system is sought to be sustained, involving many discrepances and contradictions. Some things noticed in this paper are rarely alluded to in the Evangelist at this time, and what they will eventually settle down upon it is impossible with certainity to predict. We think, however, that a portion of the young men educated at Oberlin will recede from some of the positions at present held there, and fall back upon the views of Wesley; another, and, we fear, a larger number will go forward and become the leaders of those in the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches who have rejected the Sabbath and the ordinances; who have substituted the direct impressions of the Spirit for the word of God, and who have, in some instances, already given themselves over to work "all iniquity with greediness." We speak advisedly when we say that the influence of this error, where it has prevailed in the churches, has been most disastrous. It has been followed by a censorious and denunciatory spirit, by a disorderly deportment, and by a contempt of the discipline of the church; it has quenched all ardour for the conversion of souls, under the plea that the church must first be converted; it has led, for the most part, to a withdrawal of support from the gospel at home, and from all the great missionary enterprises of the day, on the ground that nothing is done as it should be. In some of the churches in western New York, it has led a portion of the communicants to decline coming to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, because of the unworthiness of the church and pastor, and to the partial or entire neglect of the Sabbath, and to an attitude of contempt and pity towards those who have sought to maintain doctrine and order. We have been informed by the pastor of a church in the vicinity of Rochester, that about thirty cases of discipline had resulted in his church alone from the prevalence of this error. The professors at Oberlin claim, indeed, that they are not responsible for these disorders, and that those who occasion them are not the right sort of Perfectionists, but we have the evidence that these disturbers of the peace of the church sympathize with Oberlin, are supporters of the Evangelist,

and if they go in practice beyond their leaders it is what the universal history of error should lead us to expect.

But is there nothing at the Oberlin Institute but what is of good report? Has the conduct of candidates for the ministry there been without suspicion or reproach? Have there been no published statements, by former students and teachers there, which should lead us to doubt whether Perfectionism had its legitimate influence at its fountain head? Have the faculty denied their knowledge and approval of the inhuman treatment of a student who was taken into the woods at midnight, terrified and blindfolded, and then cruelly beaten, his screams for mercy breaking the stillness of the Sabbath morning? Have not young men been permitted to go on with their theological studies, and afterwards introduced into the ministry, who had publicly confessed the commission of scandalous offences while at Oberlin? We confidently believe, that there is not a theological seminary in the union, and certainly none in the Presbyterian Church, where the general deportment and conduct of the students would not contrast favourably with the manners and morals of this boasted institute, which is, in the opinion of some, the harbinger of the millennium.

Perfectionism, in its practical working, abounds in subtle jesuitical distinctions, subversive of all sound morality. Two young men from Oberlin, who had been guilty of deception and cruelty in their treatment of a neighbouring clergyman, when compelled by public sentiment to apologize, gravely told the injured person, that they were now satisfied that they were wrong in their treatment of him, but were not sensible of this at the time, and so were not criminal, but only *mistaken*. Something of this kind may be seen in the defence of the editor of the Oberlin Evangelist, before his presbytery, on a charge of aiding in the 'lynching' of a student at Oberlin, whose case we have before noticed. The same thing may be seen in their attempts to evade the conclusions which are urged upon them from their premises, the constant assertion that they are not understood, and the readiness with which a new and different statement of their positions is made to meet the exigency. Nor is it the least cause of complaint, on the part of pastors and churches in the vicinity of Oberlin, that their young men are ready to assume any denominational name, and to subscribe standards at war with their real sentiments. The probationers from Oberlin do not hesitate to insinuate themselves into our

churches under the Presbyterian name, and under this cover assault the truths we love and the order we desire to maintain. We have reason to believe, that they commence with a modified view of their system, to meet the circumstances until the way is prepared for its full introduction. This we call Jesuitism, whether among Papists or Protestants; it may be politic, but it is dishonest. This evil has so increased that the synod of Genesee recently passed a resolution reprobating this practice as dishonourable and unchristian, and the result would have been far more disastrous had the young men from Oberlin possessed the talent, preparation, and knowledge by which they could have rendered themselves, for any length of time, acceptable to the churches.

That the system is fanatical in its tendencies is obvious from their own published statements. Mr. Finney says, Ob. Evan. vol. ii. page 59: "The particular object of this letter is to call the attention of my brethren and fathers in the ministry, to the unreasonable prejudice, that does and long has existed in the church, against what are called bodily prostrations and agitations in view of religious truth. By many this seems to be an insurmountable stumbling-block. If the bodily strength is taken away, if swooning and faintings occur; if persons fall prostrate in the public assembly, in the family circle, or in their closets; if they are seized with bodily agitations, or trembling; multitudes take the alarm at this, and infer as a thing of course that it is either the workings of a disordered imagination or the result of infernal agency. Now there are few more unreasonable or ridiculous prejudices among mankind than this." Again, Mr. Finney tells us, page 66, of a certain female in the church who was so impressed with the *sense of the deficiency of her pastor*, "that she addressed him in the deepest anguish of her soul, crying out, 'Oh, I shall die, I shall certainly die, unless you (the pastor) will receive Christ as a full Saviour!' and attempting to approach him, she sunk down helpless, overcome with agony and travail of soul, at his feet." What is this but a deliberate endorsement of every extravagance which has marked the most offensive developements of fanaticism? Swoonings, faintings, and bodily prostrations are a part of the system; why not dancing and screaming, until the house of God resemble bedlam, and the church a company of howling dervishes? But we believe that Perfectionism has lower depths, which time alone can disclose. Its advocates tell us, that they have brought perfect holiness

within our reach, and that the church may be encouraged to attain perfect sanctification, by their success; and certainly, if the "law levels its claims to meet their experience," it may also accommodate ours. What can be obtained so easily will scarcely excite effort, and is likely to be esteemed common, if not contemptible. Does a lofty standard of perfection discourage the exertions of men in the paths of science, or in the field of the arts? Is the scholar deterred in his efforts to know all things because the ocean of knowledge is without a bottom or a shore? Does the poet, the painter, or the sculptor hesitate, or are they hindered in their labours, because they never come up to that standard of perfection by which they discover the faults of their most brilliant productions? Has not the common sense of mankind embodied in the form of a proverb the truth, that no man ever attains to his own standard, and that he who would avoid inferiority must set his mark above mediocrity? Perfectionism levels downwards, and glorifies its followers at the expense of the law, and at the sacrifice of truth. It tends to licentiousness in practice, and to infidelity in belief. Its standard of perfection is the conduct, character and consciousness of its disciples; its invitations are not to scale the difficult heights of holiness, measured by the law, but to come up to them, a performance which most will think easy enough. Its injunction is, not to "fight the good fight of faith," but to enter at once upon that rest which remaineth for the people of God.

One great conclusion may be drawn from the history of this heresy, that departures from the standard of truth, however specious or apparently trivial, are like the fabled dragon's teeth, inert and harmless as they are cast into the earth, but presently producing a harvest of armed men.

By Prof. Addison Alexander

Art. IV.—*A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language.* By Isaac Nordheimer, Phil. Doct., Professor of Arabic and other Oriental Languages in the University of the City of New York. Vol. 2. New York. 1841. 8vo. pp. 360. J. A. Alexander

If any of our readers have been led by the authority of certain writers to believe that there is no such thing as He-

brew Syntax, the volume now before us will be apt to undeceive them. It is certainly a solid proof, not only that there is such a thing as Hebrew Syntax, but that there is a good deal of it. The amount of matter may indeed dismay some readers at first sight, a feeling which can only be removed completely by a close inspection, and to this the external aspect of the book holds out a very tempting invitation. Like the former volume it is beautifully printed, and with rare correctness, as to all essential points. In addition to the errors which are marked in the errata, we have observed a very few, which are more likely to be inadvertences in writing than the result of typographical neglect. But these we think unworthy of attention when compared with the extraordinary measure of exactness which has been attained, and which, we are sure, could have been secured by nothing but the most extraordinary toil and vigilance. Such books, independently of their intrinsic merit, tend to elevate the standard, not merely of mechanical typography, but also of critical exactness and good taste, which cannot flourish where a slovenly execution is regarded as no blemish to a valuable work. Let our author and his ingenious coadjutor Mr. Turner have the praise which they deserve for contributing so largely as they have done to the improvement of American typography, especially as this is a kind of merit which in no case strikes the eye of an ordinary reader. The slightest deviations from correctness are observed, even such as arise from merely accidental causes, the breaking of a type, or the mechanical defect of an impression; but the absence of such faults, like other negative merits, passes unobserved; and yet it may have been the product of intense application and consummate skill. That which costs the reader least may have cost the author and the printer most. The very ease with which a page is read may be owing to the actual removal of obstructions which have left no trace behind them, and are therefore unsuspected, so that the very perfection of the process tends to deprive it of the praise which it deserves. We are not of the number of those who regard typography as a mere handicraft. We still retain a little of the feeling which existed when the art was in its infancy, and when its professors were regarded as the compeers of the men whose books they printed. And we therefore take pleasure in inviting the attention of the public to such cases as the one before us, in which great intrinsic excellence of matter is enhanced and recommended by a style of printing

eminently tasteful, and correct far beyond the common theory or practice of American typography. We do not mean, however, to convey the idea, that we look for no further improvement from the gentlemen in question. We regard the volume now before as a proof of what may be done, and as an earnest of what will be done, with more abundant means. The new Hebrew type is in itself beautiful, and approaches much nearer to the finest manuscript than that used in the first volume. But it is not so well matched with the accompanying Roman letter. It may indeed be an advantage to beginners, that the foreign characters should be made prominent in the page by a large broad-faced type; but to the eyes of those who read both alphabets with ease, the Hebrew of this volume will appear too black and glaring for the English. If matched with Roman of a corresponding height and breadth, it would no doubt have a very fine effect; but this we suppose would be impossible in books designed for common use. And we confess that even to suggest it as desirable is somewhat ungracious, when we consider what has actually been accomplished in the work before us, which cannot be opened without striking the observer at first sight as eminently beautiful. If the first impression made upon the eye be important, this book presents itself with every advantage to the public view.

The next thing likely to attract the reader's notice is by no means suited to produce so strong a prepossession in favour of the work. We mean the novel terminology, and the somewhat metaphysical aspect of the system. Many will think it much too philosophical. But this is a mistake. A Hebrew Syntax framed on any other principle would now be out of date. The empirical method has subsisted long enough. Grammarians have copied one another long enough. Certain modes of explanation and expression have been tolerated long enough on the mere authority of Kimchi or Reuchlin. No Hebrew scholar can be ignorant of the mischief done by the arbitrary transfer of the technical language of the occidental dialects to oriental grammar. Some reform was needed: it has been begun, but it needs to be continued. And if any change be made, there can be no doubt as to the principle on which it should be founded. If the old traditional method be discarded, it is plain that the only reasonable course is to adopt one founded, not on the usage of this dialect or that, but on the principles of general grammar. In this field great advances have been made in modern times. The results of German industry, labour and

sagacity have in no department been more ample and substantial. If indeed the improvements here referred to had arisen from the application of German metaphysics to the principles of language, we should expect less than nothing in the way of real benefit. But the fact is otherwise. There is nothing transcendental in the comparative philology of Grimm, Bopp, and others of the same distinguished school. If any method of investigation can be truly called inductive, it is their's. Their conclusions are derived from an extensive combination and comparison of actual phenomena. Nothing indeed is more characteristic of the modern comparative philology than the severe precision with which facts are distinguished from conjectures. Another trait is the profound and accurate investigation of the organic laws of speech, as a branch, not of metaphysics, but of physiology. All these inquiries are of such a nature as to preclude the hurtful operation of those strange conceits which the German transcendentalists have dignified with the name of philosophical principles. The effect has been, first, a demonstration of the truth, that the expression of thought by speech is not merely arbitrary, as the older writers on the subject seemed disposed to take for granted; secondly, a clear and systematic exhibition of the principles which are common to all languages; and thirdly, an improved mode of exhibiting that which is peculiar to the several tongues, by making the analysis of their phenomena bear constant reference to the universal laws just mentioned. If the effect of these improvements has been sensibly perceived in other parts of grammar, it is of course especially perceptible in the Syntax. And it seems clear to us that any attempt to treat the subject now in a merely empirical or conventional manner, would, to use a favourite cant phrase, be quite behind the age. We are not at all surprised, then, that the able and accomplished writers now before us should have made their Hebrew Syntax what it is, a systematic exhibition of the principles which govern all construction, or, in other words, a condensed but comprehensive system of universal grammar. This is a branch of science so much neglected, that the work would be entitled to applause if it were only on account of its general principles. And this merit is of course none the less because the general statements are exemplified by constant reference to the actual usage of a particular language, and of one so important as the Hebrew, nay, of one which has the strongest claim to be regarded as the primitive language,

from which may therefore be derived, with most propriety, specific illustrations of the general laws of speech. This view of the matter, we conceive, affords a full justification of what superficial readers might regard as a plan and phraseology too metaphysical to be practically useful. If the work is really an able exhibition of the general laws of syntax or construction, with a special application to the peculiarities of the oldest language in the world, it has a double claim to the attention of the public, and its systematic form, so far from being a fault, is really an excellence.

Having endeavoured to obviate an unfavourable impression which the work before us may produce at first sight, by showing that its philosophical or scientific character is one of its chief merits, we shall now try to accomplish the same end by stating, that the work is after all not so very philosophical as it appears to be. This defence may seem to resemble too much those ingenious pleas at law in which, for the purpose of providing for all exigences, the act charged upon the party pleading is first justified and then denied. But the cases are dissimilar. We do not mean of course to say, that the work is not truly philosophical; but merely that it is not so abstruse as the unpractised reader might suppose. A large part of the constructions, which are here classified and referred to general principles, are such as involve no peculiar idiom, and could therefore give no trouble to the inexperienced learner. The only question is whether the explanations of the work should not have been confined to those phenomena which are found only in the Hebrew Syntax. There were two methods open to the authors' choice. They might either, on the one hand, presuppose an acquaintance with the general principles of Syntax on the reader's part, and a competent knowledge of the laws which govern the constructions of his mother tongue, and on this presumptive basis rear a system of Hebrew Syntax, in the strict exclusive sense. Or, on the other hand, they might attempt a systematic exhibition of the general laws of syntax, illustrated by examples from the Hebrew. This would include all the peculiar idioms of the language, but it could not be complete without including much that is common to it and other languages. Of these two methods our authors have chosen the last, and in so doing we believe they have done wisely. The apparent inconvenience of subjecting to the reader's eye a great mass of constructions which are too familiar to need any explanation, is more than coun-

terbalanced by the fact, that the student is conducted through a systematic course of general grammar, while, at the same time, he acquires a deeper insight into all that is peculiar to Hebrew Syntax, for the very reason that he views it not in mere detail, and in arbitrary combinations, but in its true relations to the general system, of which it is a part and a specific illustration. Any plan which thus enables us to gain a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew Syntax, while, at the same time, it throws open to our view the field of universal grammar, is clearly entitled to the preference. It is needless to add, that in the execution of such a plan, the appearance of abstruseness and complexity must of course be greater than the reality. It is so in this case. The number of divisions and subdivisions, the strange terminology, and the constant reference of individual forms to general laws, are no doubt suited to alarm beginners, particularly those whose previous grammatical studies have been wholly empirical, and to whom the 'common law' of speech has never been an object of attention. But on closer inspection, such a reader, if intelligent and covetous of knowledge, will discover that much of what alarmed him consists merely in the systematic reference of familiar facts to general principles, from the developement of which, however, even these familiar facts derive some illustration, while the principles themselves are seen to constitute a system highly important in itself, and in its bearing on the idiomatic forms of other languages. It is not too much to say, that any one who studies Hebrew Syntax upon such a system, must, with every step of progress in the knowledge of that language, make a corresponding step—we do not say an equal one—in the knowledge of his own; whereas, upon the usual arbitrary method, he may count himself happy if it does not come to pass that the more he learns of the one, the more he unlearns of the other. Why is it that the study of foreign tongues tends, in the case of one man, to corrupt his native dialect, while, in that of another, its effect is only to refine and elevate? Whatever part of the effect may be ascribable to difference of talent, taste, or accidental circumstances, we have no doubt at all that it arises, in some measure, from the attention or neglect, with which the general principles of language are regarded in the one case and the other. It is true, no doubt, that the good effects which we have spoken of, as flowing from the study of Hebrew Syntax, scientifically treated, must depend, in a great measure, on the execution of the plan

adopted; and the question now presents itself, how far may the execution of the work before us be pronounced successful? And this again resolves itself into three others, which must be distinctly noticed, because a favourable answer to any one of them would not preclude an adverse answer to the other two. The first question is, whether the system here developed is a good one in itself. The second is, whether its application to the Hebrew is successfully accomplished. And the third is, whether the whole is well expressed; that is to say, whether the general principles on the one hand, and the special applications of them on the other, have been clothed in correct, precise, intelligible English.

In answer to the first, we say that the system must be good, because it is the true one. It is founded in nature, and developed with art. Setting out from the elementary idea of a sentence, with its necessary parts, the subject and the predicate, it gradually rises from the simplest of all possible constructions to the most intricate, and descends from the most regular to the most anomalous. We cannot say that we were perfectly satisfied with every specific statement. Some we have laid aside for more deliberate examination. But the system, as a system, both in its principal and secondary features is a system of philosophy and common sense. To any one desirous of surveying at a glance the general laws of syntax, we would recommend a rapid but attentive reading of the definitions and descriptions of this treatise. Even apart from the specific applications and examples, they are highly instructive. It would be very unfair, however, to form a judgment of the work from such an examination. In order to estimate its merit fairly, it must of course be examined in relation to its main design, the illustration of the Hebrew Syntax. And this brings us back to the second question which was to be answered. Have the authors been successful in applying general laws to the solution of peculiar Hebrew idioms? We think they have, with very few exceptions, one of which it may be proper to advert to, for a moment, not only on account of its importance, but because the authors, in their preface, have invited the attention of the reader to it, with particular reference to our remarks upon the subject in reviewing their first volume.* We mean the doctrine of the Hebrew tenses, as to which there are two questions altogether distinct, the one relating to the technical names of the tenses, and

* Princeton Review, 1838, pp. 212–215.

the other to their idiomatic use. As to the first, we are now satisfied that a change of nomenclature is not essential to the purpose which we had in view when we suggested it, and that as it would throw the system into some confusion, it ought to be dispensed with. That the primary meaning of the second form is future, if not a certain fact, is at least a plausible and convenient theory. We cordially commend to the attention of our readers that part of the volume now before us which contains the ingenious and original analysis of the temporal forms (§§ 950–962). Even the diagram on p. 157, although it may at first provoke a smile, will be found a useful aid in following the author through his new and somewhat subtle speculations. We would also call attention to the rules laid down with respect to the consecution of the tenses, and the use of their absolute and relative forms, a subject of the highest importance in Hebrew syntax, and one which we have never before seen explained in a manner at once so truly scientific and so practically useful. It is not to this part of the work, considered as a whole, or as a substantive division of the whole, that we would take exception, but to a single feature in the author's theory of the Hebrew tenses. This exception is, that the employment of the preterite and future forms (so called) to denote present time, is represented as a species of anomaly, a kind of idiomatic catachresis, which is not to be assumed without necessity, or only in certain cases which admit of accurate specification, and which the authors actually specify (§ 964). Our own belief is, that those forms are used legitimately to express the present time in cases which can be referred to none of these categories, unless they are intended to be far more comprehensive than they seem to us. We believe that in poetry especially the present time predominates; that the two temporal forms are often used promiscuously to express it; and that nothing is more characteristic of the style of the prophetic books than the peculiar mode in which things future are described as actually present to the senses. It seems to us, therefore, that the use of the preterite and future forms, in reference to present time, so far from being limited to certain combinations, is of constant occurrence, and that the learner would be less liable to error if informed that, in poetry at least, this meaning of the forms is to be taken as the normal one, and those which are denoted by the technical names of the tenses as occasional. Upon this principle, Gesenius has constructed his translation of

Isaiah, and it seems to us with most felicitous effect. Hundreds of places which before presented an inextricable mixture of the past and future, in relation to the same events, are rendered beautifully clear and simple in their whole construction, by the uniform adoption of the present time in the translation of the verbs, except where something in the context unequivocally points to the past or future proper.* Had the authors more distinctly recognised this fact, which we think obvious, they might perhaps have avoided the necessity of laying down the startling proposition, that the preterite and future, in addition to the other strange anomalies of their use, which constitute by far the greatest difficulty of Hebrew Syntax, may be used "in a manner directly contrary to their original acceptation," without any change of form or conversive particle to point out the departure from their common meaning; or if, which we admit to be probable, there are some cases which can be explained upon no other supposition, the learner would at least not have been directed to employ the future form in translating such expressions as those cited in section 966. 1. *a.* every one of which appears to us to be a clear example of the present. There seems indeed to be some inconsistency between the general statement of the paragraph, (which certainly speaks of the preterite being used "as an emphatic present,") and the translation of the several examples, in which the English future is employed. To say that the events referred to in those passages were future, is one thing; but to say that they

* It would be endless to adduce examples from the poetical parts of scripture; but it may not be amiss to give one from the prose books, which has just occurred to us in the course of reading. In the twelfth chapter of Numbers, (vs. 6—8) God rebukes Aaron and Miriam for daring to compete with Moses, in the following words, as rendered by our common version. "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all my house. With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches, and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold. Wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?" According to this version the passage is a promise or prediction of the way in which God meant to hold communication with Moses and the others. But in that case the question in the last verse is irrelevant. That God designed thereafter to disinguish Moses thus, was no reason why they should have been afraid of murmuring against him. But the connexion becomes clear and satisfactory as soon as we translate the verbs as presents, expressive of God's customary mode of dealing with the persons mentioned. We do not give this as a case for which the work before us has made no provision, but as an illustration of the wrong done to the sense of scripture by a strict adherence to the old scholastic definition of the tenses.

are actually spoken of as future, is another thing. "When you die, I die with you." The event referred to in this sentence is obviously future; but the verbs are not futures; they are obviously presents, and to make them futures in translation would be merely to confound translation and exposition. To this confusion the language of our authors in the paragraph referred to (§ 966) seems to us to lead. It is the only portion of the book which we should like to see rewritten, or at least re-considered, with a view to the solution of the question whether some of the cases which are specified in §§ 965—967, and, especially those in the first paragraph of § 966, might not be referred to the preceding head, and also whether that head might not be so modified as to conain a clearer recognition of the frequent and familiar use of both the forms to express the present.

Having thus stated our opinion in relation to the only extended passage of the work from which we have felt any inclination to dissent upon a first perusal, we are free to say that as a whole, the exhibition of the Hebrew language in its peculiar idioms, the arrangement of those idioms on a systematic plan, and the solution of them by a reference to universal principles, have been accomplished in a manner eminently able and successful. And while we pass this judgment in the general, we must not fail to mention one thing, which really stikes us with surprise and admiration. We mean the wonderful abundance and variety of appropriate and illustrative examples. There is no distinction so refined, no modification of a rule so slight, that the authors have not furnished at least one clear instance from the text of scripture. This is the surest pledge that any man need ask for the truth and soundness of the system. Had the rules laid down been drawn, by mere metaphysical deduction, from a few arbitrary and precarious principles, the attempt to exemplify them would have been abortive. It is because the system was not invented a priori but derived inductively from the phenomena of the language itself, under the guidance of those universal laws which are common to all tongues, it is therefore that each statement has its pertinent examples. We wish to draw particular attention to this feature of the work before us. It constitutes in our opinion one of its strongest claims to the attention of the public. No one, even tolerably read in Hebrew grammar, can have failed to observe the indolent servility with which a certain set of examples has been handed down from one generation to another, here en-

larged a little, there curtailed a little, now and then diversified by a typographical error, but still retaining its identity and an unbroken pedigree, running back, it may be, to the oldest or the worst of the rabbinnical grammarians. Now we know it may be said that if the example is a good one, its antiquity only gives it a stronger claim to our respect. And we should probably have been disposed to acquiesce in this conclusion, if the authors now before us had not mischievously spoiled our taste for the old method by exhibiting a new one. When we see such a rich variety of fresh and striking illustrations spread before us, and observe how vastly our associations with the rules of grammar are multiplied and strengthened by these new examples, we have much less patience than we ought perhaps to have for the traditional 'credit system' which prevailed before, among a large class of grammarians. The very labour, which must have been expended on the selection and accumulation of these examples, is enough to strike mere translators and compilers with amazement. If indeed the instances were taken at random and then merely classified, the task, though still laborious, would be comparatively easy. But when all forms of construction, as well as those which are common to Hebrew with other languages as those which are peculiar to itself, as well the most ordinary normal forms as the most unique anomalies, when all these are exemplified by well-chosen instances, it is easy to see that this is no random work. It is no game of hazard, but a game of skill. There is a twofold proof of intellectual exertion; first in the discovery and selection of examples corresponding to the rules; and then in the construction and systematic combination of rules corresponding to the examples. The two things reciprocally modify each other. A new example may require a new definition or distinction. And the new definition or distinction, when reduced to form, may require, in order to be fully understood, some additional example. It would be idle to attempt to determine whether no peculiar idioms have been omitted. It would be wonderful indeed if there were none; but we decline the task of ascertaining what they are. We have very little doubt that they are few and unimportant. At all events, there is enough in this book to prove that it was manufactured from the raw material, that is from an enlarged and at the same time a minute inspection of the language itself, and not from the authoritative dicta of preceding writers. This distinguishing characteristic of the

work is owing, no doubt, in a great degree, to the union of Jewish and Christian erudition in its principal author. We have long thought that a perfect view of Hebrew grammar was not to be expected till the infinitesimal exactness of rabbinical philology should be combined with that enlarged philosophy which seems to form no part of an exclusive Jewish education. The details without the principles can never do more than they have done already in the systems of the rabbins. The principles, without the perfect knowledge of details, would no doubt be a much better bargain than the opposite: there can be no comparison between the Christian and Jewish works on Hebrew grammar, when regarded as systems. But if to the comprehensive views and scientific order of the Christian can be added the minute verbal knowledge of the Jew, the copia verborum of the one to the lucidus ordo of the other, not in mere juxtaposition, but in intimate combination; who can doubt that both together will be better than either by itself? Now to this beau ideal of a compound philological force, the work before us is, to say the least, a most encouraging approximation. Another instance of the same kind, confirming, in a high degree, our previous conclusions on the subject, is that of Julius Fürst, whose new concordance is a brilliant example of minute and at the same time scientific learning, a happy compound of the German and the Jew.

But no such combination, in the case before us, could have led to the felicitous result which we behold, without a large infusion of the requisite capacity to write good English; not the good English of colloquial parlance or of popular rhetoric, but what is infinitely rarer, good philosophical English, fit for the expression of the most abstract and general conceptions on the one hand, and the most minute and delicate distinctions on the other. Has this essential element been mingled with the others in the case before us? This is the third question which we undertook to answer, and we only hesitate to answer it, because of the surprise excited in ourselves by the correctness, clearness, and felicitous precision of the style in which the numberless promiscuous details of Hebrew Syntax have been clothed. The wonder is not that occasional examples of obscure and harsh expression should occur, but, on the contrary, that they occur so seldom, and that the authors should have been able to give such expression to ideas not by any means the most susceptible of verbal notation. 'Hoc opus, hic labor est'—

and we cannot, if we would, say more than that the task has been successfully accomplished. That any foreigner, however great his learning and ability, should add to all his other gifts the gift of writing English with the freedom of a native, in the very circumstances where it would be hardest for the natives themselves, was not to be expected. The internal evidence would have been sufficient to prove that Dr. Nordheimer could not be the author of the volume, as an English composition. The truth of such an inference he confirms himself, and at the same time precludes the necessity of drawing it, by an acknowledgment so highly honourable to both parties that we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of transcribing it entire.

"There remains for me only to make some remarks with regard to the important assistance afforded me by my friend, Mr. William W. Turner, throughout the composition and execution of the work; and I am happy to state, not simply from feelings of good will, but under a sense of moral obligation both to him and to the public, that not only does it owe to his skill and learning its English dress, but also that the scientific treatment of its details, as well as the completeness and symmetry of its parts, which it is hoped it will be found to possess, are in a great measure to be attributed to him, who digested the whole subject as an independent scholar, and united his mental strength to mine, with the single view of rendering the work as perfect as it was possible for us to do." p. xv.

On the strength of this announcement, and in order to do justice to all parties, we have spoken, and shall yet speak of the gentlemen concerned, as joint authors of the work before us. The right of Dr. N. to an exclusive place upon the title-page, arises from the obvious consideration, that the want of Mr. Turner's aid, however much it might have detracted from the value of the work, could not have destroyed its value altogether; while, on the other hand, his part would not have been performed, if the Doctor had not furnished a subject and occasion. We have no doubt that both parties are entirely contented with their relative position; and we look upon their literary partnership and friendship as an incident pleasing in itself and full of promise to the interests of learning. Before we quit this point, however, it is right to say, that Mr. Turner's style is not meritorious merely on account of the success with which he has accomplished the perspicuous expression of refined or subtle

thought. It is intrinsically good, and altogether worthy of a practised writer and accomplished scholar, from its general correctness, terseness, and exemption from colloquial or provincial vulgarity. It is, in many points, an English, as distinguished from an American style, and this remark may be extended even to the orthography. It is a stronger proof of the author's independence than of his patriotism, that he retained the *u* in words like *labour*, *favour*, &c. even in the first volume, which was printed at New Haven, almost under the eye of Dr. Webster. We would merely suggest a query, whether this is perfectly consistent with the use of certain typographical innovations, such as *preëminent*, *coördinate*, which, however useful, do undoubtedly belong to the new school of orthography. The main fault of the style in which the book is written, is a certain stiffness, which in no situation could be less observable or less offensive than in such a work as this, to which we may add by way of closing this whole question, that the author uses uniformly certain combinations which we think are not consistent with pure English idiom. The only example which occurs to us is one of very constant occurrence, the use of *to* instead of *with* after the verb connect. Unless our ear deceives us, although one thing may be *joined to* another, it must be *connected with* it.* Should the minuteness of these criticisms tend to heighten rather than impair the force of our general commendation, we shall certainly neither be surprised nor grieved.

Having answered the three questions which at once suggest themselves, as to the plan and execution of the work, we have only to add, that we hope to see this volume, as well as the precediug one, introduced into the regular course of Hebrew study. Instead of being taught to regard the Hebrew Syntax as of no importance, the student should be made to understand that this is Hebrew Grammar, in the highest sense, to which the orthography and etymology are a necessary introduction. As the mere notation and pronunciation of the language would be nothing without a knowledge of the meaning of words and their grammatical inflections, so the latter kind of knowledge would be comparatively nothing, as to practical utility, without a thorough acquaintance with the general laws and the specific idioms of construction. We hope that every teacher who has made

* We were also struck, in reading the first volume, with the frequent use of the word *illustrate*, where *explain* appeared to us to be the proper term.

himself acquainted with the first volume of this Grammar, will acquire an equal knowledge of the second, for the benefit not only of himself, but of his pupils, to whom a careful study of the syntax, with a minute grammatical analysis of all the examples, will give a clearer insight into the genius and peculiar *usus* of the language, than a double length of time spent in desultory reading. But it is not merely to beginners that the book is likely to afford a seasonable aid. To clergymen and others, who would be glad to recover and increase their knowledge of the Hebrew, an attentive study of this volume, in the way just mentioned, would afford invaluable aid, and we may even add delightful entertainment. Those at least who have already some familiar knowledge of the language, and some taste for such employments, will be charmed with this collection of idiomatic phrases, so arranged as to illustrate, we may even say to constitute, a scientific system of universal grammar.

In attempting to do justice to our authors' Syntax, we had almost forgotten that the volume also comprehends a Hebrew Prosody. Besides the chapter on versification, which is reprinted from the Chrestomathy, with the improvement of giving the examples in Hebrew as well as English, we have here a systematic treatise on the accents. This most thorny and unfruitful subdivision of the field of Hebrew learning, has been heretofore so treated as to make the student either feel contented with a merely superficial knowledge of the subject, or abandon it altogether in despair. Some, whose knowledge of the grammar, in its other departments, is extensive and exact, are quite incapable of drawing from this quarter any aid whatever in interpreting the scriptures. And yet the very same considerations which entitle the masoretic punctuation to regard, in its more essential features, as a record of the ancient exegetical tradition of the Jews, forbid us to treat the accentuation with entire neglect. Some regard is had to it, we are aware, in every Hebrew Grammar, except those which, instead of explaining an old language, undertake to make a new one, by rejecting the masoretic points in mass. But it is clearly impossible that even the main points of the accentual system should be well understood and well applied, except by those who have a competent acquaintance with it also in detail. And we have therefore long wished that some more intelligible and attractive view of this important part of Hebrew Grammar might be given by a writer in whose person the minute punctilious

learning of the Jewish schools should be united with a more scientific philology than commonly prevails there. These requisites, so rarely found in combination, have evidently met, to some extent, we think a great one, in the case before us. The effect of this coincidence upon the Syntax has already been referred to. It is, if possible, still more apparent in the Prosody. The power of microscopical research has seldom been more remarkably blended with a talent for systematic and perspicuous arrangement. The rules here laid down, for the use and consecution of the accents, may be cited as one of the most striking illustrations of the authors' peculiar gifts. We do not speak at random when we add, that this part of the work cuts off all excuse for the continued exclusion of the accents from the usual course of Hebrew study.

We are perfectly aware, that in the view which we have given of the work before us, we have used strong expressions; but we know that they are not too strong for the occasion. It is now three years since we announced to our readers the first volume of this grammar in a long review. The author was at that time wholly unknown to us, except by vague report. We have now no hesitation in confessing, that we have seldom taken up a work upon philology with less expectation than the one in question. We had long been looking to Germany for something still more masterly than she had yet produced upon this subject, and had recently expressed a hope of such a gift from Hupfeld, whom we knew to be regarded by his countrymen as a philological reformer and discoverer. Such expectations, and from such a quarter, could not predispose us to receive with favour an unfinished treatise by an unknown author, recommended only by that kind of reputation which attaches to most educated foreigners among us, and, in some cases, with the least conceivable amount of truth. But when we discovered in this first attempt our own conception of a Hebrew Grammar realised, at least in its essential features, and those very chasms filled up which continued still to yawn in the old text-books, it was natural, if nothing more, that we should speak of it in terms which seemed to savour of extravagance. Nor was it long before we heard ourselves accused of adulation, or at least excessive praise, by some for whose judgment we had great respect, and by others for whose judgment we had no respect at all. During the three years which have since elapsed,

the test of experiment has been severely and extensively applied, and, so far as we know, with the same result, viz., the confirmation of our original judgment, that, upon the whole, it is the most philosophical and useful grammar of the language extant. That the work contains defects and errors of detail, must be as well known to the author as to any of his critics. To remove these errors and defects is his duty, and, we doubt not, his desire, and we sincerely wish that a fair opportunity of acting out his purpose may be speedily afforded by a general demand for a new edition. In the meantime we congratulate the public and ourselves upon the prospect of another most important contribution to our list of Hebrew textbooks from the same indefatigable heads and hands to which we are indebted for the one before us. We refer to their project of reprinting Fürst's Concordance in a more convenient form, as announced by us in the course of the last year. We mention it again because we learn that the plan has been modified in two important points. It will be seen by a reference to our review of Fürst's work,* that its plan inincludes a lexicon as well as a concordance. In the prospectus issued by our authors, they announced their intention to exclude the lexicon in their reprint, as being really an independent work, and tending too much to increase the bulk. They now intend, as we have understood, to introduce into their publication not a mere translation of Fürst's lexicographical matter, but a new lexicon founded upon his. With this determination we are highly pleased. The separation of concordances and lexicons, however much it may promote the mere mechanical facility of consultation, leaves the Hebrew student wholly at the mercy of the standard lexicographers. When Winer or Gesenius gives two senses to a word, with a single reference in proof of each, the natural presumption is that they are equally certain, and occur with equal frequency. The first glance at a full concordance often shows, however, that while one of the two meanings may be met with upon almost every page of the Old Testament, the other occurs seldom, it may be but once, and in that one case it may be a matter of conjecture and dispute whether the sense given is the true one after all. For this inconvenience which may frequently occur without any mala fides on the part of the lexicographers, but which is evidently detrimental to the truth and certainty of all inter-

* Princeton Review, 1839, pp, 305—339.

pretation, there is no safe cure except the union of concordances and lexicons, exhibiting at one view all the meanings of the word, and then all the places where the word occurs, leaving the reader to determine for himself, where he feels it to be necessary, how far the deductions of the lexicon are accurate. To know that the data, upon which the lexicographer's own judgment rests, are all before us, is in every case highly satisfactory, and sometimes of the last importance. We are therefore pleased to know that the authors have determined to retain this feature of Fürst's plan, without any augmentation of the price which they at first proposed. The other point in which they have departed from their first design is, that instead of printing by subscription, they propose to sell the numbers one by one. This will make it the more necessary that the work should meet upon its first appearance with a warm reception, as we trust it will, for the authors' sake, and still more for the sake of Hebrew learning, which, we feel persuaded, will be sensibly promoted by the speedy execution of so excellent a plan. Among our own readers we have no doubt there are many who will not allow this enterprise, in which some successful progress has been made already, to be either suspended or abandoned for want of prompt and cordial patronage. The first publication, we believe, may be looked for early in the summer.

John Maclean

ART. V.—1. *Bacchus. An Essay on the Nature, Causes, Effects, and Cure of Intemperance.* By Ralph Barnes Grindrod. First American, from the third English edition, edited by Charles A. Lee, A. M., M. D. New York: J. & H. G. Langley. pp. 512.

2. *Anti-Bacchus. An Essay on the Evils connected with the use of Intoxicating Drinks.* By the Rev. B. Parsons, of Stroud, Gloucestershire, England. Revised and amended, with an Introduction, by the Rev. John Marsh, Cor. Secretary of the American Temperance Union. New York: Scofield & Voorhees. pp. 360.

THESE Essays owe their origin to an offer of one hundred sovereigns as a premium "for the best Essay on the Benefits of Total Abstinence from all Intoxicating Drinks."

The premium was awarded to Mr. Grindrod, yet in the

opinion of one of the three adjudicators M. Parsons was entitled to that distinction.

The comparative merit of the two Essays we shall not undertake to discuss, as our purpose is merely to examine some of the positions assumed, and to show that they are utterly untenable, being contrary to the word of God and the testimony of antiquity. So far as the object of these Essays is to promote temperance, we cordially approve it; and we only regret that in the prosecution of an object so important, and so benevolent, the authors have not confined themselves to arguments which will stand the most rigid scrutiny.

With them we can rejoice in the triumphs of the temperance cause, in our own and other lands; and according to our ability, we will cheerfully unite in efforts to give an increased impulse to this cause. The intelligence respecting the success of the Rev. T. Mathew, in Ireland, and of our much esteemed friend the Rev. Robt. Baird, on the continent of Europe, gives us unfeigned pleasure. We could indeed wish in the case of the Catholics in Ireland, there had been a total freedom from superstition, as well as total abstinence from intoxicating drinks: and we indulge the hope, that as the people become more temperate, they will also become less superstitious. But, while we make this declaration of our interest in the temperance cause, we must enter our protest against the perversion of scripture and of fact which is found in these and like publications. This perversion constitutes our chief objection to the Essays under review, and it is the only objection which could have induced us to notice them. Had those who favour the views they contain contented themselves with urging *the expediency* of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, they would have met with no opposition from us, although we might differ from them in opinion, on some points pertaining to the question of expediency itself. But when they invade the sanctuary of God, and teach for doctrine the commandments of men; when they wrest the scriptures, and make them speak a language at variance with the truth; when they assume positions opposed to the precepts of Christ, and to the peace of his church; when, in reference to wine, which the Saviour made the symbol of his shed blood, in the most sacred rite of his holy religion, they assert that it is a thing condemned of God and injurious to men, and use the language of the Judaizing teachers in the ancient

church, "touch not, taste not, handle not,"* when Christ has commanded all his disciples to drink of it in remembrance of him, we cannot consent to let such sentiments pass without somewhat of the rebuke which they so richly deserve. That we are fully warranted in making these remarks, we expect to show to the satisfaction of all who do not first determine, what the Saviour ought to have done, and what the scripture must teach, and then seek to confirm their fancies by an examination of the sacred writings, and by an inquiry into the conduct of the Redeemer. On such persons we expect to make no impression. They reverse all the rules that ought to guide us in our inquiries respecting duty, and pursue a course most directly at variance with that of the apostles, who always refer to the example of our Saviour, not as being in conformity to what is proper and right; but as being in itself the standard of true excellence. Did Christ perform any act? This is sufficient evidence that the act is right. We are not at liberty first to decide whether a thing is right or wrong, and then, in accordanee with that decision, determine what Christ either did or did not do. And yet this mode of reasoning and judging, a mode te which all heretics invariably have recourse, is the very one employed by the writers of these Essays, and other distinguished advocates of the total abstinence scheme. On what principle is it that the Universalist rejects the doctrine of future punishment? He first decides that it is inconsistent with the goodness of God, and he then infers that the scriptures, which are from God, cannot teach any such doctrine, and that they are to be understood in a sense different from that usually put upon them. Thus with the Socinian, he decides that the doctrines of the incarnation, and of the atonement, are inconsistent with reason and justice, and he then infers that the scriptures cannot teach these doctrines.

Thus too with the Encratites, Aquarians, and other heretics in the *second, third, and fifth* centuries, who rejected the use of wine, in celebrating the Lord's Supper: the Aquarians, substituting *water* for *wine* and that too on the pretext of temperance. They appear to have had no knowledge of the wonderful discovery in our day, that our Saviour did not use wine, but merely the unfermented juice of

* By a strange misconception of the design of the sacred writer in employing these expressions, "touch not," "taste not," "handle not," they are often quoted by advocates of the total abstinence scheme as if they were divine precepts.

the grape, mixed with water. Following in their steps, our Authors, and some of their worthy co-adjutors having ascertained, as they suppose, that the use of wine, called by them "fermented wine," is always injurious, that it is destructive to the morals, and the lives of men, and that it is impossible for God to approve a drink so vile and worthless, have satisfied themselves, that the Saviour never used it, nor provided it for the use of others; and that when the scriptures speak of his making, and drinking wine, they must be understood as referring to the unfermented juice of the grape.

That it may be seen, that we do not mis-represent their views, we quote the following passages—*Bacchus*, p. 364; "His (i. e. man's) tendency to estrangement from God would certainly not be lessened by even moderate indulgence in strong drink: and it is INCONSISTENT WITH DIVINE GOODNESS to suppose that he would institute festivals commemorative of his own glorious power and benevolence, which would offer any kind of temptation to his fallible creatures to deviate from the paths of rectitude and sobriety."

Again, p. 390: "Chemical and physiological knowledge, therefore, sufficiently demonstrates that the nature of fermented wines is such as to render them, as *articles of diet, unwholesome* and *dangerous*. The stronger the alcoholic properties which they possess, the less nutritious matter do they contain. In other words, they become *stimulants*, and not *nutritives*. IN REGARD TO THE SCRIPTURES therefore, reference must be made to wine possessing qualities dissimilar to those under consideration, and such as might be WORTHY OF DIVINE COMMENDATION. Again, p. 417; IT CAN SCARCELY BE SUPPOSED that this object (viz. the object of the Saviour's mission,) would be promoted by its great and divine Author, who was the holiest of men, partaking and sanctioning the use of intoxicating wine." "We may indeed rest assured, that so holy a being as the son of God would not partake of any thing improper in itself, or calculated to lead his followers into sin."

Anti-Bacchus, p. 267: In examining the expressions, "wine that maketh glad; or that cheereth the heart of man," we must not forget that they were spoken by the Holy Ghost. Now God the Spirit is distinguished for truth, knowledge, and benevolence. His veracity would not allow him to affirm that a fermented, pernicious drink, which actually poisoned and scorched the body, and corrupted the morals, was

a drink which "cheered the heart of man." And his perfect knowledge of the physiology of our frame, and his benevolent regards for the human family would equally prevent him from commending what is baneful. But WE KNOW that all intoxicating drinks are pernicious, and therefore the wine spoken of in the text in question was not an alcoholic liquor. Other passages of similar import might be quoted from this essay. Would that such sentiments were peculiar to these writers, but they are not: they have been avowed by other advocates of the Total Abstinence Scheme, and by individuals too, for whom we entertain great personal respect, and among them Edward C. Delavan, Esq., whose zeal in the cause of Temperance, deserves the highest commendation. In a letter to the Editors of the New York Observer, Mr. Delavan says: "Previous to my tour abroad, I had imbibed the strong conviction that our Saviour never made or drank intoxicating wine. I am ready to admit that my early conclusions on this point were founded on reasonings drawn from my estimate of the character of the Saviour of the world, as the best and most benevolent of all beings, having at heart the universal interest of the human family. I found it impossible to bring my mind to think that he would make and use a beverage which, since its introduction, has spread such an amount of crime, poverty, and death, through this fair world. He came to save, not to destroy, and could I believe, with my views of alcoholic wine, that he would make or use it?"

The passages above cited fully sustain our assertion, that their authors first decide what it was proper for the Saviour to do, and for the scriptures to teach, in regard to the use of wine, and then go to work to seek for evidence in support of their already formed opinions. First trust to their own unaided reason, to ascertain what is right, and then go to the scriptures to have their opinions confirmed. Are these the persons most likely to ascertain the truth? even if they can say with Mr. Delavan, "so far as I am able to sit in impartial judgment, in what passes on my own mind, the desire that *truth* may be established on this, as on every other subject of Christian morals, is paramount." We give full credit to this declaration, and we believe Mr. Delavan to be perfectly honest, and so with the other gentlemen named, but this does not render their mode of inquiring after the truth less dangerous or less censurable. Would it not have been more becoming in sincere inquiries after the truth, to seek

first what the Saviour did, and from his practice to determine, whether it was proper or not to use fermented drinks of any quality or description, diluted with water or pure? To this mode of investigating scripture truth, we do totally object: it is arrogant and dangerous and a fruitful source of mischievous error.* The result of their investigations is, what might have been expected from the course pursued, a mixture of truth and error.

Our authors searched the scriptures, and other ancient writings, not to discover what the truth was; for this they knew already. The goodness of God, the holiness of the Redeemer, and the nature of man, furnished conclusive evidence to their minds that the scriptures do not sanction even the most moderate use of fermented liquor. All they wanted, therefore, was to find evidence that would satisfy the minds of others; and, by *dint of false criticism, misstatement of facts*, and *inconclusive reasoning*, they have accumulated no small amount of testimony in favour of their opinions. Our authors speak freely, and we do the same. Their pretensions to extensive learning, and thorough research, are certainly not slight. This, in the case of the author of Bacchus, is evident from the wide range of subjects he has discussed, and his quotations from the writings of the learned, in ancient and modern times. Criticisms on the use of Greek and Hebrew terms, with occasional reference to the corresponding words in the Arabic and Syriac, abound. The history of intemperance, and of intoxicating liquors, in savage and civilized lands, is given in more or less detail. The effects of intemperance on the prosperity of nations, and on the welfare of the church, are brought to view. The moral and physical causes of intemperance are discussed; also, the diseases and other evils arising from the free use of intoxicating drinks. The nature and combinations of alcohol, the nature of fermentation, and the adulteration of intoxicating liquors, are examined at large; also, the customs of the Hebrews, and of the primitive Christians, in regard to the use of wine.

In examining this wide range of subjects, the author of Bacchus has certainly collected a large number of interesting

* That reason has a proper province for its exercise, in all enquires respecting duty, we without hesitation admit, but with persons who receive the scriptures as containing the revealed will of God, and as an infallible standard of right and wrong, the office of reason is simply to ascertain what they teach: and when we ascertain this, we know what is right.

facts, the perusal of which will amply repay one for the time that may be necessary to peruse the work: and yet it might not unfrequently be difficult to suggest any reason why they are classed under one head rather than another. The claims of the author of Anti-Bacchus to attention, are thus set forth by himself: "I examined every text of scripture in which wine is mentioned: I inquired very minutely into the laws of fermentation; into the character of the grapes and the wines, and the drinking usages of antiquity: the result of these inquiries was, that I came to the firm conclusion that few, if any, of the wines of antiquity were acoholic. I examined Homer, Aristotle, Polybius, Horace, Virgil, Pliny, Columella, Cato, Palladius, Varro, Philo Judaeus, Juvenal, Plutarch, and others. I read each in the original language, and therefore have not been misled by any interpreter; and in every instance, I have carefully examined the context, that I might not give an unfair representation to any of my authorities." On this passage, we shall at the present simply remark, that Mr. Parsons would probably have made fewer blunders had he not attempted to "read each in the original language."

These Essays have received from various sources the highest commendation, and by many they are considered unanswerable. They are "to produce in our country a new era in the cause of temperance," and one of them at least is regarded by the American Editor of Anti-Bacchus as the production of a "giant mind."

It may therefore be regarded as rather hazardous to encounter giants so fully harnessed for the conflict as are our authors; yet we shall venture on the execution of our purpose. The positions which we intend to examine are the following:

I. That for the most part the ancient wines were not fermented.

II. That a strong wine could not be produced from the grapes of Palestine.

III. That the Hebrew term, translated in our English version of the Bible "strong drink," is inaccurately rendered, and should be "sweet drink."

IV. That wines which could produce intoxication were not allowed to be used at any of the Jewish festivals.

V. That the law, which prohibited the use of leaven at the feast of the Passover, included a prohibition of all fermented drinks.

VI. That, as our Saviour instituted the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at the Passover, he could not have used the fermented juice of the grape.

VII. That our Saviour, on no occasion, used fermented wine, or furnished it for the use of others.

VIII. That it is an offence against God and man to affirm, that the scriptures ever speak with approbation of the use of fermented wine.

After examining these several positions, we shall notice sundry criticisms on different passages and terms found in the sacred writings.

The proposed examination we shall pursue in the order mentioned, beginning with the position No. 1: *That for the most part the ancient wines were not fermented.*

This position is most distinctly assumed by Mr. Parsons: "We have," says Mr. P. Anti-Bacchus, p. 206, "the most unquestionable evidence, that the *wines of the ancients* were *thick* and *sweet*, or, in other words, were syrups; but you cannot make a syrup out of a *fermented* wine." Again, p. 207: "And hence you have a proof equal to any demonstration of Euclid, that if the ancient wines were *thick* and *sweet*, they were NOT *fermented*." Again, p. 234: "In a word, from science, philosophy, and history, I have demonstrated, that a large proportion of the wines of old were *not* produced by *vinous fermentation*." "The popular wine of the ancients, and that of the moderns, are, in their characters, as wide apart as the poles."—p. 234. These extracts clearly indicate the views of the author of Anti-Bacchus.

It is but justice to Mr. Grindrod to remark that his views on this point do not accord entirely with those of Mr. Parsons. On the subject of ancient wines, Mr. G. observes, (Bacchus, p. 200,) "Some of the wines of the ancients were exceedingly strong; indeed, among the sensual part of the community, the celebrity of these wines, in a great measure, depended on their alcoholic strength." "As alcohol is the product of fermentation, these exceedingly strong wines must have been fermented." Mr. Grindrod does, indeed, quote, apparently with approbation, the following, as the remarks of Chaptal: "The *celebrated ancient wines*," observes Chaptal, "appear in general to have rather deserved the name of *sirups* or *extracts* than wines. They must have been sweet and little fermented. Indeed it is difficult to suppose how they could contain any spirit whatever, or possess in consequence any intoxicating properties."—Bac-

chus, page 196. These are not the words of Chaptal, but of the writer of the article "Wine," in Rees' Cyclopædia, who, in referring to an observation made by M. Chaptal, respecting the accounts given by Aristotle, Pliny, and Galen, of the wonderful consistency of *some* of the ancient wines, applies the observation to "the celebrated ancient wines in general." Of their not possessing any intoxicating properties, Chaptal says not a word; and, in quoting the language of the writer in the Cyclopædia, Mr. Grindrod omits the words "and consequently have contained *a very small proportion of alcohol.*" Mr. Grindrod, too, in copying the words of the writer in the Cyclopædia, has of course made the same mistake; and also another, which is his own, in referring to "Chaptal's Elements of Chemistry" instead of his "Traité sur les Vins," as authority for his statement.—(See Annales de Chimie—No. xxxvi. p. 245. M. Chaptal's remark we shall have occasion to notice further in our subsequent discussions. Mr. G. and M. P. both inform us, (Bacchus, p. 194; Anti-Bacchus, p. 237): that "the Egyptians, at an early period, made use of must, or unfermented wine;" and, in proof of it, refer to the dream of Pharaoh's butler, and Mr. G. adds a remark of Dr. Adam Clarke's: "From this we find that wine anciently was the *mere expressed juice* of the grape, without *fermentation.* The saky or cup bearer took the bunches, pressed them into the cup, and instantly delivered it into the hands of the master. A very philosophical mode of reasoning this, to infer a general custom from a particular instance, and that not said to have occurred in real life, but in the visions of the butler while dreaming! We think it perfectly idle to infer any thing in regard to the character of the wine, from the account given by the butler of his dream. Why not infer from Pharaoh's dream that the cows in Egypt were carnivorous, for it is said that "the lean and ill-favoured kine did eat up the first seven fat kine." The only legitimate inferences from the dream of the butler, so far as the customs of the ancient Egyptians are concerned, are: 1. That it was the office of the butler to hand to the king the cup from which he drank his wine, and: 2. That the wine drunk by the king was usually the product of the vine. In confirmation however of his remark, Mr. G. adds "this wine of nature" is called by Herodotus, οἶνος ἀμπέλινος, literally "*wine of the vine,*" and he refers to Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. ch. v. 2, as authority for the statement. M. P. makes the same reference. It is true that it may be inferred from the words of Bishop

Lowth, that the "fresh juice pressed from the grape," was called by Herodotus οἶνος ἀμπέλινος, and if he meant so to say, it is also true that the learned Bishop was mistaken, and that Herodotus employed this phrase, οἶνος ἀμπέλινος, not to designate "the fresh juice of the grape," but to distinguish it from the οἶνος κρίθινος, the wine or beer made from barley, a common drink among the ancient Egyptians, οἴνῳ δ' ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένῳ διαχρέωνται· οὐ γάρ σφι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἄμπελοι, "they use a wine made from barley, nor have they vines in the country." Herodotus ii. 77. Can any one who recollects the account given by Herodotus, Book ii. 60, of the yearly feast in honour of Diana, at Bubastos, believe that the οἶνος ἀμπέλινος was the fresh juice of the grape and unfermented? For the disorderly and shockingly licentious scenes witnessed on these occasions, Herodotus accounts by saying, that at this festival, they use more of the οἶνος ἀμπέλινος than they do in all the rest of the year.

In support of the position that the ancient wines were for the most part not fermented, Mr. P. says, p. 205: "In Greece, Rome and Palestine, it was *customary* to boil down their wine into a kind of a sirup. Mr. Buckingham tells us that the wines of Helbon, and the wine of Lebanon, mentioned in scripture, and which exist in the Holy Land at this very day, are boiled wines, and consequently are thick, sweet, and sirupy. Columella, Pliny and other Roman writers, tell us, that in Italy and Greece, it was *common* to boil their wines." Again, p. 265: "The chief wines mentioned in scripture are those of Lebanon and Helbon, and these, Mr. Buckingham says, are the principal wines of Palestine at the present day: the former, he adds, are boiled wines made of grapes as large as plums. "The wine of Helbon," mentioned by Ezekiel, Mr. Buckingham observes, is a rich sweet wine: the name of Helbon signifies "sweet or fat," this wine was made at Damascus, was exported, was a part of the merchandize of Tyre, and in the time of Richard III. was brought to England under the name of the "wine of Tyre."

Mr. Grindrod too observes, Bacchus, p. 375, that "Ezekiel speaks of this wine in his magnificent description of the merchandize of Tyre:" "The *wine* (tirosh) of *Helbon* is classed with other nutritious articles, the produce of Judah and the land of Israel. . . . The "*wine* of Tyre" was exported from Palestine into this country so late as the reign of Richard III." Of wine of Lebanon, Mr. G. thus speaks, p.

374: "The wine of Lebanon is made in the present day, exactly as it was prepared in ancient times. *The juice of the grape immediately after it is expressed,* is boiled down to a greater or less consistence. In this state it could not possess alcoholic qualities. It remained the *healthful juice of the grape,* deprived only of its watery particles.

Keraswân and Mount Libanus, (or Lebanon,) states a modern traveller, produce the best wines in Syria. The wines of Syria are most of them prepared by boiling immediately after they are expressed from the grape, till they be considerably reduced in quantity, when they are put into jars or large glass bottles, and preserved for use."

From these extracts it is evident that our authors would have us believe respecting wines of Helbon and Lebanon, the only two wines, the names of which are given in the scriptures.

1st. That they were boiled wines.

2d. That they were unfermented.

3d. That they were not intoxicating.

In support of these positions, M. Parsons adduces the testimony of Mr. Buckinghani. As to the sources of information enjoyed by Mr. B., Mr. Parsons says nothing, and from some information which we have on this subject, we shall have no difficulty in showing that Mr. B. is mistaken. If the extracts given by Mr. Parsons contain all that is said on this subject, it is only of the wines of Lebanon Mr. B. speaks when he says they are boiled. Of the wine of Helbon he says merely that it is a "rich sweet wine." Yet Mr. Parsons says, "hence it is evident that the two wines most esteemed in the Holy Land were boiled wines, were thick and sweet, and consequently were not alcoholic." But granting they were boiled, does this prove that they were not allowed to ferment after boiling. Mr. W. G. Brown, the authority of Mr. Grindrod, for asserting that the wines of Mount Lebanon are prepared by boiling, says, "that this mode of boiling is still retained in some parts of Provence, where it is called *vin-cuit* or *cooked wine,* but there the method is to lodge the wine in a large room, receiving all the smoke arising from several fires on the ground floors, an operation more slow, *but answering the same purpose.* The Spanish Vino Tinto or Tent is prepared in the same way." Bacchus, *Note,* p. 374. Now this very Vino Tinto contains more than 13 per cent of alcohol, *the product of its fermentation.* See Brande's Table. The phrase *Vin Cuit* ordinarily de-

notes a wine, "which has had a boiling before fermentation, and which by this means still retained its native sweetness." Rees' Cyclopædia, Article, Wine. We say ordinarily, for we find that Chaptal speaks of the sapa and defrutum and even of the Passum of the ancients as belonging to the class of *Vins-Cuits.* See Traite sur les Vins. Ch: iii. Annales de Chimie, No. 35, p. 290. Stum wine, a species of Rhenish must, a very intoxicating drink, is first boiled and then fermented. See Rees' Cyclo. Article Rhenish must. Henderson, in his treatise on wines, p. 189, tells us that in preparing the *sweet wines* of Spain, the must is often boiled, and by this operation the saccharine matter becomes concentrated, and the *proportion of alcohol is increased.* Is alcohol obtained without fermentation?

Chaptal, ch. iv. 4, 2, says: "When the must is very watery, the *fermentation* is slow and difficult, and the wine which comes from it is weak and very susceptible of decomposition. In this case, the *ancients* were acquainted with the advantage of boiling the must. By this means they evaporated the superabundant water, and brought back the liquid to a suitable degree of thickness. This method, constantly advantageous in northern countries, and in general wherever the season has been rainy, is yet followed in our day. Nevertheless, this process is useless in warm countries; at the most, it is not applicable except in cases when the rainy season has not permitted the grape to come to a suitable degree of maturity; or forsooth when the vintage has been gathered in a foggy or rainy season."

Grant, then, that the wines of Lebenan are boiled wines; does it follow that they are not fermented, when it is a fact not to be denied, that it is customary, in certain cases, to boil the must, in order that it may the better ferment, and that the *strength* and *sweetness* of the wine may be increased? But, further, Mr. Brown does not say that the wines of Keraswân and Lebanon are not fermented, but merely that they are boiled; and he also says, that they are prepared in a way that answers the same purpose as the mode employed in preparing the *vins-cuits*, or *cooked wines* of Provence, and the vino-tinto of Spain.

Of the *vins-cuits* of Provence, M. Jullien, in his "Topographie de tous Les Vignoble," p. 273, thus speaks: "These wines, newly made, are luscious, a little clammy, and gorging; but when they are old, they become delicate and very agreeable, retaining entirely their sweetness. M. *Grimod de la*

Reynie're, whose judgment is of great weight in this matter, gives to them the preference over the *luscious wines* (vins de liqueur) of Spain, Italy, and Greece." Again, p. 276, speaking of these same *vins cuits* of Provence, he remarks: "Those which are prepared at Aubagnes, Cassis, and Ciotat, when old rank among the *vins de liqueur* of the second class." They are not in general as much esteemed as the *vins de liqueur* of Spain; the mode of preparing which is thus described by Jullien, p. 333: "the must is concentrated by boiling, and acquires the consistency of a sirup. After this, it is put into casks, *where it is fermented enough to acquire the necessary degree of spirituosity;* but having been deprived by the fire of a large portion of its phlegm, the fermentation ceases before the entire dissolution of its sugary parts. These wines remain sweet, and are very clammy during the first years. It is not till they are old that they become delicate, pleasant, and fragrant."

Volney, another of Mr. Grindrod's authorities, says, that "the wines of Lebanon are of three sorts, the red, the white, and the yellow. The white, which are the most rare, are so bitter as to be disagreeable; the two others, on the contrary, are too sweet and sugary. This arises from their being boiled, which makes them resemble the baked wines of Provence. The general custom of the country is to reduce the must to two-thirds of its quantity. *It is improper for common drink at meals, because it ferments in the stomach.* In some places, however, they do not boil the red, which then acquires a quality almost *equal* to that of Bordeaux. The yellow wine is much esteemed among our merchants, under the name of Golden wine, (vin d'or,) which has been given to it from its colour."

Here observe 1. that the must, when reduced to two-thirds, is *improper for common drink at meals;* therefore, when thus reduced, it must be designed for some other purpose. What that purpose is we shall show presently. 2. The reason assigned for it being an improper drink, viz: "it ferments in the stomach;" and yet Mr. Grindrod tells us, that "it remained in fact the *healthful juice of the grape,* deprived only of its watery particles." 3. That the red and yellow wines reminded Mr. Volney of the baked wines of Provence, which are first boiled and then fermented. 4. That the red wine of Lebanon, when not boiled, acquired a quality almost equal

to that of Bordeaux, a fermented liquor, containing about *thirteen* per cent. of alcohol. 5. That the white wines of Lebanon were not boiled.

With respect to the *vin d'or*, mentioned by Mr. Volney, M. Jullien says expressly, that it is not boiled: "Cependant le plus estimé, que l'on nomme *vin d'or*, n' est pas bouilli." p. 474.

Mr. John Carne, in his "Syria, the Holy Land and Asia Minor Illustrated," speaks of the *white wines* of Lebanon as distinguished for their strength, and the *red wines* as the Champagne of the East. How could he thus describe unfermented liquors?

Mr. Grindrod, in further confirmation of his statement respecting the wines of Lebanon, says: "Two travellers,* of great celebrity, particularly investigated the manners and customs of the modern inhabitants of Judea, and record that the vines of Hermon and Lebanon yield wine of a red colour, very generous and grateful, and so light as *not to affect the head though taken freely.*" Wherein does this account differ from the account of the *red wine* of Lebanon, by Messrs. Volney and Carne, one of whom compares it to the *red wine* of Bordeaux; the other, to the *red wine* of Champagne; *both light wines; both fermented wines;* and although, according to Henderson, p. 183, "the quantity of alcohol which the finer sorts of the Bordeaux wines contain is inconsiderable," yet that quantity has been found by analysis, to be not less than *thirteen* per cent. In the red Champagne it is somewhat less. The phrase "though taken freely" is somewhat ambiguous, and by no means proves the wine is not an intoxicating one.

Mr. Parsons, as if in confirmation of his own and of Mr. Buckingham's statements, says: "M. La Roque, in his Itiner. Syr. and Libanus, remarks, 'It would be difficult to find any other wine so exceedingly choice as that which was presented to us, and which led us to conclude that the reputation of the wine of Lebanon mentioned by the prophet is well founded." Is there any intimation in these words that the wine of Lebanon, "so exceedingly choice," was the "unfermented juice of the grape?" Is it probable that M. La Roque would speak thus of the boiled wine of Lebanon, which Volney says is too sweet and sugary to be pleasant? Mr. Parsons does not give the name of this wine.

* Van Egmont and Prof. Hyman.

M. La Roque says that the best is called *Golden wine, Vin d'or,* which we have already shown is not a *boiled wine.*

We have thus far confined our attention almost exclusively to an examination of the authorities cited by the authors of Bacchus and Anti-Bacchus, and have shown from their own witnesses, that the wines of Lebanon were not unfermented wines, whether *boiled or not boiled* before fermentation, and consequently, that they contained more or less alcohol. Let us now examine the authorities adduced in support of the assertion, that the wine of Helbon was unfermented. We have already mentioned the fact, that even Mr. Buckingham, in the passages cited by Mr. Parsons, does not say of this wine, that it was boiled. It is only of the wines of Lebanon he makes this statement. Of the wine of Helbon he says, that "it is a rich sweet wine." And because Nehemiah says, "*eat the fat and drink the sweet,*" Mr. P. infers that this wine too must have been a boiled wine, and, consequently, according to his theory respecting wines, not containing any alcohol.

Mr. Henderson, p. 188, speaking of the Spanish wines, says: "The Spaniard, when he drinks wine as an article of luxury, gives the preference to such as is 'rich and sweet,'" employing the very terms that Mr. B. does respecting the wine of Helbon; and he instances, among the favourite wines of the Spaniard, the Malaga. Shall we, therefore, infer that the Malaga is an unfermented wine? With just as much reason as infer that the wine of Helbon is an unfermented wine. The Malaga contains upwards of seventeen per cent. of alcohol, and we have no evidence as yet that the wine of Helbon contains any less.

Mr. Grindrod observes of this wine, that "It is classed with other nutritious articles, the produce of Judah and the land of Israel." But what has this to do in determining the question whether it was fermented or not; whether it was itself nutritious or otherwise? Judas Iscariot was reckoned among the twelve apostles, but this does not prove that he was either a good man or a true disciple. All such reasoning is idle. Did the sacred writer profess to give a list of nutritious articles of diet, the circumstance mentioned by Mr. G. might be of some importance.

In this very description of the articles of merchandize of Tyre, referred to by Mr. G. the prophet says, "Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they were thy merchants; they traded in the *persons of men* and vessels of brass in thy market." Why

not infer that the *slave trade* is a useful and honourable employment? for this trading *in the persons of men* is just as much classed with the wheat, and the honey, and the oil of the land of Israel, as is the wine of Helbon. But into such extravagance will men run in order to carry out a favourite theory.

Both Mr. Parsons and Mr. Grindrod mention the fact that the wine of Helbon under the name of the "wine of Tyre," was imported into England, as late as the reign of Richard III. but this determines nothing in regard to the character of this wine. If the statement of Sir John Fortescue, a cotemporary of Richard III. that, "they drink no water except when they abstain from other drinks, by way of penance, and from a principal of devotion," given in Bacchus, p. 42, be correct, there is very little reason for believing, that the English at that time would be pleased with wine of such a description as Mr. G. imagines the wine of Helbon was.

Mr. Grindrod also observes, that "Athenaeus, upon the authority of Posidonius, states that the Persians planted vineyards at Damascus, on purpose to prepare this celebrated article of commerce. The kings of Persia drank no other." Athenaeus, Lib. I. Strabo, Lib. 15. "This fact," says Mr. G. "tends to show that *sweet* and *thick wines* were held in most esteem by the ancients," but in our humble judgment it has somewhat of a different tendency, as we shall at once show. And first compare the statement, that the kings of Persia drank no other wine, with the anecdote related by Mr. G. of Cambyses, king of Persia, and son of Cyrus, by whom Damascus was subjected to the Persian sway. Bacchus, p. 129: According to this anecdote, related originally by Herodotus, Cambyses was a monster of *drunkenness and cruelty*, and as such is referred to by Mr. G. If Cambyses drank no other wine, surely the wine of Helbon must have been a very nutritive article! Again, if the kings of Persia drank no other wine, the wine of Helbon must be the wine called in the book of Esther i. 7. "royal wine," and in the use of which Ahasuerus the Persian monarch became so far intoxicated, that contrary to the customs of the country, he commanded his chamberlains to bring Vashti the queen, that he might exhibit her beauty to the people and princes, who on occasion of a great feast, made for them by the king, were drinking of the royal wine, furnished in abundance for their entertainment. The phrase, "when the *heart of the king was merry* with wine," found in Esther i. 10: is the same as that used in reference to Nabal. 1 Samuel xxv.

36: "and Nabal's heart was merry, for he was very drunken," and also the same with that which occurs 2 Samuel xiii. 28, respecting Ammon, whom Absolom commanded his servants to kill when he should be so far overcome with wine as to be incapable of resisting.

From the statement of Mr. Grindrod, respecting the use of this wine by the kings of Persia, compared with the account in the book of Esther, the reader may perceive how very harmless this wine of Helbon was, especially when drunk in large quantities. We have now examined at great length all the authorities cited by our authors, that the wines of Helbon and Lebanon were not fermented, and not intoxicating, and have shown that they have failed to make good their assertions in regard to the character of these wines. We shall now produce such testimony as will, we think, set this point at rest. Upon reading the statements of Messrs P. and G., we addressed a note to the Rev. Eli Smith, of the Syrian Mission, who has resided in Syria for a number of years, and who is perfectly familiar with the language and the customs of the country, and enquired of him whether the wines in common use in Palestine, were fermented and produce intoxication, and whether the wines of Lebanon were boiled. Mr. Smith, who was at that time in the city of New York, very kindly furnished the following answer to the inquiries, which were made of him. We give the letter entire, that there may be no doubt as to the views of Mr. Smith.

"*Kinderhook, Nov.* 10, 1840.

"Dear Sir—I was prevented from replying to your note of the 6th immediately, by being called to leave New York the day it was received. You inquire whether the wines in common use in Palestine, and particularly the wines of Lebanon, are fermented, and produced intoxication? and, whether the wines of Lebanon are usually boiled?

"The wines now in common use in Palestine, in Mount Lebanon, and in all the countries around the Mediterranean that I have been in, *are fermented, and do produce intoxication.* They vary in strength, but are on an average, I am confident, (especially the wines of Lebanon,) a good deal stronger than our cider. Of their strength, compared with the wines used in this country, my knowledge of the latter is too slight to enable me to judge with certainty. The wines of Syria are stronger than those I have tasted farther north, in Georgia and Hungary. Of the inebriating effects of the

wines of the Mediterranean, we have often painful evidence. On first going to Malta, at the beginning of the temperance reformation, with the impression I had received here, that there was no danger from the pure wines of those countries, I fell in with what I found to be the prevailing custom, and took a little wine with my dinners. At length I found an intimate friend falling into habits of intoxication, in consequence of habitually using the common Marsala wine of Sicily. I then gave up my wine; and, so far as I know, all my brethren abstain from the habitual use of it, as a temperance measure. In preparing a Tract on Temperance, for circulation in Syria, we have included wine with brandy as one of the causes of intemperance to be avoided.

"In doing this, we make no distinction between brandied wines and those which are not brandied, for no such distinction, so far as I am informed, is thought of among the natives. Nor do we make any exception of unfermented wines. *I have never found any such wines now used in those countries.* I recollect, indeed, that in travelling through Asia Minor, I frequently quenched my thirst with an infusion of raisins. But it was never called sherâb, the name given in Turkish to wine, but üzüm sûyû, "raisin water." Even in the house of the chief rabbi of the Spanish Jews at Hebron, I was once treated with fermented wine during the feast of unleavened bread. I knew it was fermented, not merely from its taste, but because I had a discussion with him on the inconsistency of having it in his house at a time when he had professedly banished every thing that was leavened. The principal word, indeed, in Arabic, for wine, khamr, is derived from the verb khamar, which means to ferment. From the same root comes also khamireh, the word for leaven.

"As to boiled wines, I have never found them in Mount Lebanon, nor in any of the countries around. The unfermented juice of the grape, is indeed boiled down to a thick sirup, of the consistency of molasses, or thicker. And this, I think, is the principal use made of the juice of the grape, throughout Syria and Palestine. The best of it in Mount Lebanon is even made so thick that the mountaineers boast that they can carry it a day's journey on a piece of bread, without its running off. But this sirup is no more looked upon now as wine, than molasses is regarded by us as the same thing with rum. I am not aware that it is ever diluted for drink.

"You will perceive that I am no apologist for wine drink-

ing, on the ground that the present wines of Palestine are fermented. These wines tend to intoxication, and therefore we banish even them from our tables, though they are the wines of Palestine. Nor do I wish what I have written to be regarded as in any way aimed against the prineiples of the Am. Temp. Union. Indeed, I am happy to find that any apparent diserepaney between the *testimony* here given, and that of Mr. Delavan in his letter to the editors of the New York Observer, of August 24th, *so far as facts are concerned*, is ehiefly if not entirely verbal. He testifies that the unfermented juice of the grape *can* be preserved from fermentation by boiling. My testimony goes farther, and proves not only that it ean be, but *is in fact* thus preserved to a great extent. The difference is, that *he calls this sirup wine; I have not found it bearing the name, nor used in the place of wine.* Of his *opinion*, that it was anciently regarded and used as wine, and is the wine approved of in the Bible, but has gone into disuse in consequenee of an increased taste for alcoholic drinks, a person who has never been in Palestine, is perhaps as capable of judging as myself. This point is not ineluded in the questions your letter proposes, and I leave it untouched. You will not therefore consider my letter as containing any opinion respecting the nature of the wines used and approved by our Saviour and the writers of the seriptures. That diseussion is one in whieh I wish not to take any part.

"With mueh respect, I remain,

"Most truly yours,

"Eli Smith."

From this letter, it is evident—

1. That the wines now in eommon use in Palestine and in Mount Lebanon are *fermented, and do produce intoxication.*

2. That the wines of Syria are *stronger* than those farther north, in Georgia and Hungary.

3. That in Asia Minor it is common to use as a drink "an infusion of raisins," but that this is *never* denominated *wine*, but "*raisin water.*"

4. That *boiled* wines, as distinguished from *fermented* wines, are scareely if at all known in Palestine. Whether the wines were boiled before fermenting was not a matter ineluded in our inquiries, nor is it included in the answers of Mr. Smith.

5. That the unfermented juice of the grape is frequently boiled until it acquires the consistence of molasses, or until it becomes even thicker than molasses; but this sirup is no more looked upon as wine than molasses with us is considered the same thing as rum; and that this sirup is not diluted for drink, but is eaten with bread.

Mr. Volney, as we have seen, says, it is unfit for common drinks at meals, but does not mention for what purpose it is used. From Mr. Smith's letter it appears, that it is used in Palestine in the same way that in this country we use molasses or honey; and, in fact, it is the very substance called in the English version of the Bible, "*honey*," as in Ezekiel xxxii. 17. In this verse, it is spoken of as a part of the merchandise of Tyre, and as something distinct from the *new wine* (tirosh) of Helbon mentioned in the succeeding verse. It is not improbable, that in rainy seasons, when the grape did not contain its usual quantity of saccharine matter, that they mixed with the juice of the grape, before it was fermented, a small quantity of this *boiled must*, in order to give the wine greater strength and sweetness, as is common in other wine countries. See Henderson and Chaptal.

If it be true, as the author of Bacchus says, and we do not question its truth, that "the wine of Lebanon is made in the present day exactly as it was prepared in ancient times," then it is abundantly evident that the *ancient* wine of Lebanon was a fermented and an intoxicating drink.

There are one or two points in Mr. Smith's letter, which we shall notice under another head. Let us now examine the witnesses of our authors, in relation to the ancient wines of Greece and Italy.

"Columella, Pliny, and other Roman writers," says Mr. Parsons, "tell us that it was common to boil their wines. The sapa and defrutum of the Latins, and the Ἕψημα and Σίραιον of the Greeks, which Pliny calls 'siraeum and hepsema,' and adds that they answered to the sapa and defrutum of the Latins, were boiled wines. In making the 'sapa' the juice was boiled to one half, and in defrutum to one third."

But is this all that Pliny says about them? His very next words, indicating for what purpose they were chiefly prepared, are not even noticed by our author, notwithstanding "in every instance he carefully examined the context, that he might not give an unfair representation to any of his authorities." The words immediately following the above

passage are these : "*Omnia in adulterium mellis excogitata,*" showing clearly that for certain purposes at least they were expressly designed to supply the place of honey. Pliny, ch. vi. in treating of the famous Maronean wine, a product of Thrace, had previously mentioned that Aristaeus was the first person in Thrace, who taught the mixing of honey with wine. And how any one who has read Pliny, Columella, Varro and Cato, and that too without being "misled by any translator," should overlook the fact, that the principal use of these preparations was to sweeten and to increase the strength of weak wines, we are utterly at a loss to understand. Mr. Parsons does not give the least intimation that they were used for this purpose. That in some Latin authors we find allusions to the use of *sapa* and *defrutum*, as drinks, by the old women of Rome, we do not deny; but is no evidence that the sapa and defrutum were ordinary drinks among the Greeks and Romans.

Although Pliny, in treating of the different sorts of wine, makes mention of *sapa* and *defrutum*, also products of the vine, yet he most clearly distinguishes them from *wine properly so called*, and classes them among the *dulcia*. He also distinguishes both classes from the ἀειγλεῦκος of the Greeks. "Intermediate between the *dulcia* and *vinum (wine)* is what the Greeks call *aigleucos*, that is *always must*. It is the result of care, inasmuch as it is not suffered *to ferment:* thus they call the *passage of must* into *wine*.*

What words can show more clearly that Pliny understood by *wine* something different from the mere unfermented juice of the grape, whether boiled or not boiled† Again in book

* "Medium inter dulcia vinumque est, quod Graeci aigleucos vocant, hoc est, semper mustum," and adds, "Id evenit cura, quoniam *fervere* prohibetur, sic appellant *musti in vina transitum*."

† It is to be presumed that such of our total abstinence friends as object to the use of wine because "it is not eliminated from any living or natural process," but a liquor prepared by "interfering with the operations of nature," see Bacchus, p. 241, or in the words of Mr. Parsons, because, "no where in nature is alcohol produced by the hand of God," Anti-Bacchus, p. 265, will never say another word in favour of drinking "aigleucos," the *always must*, since *must* is first obtained by subjecting the grapes to a very unnatural pressure, and then, oh! horrible to mention, to prevent its turning to wine or to vinegar, "the operations of nature are interfered with!" "Id evenit cura, quoniam *fervere* prohibetur," and this is said too by Pliny, a favourite authority with Mr. Parsons. Of *sapa* too Pliny says, "ingenii non naturae est opus." 'It is the work of art not of nature.' Why not object also to the use of *bread?* It may be said of bread as of wine, and with the same propriety, "it is not eliminated from any living or natural process." "No where in nature is it produced by the hand of God."

xxiii. c. 30. "Sapa is a thing *allied* to wine, the must having been boiled, until a third part remains."* The same distinction between *dulcia* and *vina* occurs, Book xiv. 15.† "From which it appears that murrhina," a drink flavoured with myrrh, "is classed not only with *wines* but also with the *dulcia*."

In Book, xiv. c. 24, Pliny treats of the different condiments used in the preparation of wine: "And also from *must itself* medicaments are made, it is boiled in order that it may wax sweet by a portion of its strength. In some places they boil the *must* to *sapa*, and having poured it into the wine, they allay its harshness.‡

"Cato," says Pliny, "directs wines to be prepared with the fortieth part of the lye of ashes boiled with *defrutum*, for a culeus,"§ a Roman measure containing about one hundred and forty gallons. The two passages last quoted show what use was made by the ancient Romans of *sapa* and *defrutum* as condiments for their wines.

Columella, another writer mentioned by Mr. Parsons, treats of the preparing of defrutum, and of its uses, more at large than Pliny. See Book xii. cc. 19, 20, 21. "Some boil away a fourth and some a third of the must, nor does it admit of a doubt, that should one reduce it to a half he would make the better *sapa*, and on that account more fit for use, so that must from old vineyards may be cured with *sapa* instead of *defrutum*."‖ "Although carefully made *defrutum* like *wine* is wont to become sour, we should therefore recollect to season *wine* with *defrutum* of a year old, whose good quality has been ascertained." c. 20.¶

But does this prove that they are neither of them gifts of God? If the argument is good for any thing, it amounts to this, and proves the same thing of bread, that it does of wine.

* "Vino cognata res sapa est, musto decocto donec tertia pars supersit."

† "Quibus apparet non inter vina modo murrhinam, sed inter dulcia quoque nominatum."

‡ "Verum et de apparatu *vini* dixisse conveniat," and among other things he says, "*Necnon et ex ipso musto* fiunt medicamina: decoquitur, ut dulcescat portione virium. . . . . Aliquibus in locis decoquunt *ad sapas musta, infusisque his* ferociam *frangunt*."

§ "Cato jubet vina concinnari, cineris lixivii cum defruto cocti parte quadragesima, in culeum."

‖ "Quidam partem quartam ejus musti, quod in vasa plumbea conjicerunt, nonnulli tertiam decoquunt, nec dubium, quin ad dimidium si quis excoxerit, meliorem sapam facturus sit, eoque usibus utiliorem, adeo quidem, ut etiam vice defruti sapa mustum, quod est ex veteribus vineis, condire possit." c. 19.

¶ "Quinetiam diligenter factum defrutum, sicut vinum, solet acescere; quod cum ita sit, meminerimus anniculo defruto, cujus jam bonitas explorata est vinum condire."

Then, after giving some directions as to the mode of preparing the defrutum, he says, "of this defrutum, thus boiled, a single *sextarius* is sufficient for a single amphora." c. 20.*

Ch. xxi: "Let must of the sweetest taste be reduced by boiling, to the third part, and when boiled, it is called, as I said above, *defrutum*, which, when it has become cool, is transferred into vessels, and set aside, that it may be used at the end of a year. It can, however, in nine days after it has cooled be put into wine, yet it is better not to be used for a year. One sextarius is sufficient for two ounces of must, if the must be from vineyards on a hill, but if from vineyards in the plain, three *heminae* must be added. When the must is taken from the vat, we suffer it to cool for two days, and to become clear; and, on the third day, we add the defrutum."†

These extracts show most clearly that the principal use of *sapa* and *defrutum* was to improve the quality of weak wines. For additional evidence, see Cato, chap. cxiii. and Palladius, chap. xi. 14; also, the Γεωπονικα, edited by Needham, Lib. vii. 13, page 178: "Some, boiling the must and reducing it to a third, mix it with the wine;" τινες ὁε γλευκος ἑψοῦντες καὶ ἀποτριτοῦντες, μιγνύουσι τῳ οἴνῳ. This mode of improving them is practised at this day. See Chaptal's "Traité sur les Vins," ch. iv. art. 3.—"Annales de Chimie," T. 36, p. 43.‡ In strong and sound wines, in which the saccharine matter was sufficient to preserve the wines in a perfect state, the sapa and defrutum were not used. "We regard that as the best wine which will last without any condiment, nor should any thing be mixed with it by which its natural taste may be spoiled. That is the choicest wine which can please by its

* "Ex hoc defruto, quod sic erit coctum, satis est singulos sextarios singulis amphoris immiscere."

† "Mustum quam dulcissimi saporis decoquatur ad tertias, et decoctum, sicut supra dixi, *defrutum* vocatur. Quod cum defrixit, transfertur in vasa et reponitur, ut post annum sit in usu. Potest tamen etiam post dies novem, quam defrixerit, adjici in vinum; sed melius est, si anno requieverit. Ejus unus sextarius in duas urnas musti adjicitur, si mustum ex vineis collinis est: sed si ex campestribus, tres *heminae* adjiciuntur. Patimur autem, cum de lacu mustum sublatum est, biduo defervescere, et purgari, tertio die defrutum adjecimus," &c.

‡ Il est encore possible de corriger la qualité du raisin par d' autres moyens qui sout journellement pratiqués. On fait bouiller une portion du mout dans une chaudiere, on le rapproche à moitié, et on le verse ensuite dans la cuve: par ce procédé, la partie aqueuse se dissipe en partie, et la portion de sucre se trouvant alors moins délayée, *la fermentation* marche aves plus de régularité, et le produit en est plus généreux.

own quality."* And this passage follows immediately the one first quoted from Columella, in which he tells us how *sapa* is prepared, and that it may be used instead of defrutum to season must obtained from old vines.

In all these quotations from Columella, the distinction between wine and the boiled juice of the grape, whether called *sapa* or *defrutum*, is carefully observed. The object of Columella, in treating of wines, was to point out the various modes employed in his day to preserve and improve them, by increasing their strength, sweetness, and durability, and by imparting to them a more agreeable taste. His object was not to treat of the mode of making unfermented wine, and all the directions which he gives in regard to the preparing of *sapa* and *defrutum* have reference to their being used as condiments for the preservation and improvement of the weaker wines. This is distinctly admitted by the author of Bacchus, and the admission shows, that he understood better than Mr. Parsons the design and import of Columella's observations on wines. "Columella," says Mr. Grindrod, Bacchus. p. 373, "although not writing concerning *unfermented* wine, *the mode of making which he does not describe, except so far as was connected with the preservation of wines of a weak or watery quality*," &c.

We shall now take our leave of Mr. Parsons's *sapa* and *defrutum*, of which he has made so much, and to so little purpose.

We will now notice a passage in Columella, Book xii. 27, quoted and translated by Mr. Parsons: *De vino dulci faciendo:* "Gather the grapes and expose them for three days to the sun; on the fourth, at mid-day, tread them; take the mustum lixivum (that is, the juice) which flows into the lake before you, (use the press,) and when it HAS SETTLED, add one ounce of pounded iris; strain the wine from its feces, and pour it into a vessel. This wine will be sweet, firm or durable, and healthy to the body."

But what means the expression, "*has settled?* Does it convey the precise meaning of '*deferbuit*,' the term used in the original passage? Does not the Latin word imply a previous fermentation; and should it not have been rendered, "has become cool," or, "ceased to ferment?" Is this

* Quaecunque vini nota sine condimento valet perennare, optimam esse eam censemus, nec omnino quidquam permiscendum, quo naturalis sapor ejus infuscetur. Id enim praestantissimum est, quod suapte natura placere poterit.

not the proper and legitimate meaning of the word, which Mr. P. has rendered by the ambiguous phrase "has settled?" Columella says nothing in this passage of boiling, by the the application of external heat, and consequently "*deferbuit*" can refer only to the cooling consequent on the heat produced by the intestine motion of the must during the time of its passing into the state of wine. Of the propriety of our comment, any one may satisfy himself by consulting any Latin Dictionary that may be at hand. But perhaps Mr. Parsons is as much afraid of being led astray by the Lexicographer as he is by the translator, and therefore deemed it best to define the term to suit himself. It would not have answered his purpose to have rendered "*deferbuit*" "has cooled," or, "ceased to ferment;" for his avowed object in quoting the passage was to afford the reader an idea of the ancient way of preserving the juice of the grape from *fermentation.*

So, alas, we see that even in the making of sweet wine among the ancient Romans, the must was fermented. It is true that the strength of this sweet wine was diminished by depriving it of its lees, but this was not done until the first fermentation had ceased, by which in all wines by far the greater part of the alcohol is produced.

"When the fermentation in the vat has ceased," says Henderson, p. 18, "the wine is drawn off into casks, where it undergoes a new elaboration, which renders it again turbid, and produces a repetition, *in a slight degree*, of all the phenomena marked in the former process."

To this two-fold fermentation, Columella alludes in c. 24, in which he treats of the mode of preparing the condiment, called "Pix Nemeturica," "et vina cum jam *bis deferbuerint.*" Perhaps Mr. Parsons would render this passage, "and wines, when they have now *twice settled.*" That Columella understood the difference between settling and ceasing to ferment, is evident from the sentence immediately preceding, in which the following words occur: "deinde patiemur picem *considere*, et cum *sederit* aquam eliquabimus."

In Book xii. c. 25, treating of the *flavouring* of wine after the Grecian mode, with salt or sea water, Columella thus says, near the close of his remarks, "Before you take the must from the vat, fumigate the vessels with rosemary,

laurel, or myrtle, and fill the vessels full, that *in fermenting*, the wine may purge itself well."*

The distinction between *wine* and *must* is most distinctly marked in this passage, and the difference is shown to consist in the *fermenting of wine.* We have already noticed the fact, that in its application to wines, Pliny mentions, as the definition of *fervere* (*to ferment*) "*transitus musti in vinum*," *the passing of must into wine.*

Varro is another writer on Rural Economy mentioned by Mr. Parsons, among those authors he had read in the original. Could he ever have read the following passage? "Quod mustum conditur in dolium, ut habeamus vinum, non promovendum *dum fervet, neque etiamdum proecessit ita, ut sit vinum factum.*" The must that is put into a *dolium*, in order that we have wine, should not be drawn *while it is fermenting, and has not yet advanced so far as to have been converted into wine.*

Can it admit of a doubt that by the term *wine*, Pliny, Columella, and Varro meant *the fermented* juice of the grape? We presume that not even Mr. Parsons himself will venture to affirm that his favourite authorities, (Pliny and Columella,) used the term *vinum* (*wine*) in a sense different from its common acceptation among the Romans. That in treating of wines, these writers have mentioned modes of preserving the juice of the grape other than by fermenting it, we without the least hesitation admit; and that this unfermented juice, whether inspissated or not, was some times used as a drink, we do not question; but we do maintain that the *common* and *almost universal* acceptation of *vinum*, the Latin term for *wine* is the *fermented juice* of the grape, and that when the term is applied to any other preparation of grape juice it is connected with some word qualifying the import of *vinum.* Whether the above quotations sustain us in making this statement, let the reader judge.

The same remark may be made of the Greek term οἶνος, corresponding to the Latin *vinum*, and the English wine; and there is not a particle more of ambiguity in the use of the Greek οἶνος, than there is in the use of the Latin *vinum*, or of the English term *wine.*

The following passage from the Poet Alexis indicates the

* "Mustum antequam de lacu tollas, vasa rore marino vel lauro vel myrto suffimigato, et large repleto, ut *in effervescendo* vinum se bene purgat."

true import of οἶνος. "Poetae Graeci Minores," by Winterton, p. 527:

'Ομοιότατος ἄνθρωπος οἰνῳ την φύσιν
Τρόπον τιν' ἐστι· τὸν γὰρ ὄινον τον νεον
Πολλη γ' ἀνάγκη και τον ανδρ' ἀποζέσαι.

'In a certain respect *man* much resembles *wine*, for both new wine and man must needs ferment.' The verb ἀποζέω signifies rather to *give over fermenting* than *to ferment;* but in this acceptation it includes the idea of fermentation.

In further confirmation of our remark on the import of οἶνος, we quote the following passage from Diophanes, a Greek writer, who is mentioned with commendation by Columella and Varro, and who is referred to by Pliny as one of his authorities. Diophanes was cotemporary with Julius Cæsar. "Before the must is put into the πιθοι (vessels made of clay) they should be sponged with pure brine, and fumigated with frankincense. They ought not to be filled completely, nor should there be a deficiency, but we must conjecture what increase the *fermenting* must will probably make, so that it may not overflow, and that the foam being elevated to the edges, it may cast out only that which is impure." . . ἀλλ' εἰκάζειν ὅσον εἰκὸς το γλεῦκος ὑποζέον ἄυξησιν ποιεῖν, ὥστε μὴ υπερχεῖσθαι, και ὥστε τῶν ἀφρῶν ἕως τῶν χειλῶν μετεωρισθέντος, τὸ μὴ καθαρὸν μόνον ἄποπτυειν. *Geoponics*, p. 160.

This direction is not given concerning any wine in particular, but of the management of wine in general.

Democritus, another writer, also much commended by Columella, and quoted by Varro, Pliny, and Palladius, and who flourished 460 years B. C., gives the following directions respecting the management of wines in cases where the grapes have been much exposed to rain, and where the must is ascertained to be watery. "When the wine, ὁ οἶνος, has been lodged in the dolium, and has undergone the first fermentation, τὴν πρώτην ζέσιν ζέση, let us immediately transfer it to other vessels (for all the feculence on account of its weight remains at the bottom) and add to the *wine* three cotylae of salt for ten metretrae."

This passage, with some variation, is cited by Palladius, Lib. xi. 9 and 14, who says: "The Greeks direct, when the grape has been too much exposed to the rain, that the *must* (*mustum*) be transferred to other vessels, after it has undergone its first fermentation, *primo ardore fervebit*. On account of its weight the remaining water will sink to the bot-

tom, and the removed wine (*vinum*) will be preserved pure. Observe here that before the fermentation the juice of the grape is called *must;* after the fermentation, *wine.* That the terms ζέω and *ferveo* refer here to the *vinous fermentation,* and not to boiling, is evident from the passage in Democritus immediately following, in which he says: "Some, pursuing a better course, *boil,* ἑψῶσι, the must till the twentieth part is consumed," a method used also at the present day, as before shown, to increase the fermentation and the strength of the wine.

These directions, it is perceived, are general, not having reference to any particular kind of wine; and they show that among the Greeks, as well as among the Romans, the terms corresponding to our term *wine* were employed to denote the fermented juice of the grape, just to the same extent that the word *wine* does with us. And it would be as rational to argue, that the term *wine* in English and *vin* in French denote in general an unfermented liquor, as to maintain that οἶνος and *vinum* do.

Do not the French boil their must? Do they not reduce it by boiling to even the consistence of the ancient *defrutum?* Do they not preserve must from the external air, and thus keep it sweet and unfermented? Have they not wines so light "that a person may drink three or four bottles in the course of the day, without intoxication being produced?" (See Bacchus, p. 391.) And, consequently, as innocent as any ancient wine? Why not argue from the *vin cuit,* the *raisine',* the *vin muet,* &c. of the French, that the term *vin* for the most part denotes an unfermented liquor, as Mr. Parsons does in reference to the word *vinum?* which, according to Mr. P.'s understanding of Pliny, does only in one instance denote a fermented liquor, containing sufficient alcohol to emit a flame. It would not be a particle more absurd than the reasoning of Mr. P., and not very much more so than that of Mr. Grindrod, as to the general character of the ancient wines.

Before concluding our remarks on this subject we must give a few more specimens of the critical acumen, accurate statements, and logical inferences of our authors, and especially of Mr. Parsons.

"Pliny, Columella, Cato, and others," says Mr. P., "give us receipts for making almost every variety of wine then in use; such as wine from hore-hound, wine from worm-wood, hyssop, southern wood, myrtle, &c. Myrtle appears to have

been a great favourite." But what of all that? Does the mere mention of them by these writers prove that they were not fermented? Were they not all made by fermenting the juice of the grape, with some one of these articles thrown in before the fermentation began? Columella alludes to their fermentation; and in the case of the myrtle wine, the only one of these of which Cato speaks, he expressly mentions its fermentation. His words are: "Vinum murteum sic facito. . . . . Ubi desierit *fervere* mustum, murtam eximito." "Myrtle wine make thus: . . . . when the must has ceased to *ferment* take out the myrtle." Cato, ch. cxxv.

Mr. Parsons quotes from Pliny the following words: "Utilissimum vinum omnibus sacco viribus fractis;" and thus translate them, "The most useful wine is that which has *all its strength* broken or destroyed by the filter." That the reader may see how carefully Mr. P. examined the context, as he says he did in every instance, we will quote the passage, L. xxiii. 24: "Nunc circa aegritudines sermo de vinis erit, saluberrimum *liberaliter genitis*, Campaniae quodcunque tenuissimum: *vulgo* vero, quod quemque maxime juverit validum. Utilissimum *omnibus* sacco viribus fractis. Meminerimus succum esse, qui fervendo vires e musto sibi fecerit. Misceri plura genera, omnibus inutile."

A bare inspection of this passage will satisfy the reader who has any knowledge of Latin, that Mr. Parsons has mistaken the meaning of Pliny, and that the word *omnibus all*, has no reference to the strength of the wine, but to the persons drinking it, and the reader will perceive the same from the following translation: "Our discourse will now be of the use of wines in maladies. For *gentlemen*, the thinnest Campanian wine is the most wholesome; but for the *commonalty*, the wines which please each when in firm health. The most useful for *all persons*, is that whose strength is diminished by the filter. We should remember the juice to be that which by fermenting acquires for itself strength from the must. The mingling of different wines is useless to all."

The reason, doubtless, for directing invalids of the higher ranks in society to use wines of Campania in preference to others was, that the choicest Italian wines, and those most esteemed by the Roman nobility and gentry, were from Compania, as it is witnessed by Strabo, Lib. v. 14: Καὶ μὴν τὸν οἶνον τον κράτιστον ἐντεῦθεν ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, κ. τ. λ. "From hence also they have the best wine," and among them he enume-

rates the Falernian, Statan, Calenum, and Surrentine. He mentions also the fact that the Surrentine had of late become the rival of the others. Pliny says of it, that it does not affect the head. "Surrentina vina caput non tentant." Not, however, for the reason assigned by Mr. Grindrod, p. 392, who translates *tenuitatem*, applied by Pliny to this kind of wine, by *weakness;* whereas *tenuitas* has reference to the *perfect fluidity* of the wine, and is perfectly consistent with a considerable degree of strength. The *vinum tenue* of the Romans is the opposite of the *vinum crassum* or *pingue*, which we presume neither of our authors would be willing to render by the phrase "*strong wine.*" Mr. Grindrod has himself translated *tenuis, thin,* and correctly so. Bacchus, p. 371:

——————"*tenuisque lageos*
Tentatura pedes olim, vineturaque linguam."—*Virgil's Georg.*

——————"and the *thin* lageos
Will try the feet at length, and bind the tongue."

Dioscorides, too, speaks of *very old thin white* wines as producing headache: Και κεφαλαλγεῖς οἱ σφρόδρα παλαιοὶ, καὶ λεπτοὶ καὶ λευκοί. Liber v. c. 785. The *tenuity*, therefore, of the Companian wine recommended by Pliny, is no proof of its weakness. That the Surrentine wines were of a very durable quality, is evident from the testimony of Virgil, who styles them "firmissima vina;" and Athenaeus, on the authority of Galen, says of the Surrentine wine, that "it begins to be fit for use as a drink after it is twenty-five years old, for wanting fatness and being very harsh, it ripens with difficulty." That it was inferior in strength to the Falernian is doubtless true, but it was not on account of its *weakness* that it is recommended to invalids, or that it was compared by Tiberius Cæsar to vinegar, but for its thinness in the one case, and its rough taste in the other. In the opinion of the ancient physicians, the thin and harsh were more agreeable to the stomach, and more easy of digestion, than the thick wines:" Οἱ δὲ παχεῖς καὶ μελάνες κακοστόμαχοι, φυσώδεις; . . . Οἱ μέντοι λεπτοὶ καὶ αὐστηροὶ εὐστόμαχοι. Dioscorides, Lib. v. c. 785. This writer had previously mentioned, as characteristics of the white wines, that they were *thin, easy of digestion, and suited to the stomach.* Ετι μὲν ὁ λευκὸς λεπτός τε καὶ ἐυναδόστος και ἐυστόμαχος ὑπάρχει. Lib. v. 782. And among the austere and white wines, he enumerates the Falernian, Sur-

rentine, the Cecuban, the Signinum, the produce of Campania. Also, the Chian and Lesbian.

The object of filtering was to render it free from its lees, which were regarded by the ancients as the source of strength in wine, and the removal of which rendered the wine at the same time better fitted to the stomach, and less affecting the head. See Plutarch's Symposiaes, Liber vi. 7, in which the question is discussed, "Whether wine should be filtered." This filtering of wines, for the purpose mentioned, is practised by the modern Persians, as appears from Thevenot's Travels. Part ii. p. 126. "The wine of Schiraz is an excellent stomach wine, but very strong. . . . They have both red and white, but the red is the best; it is full of lees, and therefore very heady; to remedy which they filtrate it through a cloth, and then it is very clear and free from fumes." The very filtering of the wine, for the purpose of diminishing its strength, shows that the wine was fermented; and it is expressly said by Pliny, and that too immediately after the words quoted by Mr. Parsons, that this strength, *vires,* is acquired by the fermenting of the must. As the direction respecting filtering is not given in reference merely to the thin wines of Campania, but to *any* wine which might be used, "quod quemque maxime juverit," it furnishes additional evidence, if it were wanted, that the ancient wines were fermented, and that it was from their fermentation they derived their strength.

On the subject of filtering wines, Mr. Parsons farther quotes from Pliny the following words: "Ut plus capiamus sacco franguntur vires;" which he thus renders: "That we may be able to drink a greater quantity of wine, we break or deprive it of *all* its strength or spirit." What word in the original corresponds to the very unimportant word *all* in this translation? Why not insert *omnes* in the original, and thus make both agree?

"It seems," says Mr. P., "that the filtering mentioned in the passages quoted above, was generally performed before the wine was allowed to ferment." But from what does it thus seem? From Pliny's own statement of the case? No; for Pliny most plainly shows, that the contrary was the fact. It appears to be a conclusion from the laws of fermentation, into which Mr. P., according to his account of the matter, "inquired very minutely." "Chemistry informs us," says Mr. P., "that gluten is as essential to fermentation as sugar. But gluten is a most insoluble body, and therefore the fre-

quent filtering of the must would deprive it of this principle so essential to fermentation." Pliny says nothing of *frequent* filterings; nor do Horace and Plutarch, to whom reference is made by Mr. Parsons. *They* had not inquired so very minutely into the laws of fermentation; and had they filtered the *must* instead of the wine, they would have found from actual experiment, that their object would not have been attained. If the ancients were acquainted with so very simple a method of preventing the fermentation of the must, would it not be surprising that they adopted the very troublesome methods they did with this end in view? On this subject, we presume, the authority of Berzelius, confessedly at the head of the chemists of the present day, will be regarded as more conclusive than any reasonings of our author. Berzelius informs us, that if the fermenting liquor be filtered after the fermentation has advanced to a certain point, say to a fourth part, the fermentation will be checked; but after some time it will be renewed, and will be more gentle than before; but if the liquor be filtered when the operation is more advanced, then the fermentation will be completely arrested. It is not until the fermentation is considerably advanced, that the gluten is precipitated in such quantity, that it can be so separated by the filter as to prevent entirely the further fermentation of the liquor, and of course before fermentation it cannot thus be separated.

These words of Pliny, respecting the Falernian wine, ("solo vinorum flamma accenditur,") Mr. Parsons understands as asserting that the "Falernian wine was the only one which, in the time of Pliny, would emit a flame. "Here then," says our author, "we have the most remarkable evidence, that the Latin wines were not alcoholic, or at least, contained so little that only one out of three hundred and ninety would *emit a flame:*" A very extraordinary fact this, if it be one; but we are somewhat distrustful of Mr. Parsons's inference from the statement of Pliny. The exact

* Si l'on filtre la liqueur qui fermente, quand elle est arrivée á un certain point, par example, au quart de l'époque de la fermentation, le liquide transparent, qui passe au travers du filtre, ne fermente pas; mais au bout de quelque temps, il recommence à se troubler et à fermenter, quoique plus lentement qu'auparavant. Si l'on filtre la liqueur quand l'operation est plus avancée, la fermentation s'arrête completement."

. . . . "En outre, il résulte de l' experience, dont je viens de parler, que la portion précipitée du gluten est seule propre a developper la fermentation, et que si tout ce qui pouvait être précipité l'a été avant filtration, le sucre que reste dans la liqueur n'est plus detruit." See Traite de Chimie, par B. Vol. vi. pp. 405, 406.

rendering of Pliny's language is: "It is the only wine by which a flame is kindled;" and the obvious import of which is, that it is the only wine which will of itself support a flame, which circumstance shows it to have been a wine of extraordinary strength. This Mr. Grindrod also regards as the meaning of Pliny. His words are: "Faustian wine," remarks Pliny, "*will take fire and burn.*" Bacchus, p. 200. The Faustian was a species of the Falernian wine. Dr. Henderson, in his "History of Ancient and Modern Wines," refers to this same passage in Pliny, (c. xiv. 6,) and thus expresses the meaning: "They continue, however, in the greatest estimation; and are, perhaps, the strongest of all wines, as they burn when approached by a flame." In giving this translation of the passage, Dr. Henderson, though he does not quote the Latin, appears to have adopted as the true reading of the original, and one that is given in the margin of the Delphin Classics, as found in some copies, and most probably the correct one: "Solum vinorum accenditur flamma;" the obvious meaning of which is, that is the only wine of sufficient strength to take fire by being brought in contact with a flame; and in this respect it must have resembled the brandies and other spirituous liquors of modern times. If the true reading be the one usually found in the copies of Pliny, its meaning must be that which we have assigned to it. And the Falernian must, in this case, have been a very strong wine, to support a flame, or to continue burning when once ignited. To satisfy himself of this, let any one take some common Madeira wine and make the attempt to set it on fire. Let him bring into contact with it any ignited combustible he pleases, and it will be found that as soon as the burning substance is removed there will be no flame visible on the surface of the wine, as there will be in the case of brandy that is pure or but little diluted. It will probably be found, that no wine will take fire, and continue to burn, if it contain less than 30 per cent. of alcohol. Whereas any liquor containing alcohol, however weak, if thrown upon a hot flame will emit a flash, and that this was the case with the *ancient wines in general*, we shall establish by authority that Mr. Parsons himself will not venture to impugn, as he quoted parts of the passage; omitting such parts as are most directly at variance with his view of the passage in Pliny, on which we have just been commenting.

Διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔλαιον ὐυχ ἕψεται, ὐυδὲ παχύνεται, ὅτι ϑυμιατόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀτμιστόν· ὕδωρ δ' οὐ ϑυμιατὸν αλλ' ἀτμιστόν. Οἶνός ϑ', ὁμὲν

γλυκὺς θυμιᾶται· πίων γάρ· καὶ γὰρ ταὐτα ποιεῖ τῷ ἐλαίῳ· οὔτε γὰρ ὑπὸ ψύχους πήγνυται, καίεται τε. Ἔστι δὲ ὀνόματι οἶνος, ἔργῳ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν· οὐ γὰρ οἰνώδης ὁ χυμός. Διὸ καὶ οὐ μεθύσκει. Ὁ τυχὼν δ' οἶνος μικρὰν ἔχει ἀναθυμίασιν. Διὸ καὶ ἀνίησι φλόγα. *Aristotle's Meteorology.*

"Therefore oil is not boiled and it is not congealed, because it turns to smoke and not to vapour, but water turns to vapour not to smoke. And wine, the *sweet* is reduced to smoke, for it is fat, and possesses the qualities of oil, for it is not congealed by cold, and it is consumed by fire. It is a wine *in name* but *not in fact*, for the liquor is *not vinous*, (possesses not the qualities of wine), *therefore also it does not intoxicate*, but *wine in common*, contains little that escapes in smoke, and therefore *emits a flash.*" The English term flash is derived from the word used in the Greek, and expresses the precise result of throwing wine or any fermented liquor into a fire sufficiently hot to disengage its alcohol; a flash or transient flame is produced. And this Aristotle says is a common property of wine. Is it not strange that Mr. Parsons, in culling from this passage the words which signify, "sweet wine does not intoxicate," should overlook the fact that Aristotle says, that this sweet wine, οἶνος γλυκὺς though called a wine is not a wine, and the other no less important fact, that wine, properly so called, and in common use, when cast into the fire, does not consume away in smoke, but vanishes with a flash? Which fact is of itself sufficient to show the fermented and intoxicating character of the ancient wines in general, and their similarity to the wines of our own times, We wish not to impugn the honesty of Mr. Parsons in making his quotations, yet his mode of making them, viewed in the most favourable light, argues the grossest carelessness.

Mr. Parsons tells us from Polybius, (and it is but little that he says on the subject), that the ancient Romans did not allow their women to drink wine, though they permitted them to use *Passum*, a drink which was so slightly fermented, that there was no danger of its intoxicating. And why did they not permit them? Dionysius Haliearnassensis says it was from fear lest becoming intemperate, they should prove unfaithful? But what danger could there be of their becoming intemperate, if the Roman wines were not intoxicating? Ah! but, says Mr. Parsons, the ancients drugged their wines, and thus made them intoxicating. How does this meet the case? Was it not just as easy to drug the *lora* and the *Passum*, which were allowed to the women as any of the wines? And again was it not as easy

to drug fermented as unfermented liquors? Has not the greatest clamour been raised, of late, and very justly so too, against the vile practices of many venders of wine, for mixing deleterious drugs with their wines? The fact therefore, that the ancients drugged their wines, proves nothing in regard to the question whether or not they were fermented. Had it been proved, that the ancient wines were not fermented, then the fact of their being drugged would be important, as showing the manner in which they were rendered intoxicating. But as this has not been proved, cannot be proved, and is contrary to the fact, as we have already shown, we pass this point without further remark.

The famous Maronean wine also attracts the attention of Mr. P. and he seems to regard the poetic description given of it by Homer as if it were more worthy of credit, than the other fables respecting the one eyed Cyclops, to whom this wine was given by Ulysses, and upon whom it produced such marvellous effects.

We might speak farther of the *lora* and the *passum* and Cato's *family wine,* all of which were indeed very weak drinks, but all of them to some extent fermented, but it must be unnecessary after what has already been said on the character of the ancient wines, concerning which Mr. Parsons speaks with so much confidence and yet manifests so little knowledge. It was our purpose before we closed our remarks on the point under consideration, to examine at large Mr. Grindrod's quotations from the Latin Poets, but we must content ourselves with a brief notice of two or three of them, and before doing this, we ought perhaps to make our acknowledgments for the information he gives us respecting Horace, who according to Mr. G., lived in the latter part of the 1st. Century. This statement follows a quotation from this poet, and from the translation given by Mr. G., we learn that *mulsum* and *mustum,* or in English *mulse* and *must* are the same thing, the one being made from honey mixed with wine or water, and the other being the fresh juice of the grape.

> "Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno
> Mendose; quoniam vacuis committere venis
> Nil nisi lene decet, leni praecordia *mulso*
> Prolueris melius."

> "Aufidius first, most injudicious, quaffed
> Strong wine and honey for his morning draught
> With lenient beverage fill your empty *veins*
> For lenient *must* will better cleanse the reins."

After this quotation and translation, Mr. Grindrod adds. "In the above striking passage, *must* is evidently considered as a nutritious article of diet, and proper on that account to be taken in the morning."

And in this connexion he says, that "Juvenal also sufficiently testifies, that *must* was viewed by the ancients not only as a nutritious substance, but as peculiarly favourable to longevity. This writer flourished in the latter half of the second century." A little nearer the mark than in the case of Horace, yet not much.

> "Rex Pylius (magno si quicquam credis Homero)
> Exemplum vitae fuit a cornice secundae:
> Felix nimirum, qui tot per secula mortem
> Distulit, atque suos jam dextra computit annos,
> Quive novum toties mustum bibit."
>
> Juvenal x. 246—250.

These lines Mr. G. thus translates: "The Pylian king, if you at all believe great Homer, was an example of life, second from a raven. Happy, no doubt, who through so many ages deferred death, and now computes his years with the right hand, *and who* so often *drank new must.*" How *quive* comes, in this passage, to signify "and who," we know not, and we presume that almost any Latin scholar would render it "*or who*," thus showing that he understands the words of Juvenal, "Quive novum toties mustum bibit," as merely expressing, in poetic style, the fact that Juvenal regarded Nestor as peculiarly happy in so often reckoning a new year added to his life: the treading of grapes marking as distinctly as any thing can do it, the revolution of the year.

> "A frugal man that with sufficient *must*
> His casks replenished *yearly*."—Philips.

That *must* was not always regarded so wholesome a drink as Mr. G. supposes, is evident from the remarks respecting it made by Hippocrates, who says of it, "that it produces flatulence, purges, and causes commotion, by fermenting in the stomach, Γλεῦκος φυσᾷ, καὶ ὑπάγει, καὶ ἐκταράσσεται ζέον ἐν τῇ κοιλίῃ. *Hippocrates, Sect.* iv. p. 26.

Again after giving two lines from Virgil's Georgics he adds, "It is absurd to suppose that Virgil would reccommend fermented wine to bees as a means of restoring their health." Yes surely, and Virgil says nothing about giving them wine

fermented or unfermented, new or old; but *must boiled to the consistence of honey.*

> "Arentesque rosas, aut igni pinguia multo
> *Defruta*, vel Psythiâ passos de vite racemos."
> *Virgil's Georg.* iv. 269, 270.

We shall advert once more to the remarks of our authors on the thick and sirupy character of the ancient wines. They seem to regard it as an almost universal characteristic of the ancient wines, and we have seen that Mr. Grindrod has represented Chaptal as describing the celebrated ancient wines as being in general little else than sirups or extracts. It is only, however, of the wines of Arcadia, mentioned by Aristotle; of the Opimian wines, mentioned by Pliny, and of some wines of Asia, mentioned by Galen, that Chaptal speaks, when he says, of the statements made respecting them, "But all these facts can pertain to none other than wines sweet, thick, and *little fermented*, or to juices not changed and concentrated; they are rather extracts than liquors, and were perhaps no other than *raisiné*, very analagous to that which we make at the present day, by the thickening and concentration of the juice of the grape."* Now, admitting that the remarks of Chaptal concerning these wines are in all respects correct, would they prove any thing more than that among the hundreds in the varieties of the ancient wines, there were a few preparations of the grape-juice, so concentrated by boiling, or by being lodged in *fumaria*, and so little fermented that they deserved the name of *extracts* rather than of *liquors*, and that though classed with wines, (from the circumstance of their being made from the juice of the grape,) they were not in fact wines, as Aristotle says respecting the οἶνος γλεῦκυς.

Are not these wines mentioned by Aristotle, Pliny, and Galen, on account of their wonderful consistency? And does not this very circumstance show that they were different from the wines in common use? Nothing is said by these writers in regard to the mode of preparing them, though, with respect to some, the mode of preserving them is mentioned. The wines of Arcadia, Aristotle says, were

* "Mais tous ces faits ne peuvent appartenir qu' á des vins doux, épais, peu fermentés, ou á des sucs non altérés et rapprochés; ce sont des extraits plutôt que des liqueurs; et peut-être n'étoit-ce qu'un raisiné très analogue á celui que nous formons aujourd' hui par l'épaississement et la concentration du suc du raisin." Annales de Chimie. xxxv. p. 245.

placed, while new, in skins, and dried by smoke ;* and those mentioned by Galen were treated in the same way. Were the original juices very rich in saccharine matter, they may have been fermented, and yet there would have remained after the fermentation, a considerable portion of the sugar unchanged. Then, by exposing them, when deposited in skins, to the action of hot smoke, the watery parts would have been evaporated through the pores of the skins, and the sugar and other more solid ingredients would have remained. And farther, this result might have taken place without any diminution of the alcohol. For it is a well established fact, that there are some substances which permit the aqueous parts to pass through them more freely than they do the alcohol, and there are others through which alcohol escapes, while the water remains. Henderson, p. 325, mentions this experiment : " Dr. Soemmering filled a common Bohemian wine-glass with Ausmanshäuser, covered it with ox-bladder, and allowed it to remain for eighty-one days undisturbed, in a warm and dry room. During this time, one half the quantity enclosed had evaporated; and the residue had acquired a more spirituous, and at the same time more mellow and agreeble flavour and aroma than the wine originally possessed. The colour was considerably heightened; a *crystalline coat*, or *film*, had formed on the surface ; a *deposite of crystals* had also taken place, at the bottom of the glass, and the proportion of alcohol was exactly doubled—the areometer showing an increase from 4.00 to 8.00."

The crystals which were thus formed were crystals of sugar, which had been held in solution by the evaporated water, and they would doubtless have been increased in number, if the remaining water had also been dissipated, and the result would have been in entire accordance, we think, with the result of the evaporation mentioned by Ga-

* As a specimen of Mr. Grindrod's accuracy in quoting his authorities, we give the following sentence from Bacchus, p. 197 : "Aristotle states, that either by their *natural consistence* or by *boiling*, or by *adulteration*, the wines of Arcadia were so *thick* that they dried upin the goat skins." Now Aristotle says not one word about natural consistence, boiling, or adulteration, (as the reader may see by examining the original ;) and on the subject of their consistence, he says merely, that new wine possesses more of the nature of earth than of water, and refers to the wines of Arcadia as furnishing a striking example of the fact.—(Meteor : iv. 10.) Mr. G. appears to have fallen into this error from a misapprehension of some remarks in Rees' Cyclopædia.

len, viz. that the wines acquired, in consequence of it, the hardness of salt.* Having no knowledge of sugar as it exists at this day, he could not well have made a more apt comparison with respect to the crystals of sugar which were formed in consequence of the evaporation. This process is well known to the Chemists, under the name of *exosmose.*

The fact mentioned by Aristotle, that the wines of Arcadia were scraped from the skins, shows that the bulk of the dried product must have been exceedingly small in comparison with the original bulk of the wine, and such as might well be the product of a very sweet wine, and one but little fermented; at the same time the strength of the wine must doubtless have been increased by the process employed.

The fact that the quantity was diminished, and that the *strength* of the wine increased with its age, did not escape the attention of the ancients, it being distinctly mentioned by Plutarch, in his Symposiacs, L. III. c. vii. καὶ γίνεται μέτρῳ μὲν ἐλάττων ὁ οἶνος, δυνάμει δε σφοδρότερος.

In the year that Opimius was Consul of Rome, the vintage was remarkable for its excellence; the grapes were perfectly ripened, and the juice exceedingly rich. The quantity of saccharine matter in it must have been large, and hence the generous quality of the wine, its durability, and its great reputation. It was preserved in the Amphora, an unglazed earthern vessel, and consequently more or less porous, and through the pores it may well be supposed that no inconsiderable portion of the aqueous particles would escape in the course of almost two hundred years, intervening between the consulship of Opimius and the age of Pliny; also, that the wine would have the consistence of honey, and that at the same time have lost its original sweetness, and acquired a bitter taste. That the wines most esteemed by the ancient Greeks and Romans were thin wines, and yet thoroughly fermented, we have evidence the most indubitable. Dioscorides, as we have already shown, gives it as a characteristic difference between the *white* and *red* wines, that the former are *thin*, and the latter *thick.*

The dark and thick wines as a class were considered by the ancients, as more intoxicating than those which were white and thin, yet some of the latter, when old, become very troublesome to the head. Among the white wines, Dioscorides mentions as before stated the Falernian, the Surrentine, the Cecuban,

* See Chaptal's Traite sur les Vins, Annales de Chimie, xxxv. p. 245.

the Chian, and the Lesbian; than which there were no wines held in higher repute. That the Falernian was a *fermented* and intoxicating wine is admitted even by Mr. Parsons, and if we are not mistaken, we have furnished conclusive evidence, that this was the general character of the ancient wines; or in other words, that among the ancient Greeks and Romans, the words corresponding to our term *wine* denoted a *fermented* and intoxicating liquor, just as much as the word *wine* does with us.

Near the conclusion of his letter respecting the modern wines of Palestine, the Rev. Mr. Smith remarks, that he is "happy to find that any apparent discrepancy between him and Mr. Delavan, *so far as facts are concerned*, is chiefly if not entirely verbal." But when the matter in question has respect to the signification of a word, a verbal distinction is everything. Mr. Smith says distinctly, that he never found the boiled and *unfermented juice* of the grape *bearing the name, or used in the place of wine.*

We have now finished our examination of the statements made by the authors of Bacchus and Anti-Bacchus, in support of their opinions respecting the ancient wines; and we feel bound to apologise for occupying so much time and space with comments upon statements so inaccurate, and arguments so idle. We should have confined ourselves to much narrower limits, had not these Essays been highly commended by individuals whose standing and character have served to impart to the productions of Messrs Grindrod and Parsons, an importance which their intrinsic worth could never have given them. Persons who ought to have known better, and among them instructers in some of our Colleges have given their countenance to these productions, and have spoken of them as containing views which merit the most serious consideration.

The discussion of the other matters proposed to be examined, we must defer to a subsequent number.

QUARTERLY LIST

OF

NEW BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

The Martyr Lamb, or Christ the Representative of His People in all Ages. Translated from the German of F. W Krummacher, D.D., author of "Elijah, the Tishbite," "Elisha," "Dew of Israel," etc. New York: Robert Carter, 58 Canal Street. 1841. 12mo. pp. 288.

It is seldom that the doctrines of grace are set forth in a more florid manner than in this work of the excellent Krummacher. We would by no means object to this, for there is a large class of readers who will be strongly attracted by this very peculiarity. We find here the essence of the gospel, presented to the mind with great originality and warmth. It is a book which we would freely put into the hands of all Christian readers.

An Address before the Philomathean Society of the University of Pennsylvania, November 30th, 1840. By George W. Bethune, Philadelphia. 1840. pp. 38.

The productions of the Reverend Dr. Bethune, even when like this they are of the lighter sort, are all marked with ease and gracefulness of style, originality and fulness of matter, and a vivacity which on proper occasions merits the name of wit. The discourse before us exhibits these qualities, as well as the fruits of varied erudition. We are nevertheless disposed to believe that the reverend author greatly overrates the evils of the existing college-systems, and that his plan of escape from them, however advantageous to the youth of our great cities, would fail of success as a method for the country at large. That real evils prevail under all the modes of public instruction, is undeniable; that greater would not meet us if our colleges were all in great towns, we are by no means convinced.

Medical Science and the Medical Profession in Europe and the United States. An Introductory Lecture, by Harvey Lindsly, M. D., Professor of Obstetric Medicine in the Columbian College, November, 1840. Washington, pp. 34.

This is a very instructive, comprehensive, judicious, and well-written report, on a subject nearly connected with the welfare of our people, and with

our national reputation. To readers who do not belong to the Faculty, it cannot fail to communicate a mass of new and important information; and we have risen from the perusal of it, with our views elevated in a most pleasing manner, in regard to the progress of medical theory and practice among ourselves. In illustration of the author's claims on behalf of American science, he observes, in terms which we quote with great pleasure, "I would barely refer to the brilliant operations of Mott, (of whom Sir Astley Cooper remarked, that no living surgeon had done more for his profession,) of Physick, of Warren, Mussey, Dudley, and Barton; to the ingenious, profound, and learned productions of Dr. Edward Miller, of New-York, to whom the world is indebted for all that is really useful in the celebrated theory of Broussais, and of whom that not very candid writer remarks: 'He (Dr. Miller) was the first to consider the stomach in its true physiological relation. Under his pen, the phenomena of fever and the modus operandi of medicines acquired an interest which they had never had, even in our most celebrated systematic works;' to the classical work of Dr. Jos. M. Smith, on the laws regulating the etiology and pathology of epidemic diseases, and which, for ingenuity of reasoning, profundity of research, and originality of views, has not been surpassed by any work on that subject, in any language; and, in fine, by reference to the investigations and writings of Rush, Godman, Hosack, Beck, and many others."

Mrs. Hooker's Works and Life. American Sunday School Union, Philadelphia. Six volumes, 18mo. 1841.

If any of our readers should happen to be unacquainted with the name of Mrs. Hooker, as a writer of juvenile books, there is the greater reason why we should notice her labours, as among the best in this department which we have ever examined. This was our opinion as her writings successively appeared, and it is confirmed upon a deliberate examination of the collective works. She has the rare merit of writing for children in a style which need not offend the most fastidious critic. It is no easy task. Most who enter this important field of literature go to one of two extremes; they either write above the comprehension of the infant mind, or in the attempt to be childlike they become childish, and mistake vulgarisms and provincialisms for the juvenile idiom. Mrs. Hooker was abundantly competent to have gained a name among our first female authors, as will appear to any one who will examine the fragments of her composition embodied in the Memoir. The descriptive letters which she wrote during the latter months of her life are fully equal in simplicity, liveliness, originality, and graphic power, to any thing which has proceeded from Miss Sedgwick.

The principal works of this collection are the lives of David, Elijah, Elisha, and Daniel. The first of these is a gem in its kind. We remember to have read it with an unexpected delight when it was first published, and we know

nothing like it, in juvenile scripture-biography. The other books, if less fascinating, are equally chaste, instructive, and pious.

The first of these volumes contains a Memoir of Mrs. Hooker. This, as is true of the others, may be purchased separately. It is well written and is filled with such matter as must interest every parent and teacher. As a Christian woman, Mrs. Hooker here stands forth with the graces of gospel simplicity; a lonely, unambitious, unaffected believer. Being dead she yet speaketh. The earliest of her productions was long since published in German; and her 'Daniel' and 'Elijah' have been translated into two or three languages of the East.

A Book for the Sabbath; in three parts. I. Origin, Design, and Obligation of the Sabbath; II. Practical Improvement of the Sabbath; III. Devotional Exercises for the Sabbath. By J. B. Waterbury, author of 'Advice to a Young Christain,' and 'Happy Christian.' New York and Andover: Gould, Newman & Saxton. 1840. 12mo. pp. 222.

The author of this work is known to the public by many productions, in prose and poetry, all of which have tended directly to the promotion of evangelical religion, and several of which have passed through a number of editions in England as well as America. Mr. Waterbury has not aimed at the reputation of a systematic theologian or a controvertist; and hence his books may have less zest for many readers of our day; but the favour with which they have been received by the Christain public, and their uniform piety and orthodoxy, stamp a value on them which is not to be mistaken. The volume before us is practical and devotional. It establishes the observance of the Sabbath on that scriptural basis which has been recognised by our Nonconformist ancestors, and offers in aid of private devotion, a series of meditations and prayers, for all the Sabbaths of the year. These breathe the spirit of tender and elevated devotion, and are remarkably adapted to the case of such as are afflicted. The style of the work is neat and often elegant; and we are earnest in commending it because we are sure no humble reader can use it according to its intention, without spiritual benefit.

Mary Stuart, a Tragedy, from the German of Schiller. By William Peter, A. M., Ch: Ch: Oxford. A New Edition. Philadelphia. H. Perkins. 1840. 18mo. pp. 255.

It is not a great while since we had occasion to express a favourable opinion of the 'William Tell' of the same author. The general remarks then offered are equally applicable to the present work. It is not once in an age, that a poetical version appears which is altogether free from some harshnesses or marks of the translator's fetters. We will not claim such exemption for this attempt; but we are really surprised to find so little of the blemish. The diction is that of a ripe English scholar and one who is a poet in his own right. The sacred lyrical effusions, at the end of the volume, show uncommon ease of versification, and are in one or two instances full of pathos.

The Obligations of the World to the Bible. By Gardiner Spring, D.D. A New and Revised Edition. London: Thomas Tegg. 1841.

Although we have fully expressed ourselves in regard to this admirable work, we gladly call the attention of our readers to the fact of its republication in England; where, we doubt not, it will gain the same respectful notice which we have heard expressed on every hand in our own country.

A Lecture delivered in the Walnut Street Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, on Sunday evening, December 27, 1840. By H. A. Boardman, Pastor of the Church. Philadelphia: Hooker & Agnew. 1841. 12mo. pp. 69.

This Lecture is devoted to the discussion of the question: Is there any ground to apprehend the extensive and dangerous prevalence of Romanism in the United States? In support of the affirmative Mr. Boardman urges the following reasons: 1. Popery is a system very grateful to the natural principles and sympathies of the human heart. 2. It has great resources and an effective organization. 3. It has of late made rapid progress in England and Scotland. 4. Our citizens greatly misapprehend the true character of Popery. 5. It has the support of public sympathy. 6. The progress which it has already made in this country, is rapid and alarming. These reasons are urged with great propriety and force, and we think they fully establish the point to be proved. But if there is reason to apprehend the dangerous prevalence of Popery in this country, what ought Protestants to do to counteract it? It will be readily admitted that the only effectual corrective of this, and of every similar evil, is true religion All efforts, therefore, directed to the promotion of evangelical religion, are directed against the prevalence of Popery. But when any specific form of evil becomes peculiarly prominent in any community, it is obviously the part of wisdom, to employ means to oppose its progress. Since truth is the antidote of error, our duty is to disseminate the truth in relation to this subject as widely as possible. Let the true character of Popery be made known, let its past history and present resources and spirit be unfolded; let the unsoundness of its doctrines, the evil tendencies of its superstitions and debasing usages, be clearly established. It is of great importance that this should be done without exaggeration, and without any evil temper. The cause of Protestantism has of late suffered greatly from both of these sources. Some of the itinerant agents employed to lecture against popery, have been so reckless in their statements, and so violent in their language, as to be among the most effective advocates of the cause which they professed to oppose. It is one of the good results to be anticipated from our pastors taking up this subject, that it will get into better hands. One such calm, dignified, forcible, discourse as that of Mr. Boardman, is worth a thousand violent, exaggerated denunciations.

On all these points there can hardly be any difference of opinion. Popery does threaten to become dangerously prevalent in this country; it is the duty of Protestant Christians to oppose its progress; the only legitimate means of opposition, is the dissemination of the truth. The only question, is, how is

the truth to be brought before the public mind? should we confine ourselves to the press? or should we also enlist the powerful agency of the pulpit? It would be difficult to discover any principle by which the ministers of the gospel are forbidden to warn their flocks and the public against any form of religious error, to the dangerous influence of which they are continually exposed. It is as much their duty to warn as to guide. It may be said that engaging in such discussions must withdraw them from their more important duties. There is, no doubt, some force in this suggestion. But it may be made against a pastor's directing his attention to any thing beyond the sphere of his parochial duties. If he co-opcrates in the promotion of the work of missions or education, or temperance, he may, if not upon his guard, allow them to engross too much of his time. And he may get so interested in the papal controversy as to think of little else, and allow his own heritage to run to waste while fighting the battles of the church universal. A man of sense and right feelings, however, will avoid such extremes, and do a great deal of good, by promoting right views of the nature and evils of popery, without interfering with the discharge of his duties as a Christain bishop.

Correspondence between the Right Reverend Bishop Doane, of New Jersey, and the Rev. H. A. Boardman of Philadelphia, on the alleged Popish Character of the Oxford Tracts. Philadelphia: Hooker & Agnew. 1841. pp. 100.

Bishop Doane writes to Mr. Boardman to inform him that he was "shocked to find" that in his Lecture on Romanism he spoke of the Oxford divines as having "returned to some of the worst errors of Popery." The Bishop then calls on him "distinctly, and by name," for his proofs. These Mr. Boardman has furnished in a manner, we doubt not, perfectly satisfactory to all that portion of the public who are not ashamed to be called Protestant. We have seldom seen a more courteous or effective reply to such a demand, than the Letters before us contain. They will, we trust, serve to let many, who heve hitherto been wilfully ignorant on the subject, know how dangerous and insidious is the poison of the Tracts, which have been so diligently circulated in this country as well as in Great Britain. Bishop Doane, we presume, will regard Mr. Boardman's Letters as entirely irrelevant. He called for proofs of popery; and receives proof that the Oxford writers hold doctrines which have always been held by many distinguished men in the English church. This will doubtless be considered as nothing to the purpose by those who regard the acknowledgement of the Pope of Rome as universal Bishop, and some few other points, as the essence of popery. In this sense the Oxford gentlemen are not papists; nor did Mr. Boardman make this charge. His assertion was that they had adopted some of the worst errors of Popery. And this he has fully established. Should Bishop Doane choose to show that many other English theologians held the same errors, it will only prove, what no one denies, that there has ever been a class of divines in the English church, unfaithful to her standards, opposed in heart to the doctrines of her reformers, and

separated from Rome by a much smaller interval than that which divides them from the genuine sons of the Anglican Reformation.

Papism in the XIX Century, in the United States. Being selected Contributions to the Papal Controversy, During 1835—40. By Robert J. Breckinridge. Baltimore: David Owen & Son. 1841. pp. 343.

This volume contains a series of articles from the pen of Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, originally published in the Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine. Some of them are valuable for the informatiou which they contain, or for the principles which they advocate; and all are interesting. Romanism is now attracting such general attention in this country, as well as in Europe, that the friends of Protestantism will be glad to have the information contained in this volume rendered more accessible than it was in its original shape.

Old Humphrey's Observations. New York: Robert Carter. 1841.

This is a reprint of one of the publications of the London Religious Tract Society. It consists of a number of short papers on a great variety of subjects, written in a devotional spirit, and with great shrewdness, good sense, and quiet humour. It is, therefore, a very pleasant, useful book.

Parity: The Scriptural Order of the Christian Ministry. A Sermon preached by request, before the Presbytery of West Hanover, New Canton, Buckingham, Virginia, Oct. 3, 1840. By Rev. G. A. Baxter, D. D., Professor of Theology in Union Seminary. Published by order of the Presbytery. Lynchburg: Fletcher & Toler. 1840. 8vo. pp. 23.

The name of Dr. Baxter will be regarded, by every well-informed reader, as a sufficient guaranty of sound sense, conclusive reasoning, and the dignity and urbanity becoming a Christian divine, in conducting the controversy which froms the subject of this discourse. In regard to these no reader will be disappointed. We regret that such excellent matter is presented in a typographical dress so little worthy of it. There is no economy more out of place than that which presents the product of a strong and richly furnished mind in a type and on paper adapted to repel rather than attract every one who takes it in hand. It is well that the sermon before us has such a degree of solid and decisive merit as to overcome even this repulsion.

Oration delivered on the occasion of the Re-interment of the Remains of Gen. Hugh Mercer, before the St. Andrews and Thistle Societies. By William B. Reed, Thursday, Nov. 26, 1840. Philadelphia: Waldie. 1840. 8vo. pp. 44.

We have perused this Oration with peculiar pleasure. The author, in repairing it, evidently partook largely of the spirit-stirring sentiments which the occasion was adapted to inspire. Patriotic feeling, sound judgment, and good taste appear in every page.

A Short Account of the Congregational Church at Midway, Georgia. By John B. Mallard, A. M. Savannah. 1840. 8vo. pp. 45.

We noticc this instructive and interesting pamphlct chiefly for the purpose

of saying, that we wish some one would prepare and publish a still more minute account of every religions Society in the United States. It is by the multiplication of such smaller works that the materials of ecclesiastical history are furnished. An intelligent member of each congregation might prepare in a single week, or even day, what would not only greatly abridge the labour of a historian on a larger scale, but also put him in possession of facts of which he could not be expected otherwise to gain a knowledge.

The Question, Will the Christian Religion be recognised as the basis of the system of Public Instruction in Massachusetts? Discussed in four Letters, to the Rev. Dr. Humphrey, President of Amherst College. Boston. Published by Whipple and Damarell. 1839.

There are two reasons which, at first sight, would seem to render any notice of this pamphlet in our periodical unseasonable at this time. The one is, that it was published nearly two years ago; and the other, that it relates exclusively to the state of education in Massachusetts. But when it is considered, how deeply vital is the subject of common-school education to every state, and, indeed, to every family in the nation, a discussion of the radical principles proposed to be introduced and established as the basis of our popular systems of education, is always seasonable; and not only seasonable, but of unspeakable importance to every portion of this whole country. It has been said, that the most dangerous enemies to the Bible were not the impious blasphemers of our Saviour, such as Paine and Carlile; nor philosophical skeptics such as Hume and Bolingbroke; nor the sarcastic scoffers, such as Voltaire and Diderot; but infidel critics who devote their whole lives to the study of the Bible, who by their Lexicons and Scholia, instil the poison of infidelity, drop by drop. And while the justness of this sentiment is admitted, there is at this time, another danger still more formidable, which menaces our growing population. It is the establishment of such systems of popular education, as entirely exclude religion, of any and every kind, from having any place in the training of our youth. And this, not out of any professed hostility to religion, but entirely from the fear of sectarism. Even the Bible, which all Christian denominations acknowledge as the foundation of their tenets, is too sectarian for these projectors and reformers in matters of education: all which they are willing to admit in any school book, is, some general view of Natural Religion; and strange to tell, in the land of the Pilgrims—the land of the Cottons and Mathers, of the Mayhews and Elliotts, out of three thousand schools, *only six* have introduced any books on the subject of ethics and natural religion." And as to the Bible, it is not used at all in nearly *two thirds* of the schools; while in by far the greater part of those which use the Scriptures, the New Testament *only* is used. And this irreligious system of education has received a legal sanction in the state of the Union from which we had a right to expect a more complete system of education than from any other. Surely, the Deists, Unitarians, and Universal-

ists must have stolen a march on the Orthodox descendent
who are a very large majority of the State.

These LETTERS, addressed to Dr. Humphrey, exhibit i
most forcible manner, the danger to which the country, a
rising generation, are exposed, from such a system of educat
recognition of Christianity in any form from the school.
what effect these Letters may have produced where they we
rate; but the same erroneous and dangerous views are enter
into practice, in the great States of New York and Pennsy
to be embraced by our political men in New Jersey; for i
handsome library, which our "Committee on Education,"
caused to be printed, we found not one religious book in th
been convinced for some time, that our political men and ci
the proper persons to manage the concerns of educatior
Christian sect must establish schools of their own, in which
be taught whatever they wish to have inculcated on them.
if religion—if the Bible, is to be excluded from our common
to have nothing to do with them. To form the heart, an
religious and moral principles, is in our view, the chief
Remove these objects, and it is our firm belief, that the mo
have the worse will they be; and the worse will it be
is a subject of momentous importance; and we hope to
tunity of returning hereafter, to a more full consideratio
bearings.

Correction.—P. 119, near the bottom. For Cowen's I
Glasgow, read Cowen's *Vital* Statistics of Glasgow.

THE

PRINCETON REVIEW.

JULY 1841.

No. III.

F. A. Packard

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2. *The important and interesting debate on the claim of the Catholics to a portion of the Common School Fund, with the arguments of Counsel before the Board of Aldermen of the City of New York.* Oct. 29 and 30, 1840.

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