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ART. I.—*The Life of Robert Blair, Minister of St. Andrews, containing his Autobiography from* 1593 *to* 1636, *with a Supplement to his Life, and Continuation of the History of the Times to* 1680. By his son-in-law, Mr. William Row, Minister of Ceres. Edited for the Wodrow Society, from the Original Manuscript, by Thomas McCrie, D.D. Edinburgh: Printed for the Wodrow Society, 1848.

ROBERT BLAIR was a remarkable man, and lived through a large part of a century, in very eventful times. His history has not, hitherto, been so well known, as that of other Scottish worthies; but by the exertions of the Wodrow Society, it has recently been brought to light. He was born at Irvine, in the year 1593, and was the youngest of four brothers; the names of the other three were John, James, and William: the two eldest rose to be chief magistrates of Irvine, and William was first a regent in the University of Glasgow, and afterwards minister of Dumbarton.

Robert entered the University in the year 1611, and took his degree of A.M. in 1614. After teaching two years in the public school, he succeeded his brother as one of the Regents

in 1616. During the time he was Regent he received license to preach. When he first came out as a preacher, it so happened, that on a certain occasion he had the celebrated Robert Bruce, of Edinburgh, as one of his hearers. After the sermon, he sought the judgment of that eminent man on his performance, whose censure he never could forget. It was this: "I found your sermon very polished and digested; but there is one thing I miss in it, to wit, the Spirit of God—I found not that." This made a deep impression on the mind of Mr. Blair, and he often spoke of it to others. It had a most salutary effect; for it led him to consider, that it was something else to be a minister of Jesus Christ, than to be a knowing and eloquent preacher.

In 1623, Mr. Blair was involved in a dispute with Dr. Cameron, the learned principal of the University of Glasgow, and, being weary of teaching philosophy, he accepted a call to be minister of Bangor, in Ireland. In his autobiography, he relates many interesting particulars of his experience, and of his various trials, both before and after he entered the ministry, which we have no reason to notice. His various exercises and trials, in his spiritual state and progress, he has detailed at great length: some abridged extracts from these it may be proper here to insert.

"Before I enter upon the trouble I underwent at Glasgow, it is expedient to declare, how the Lord prepared me for the same. And first, I did find great sweetness in worshipping the Lord for some considerable space; so that I did not apprehend any great difficulty. But when I began to set closer on duties, as in sanctifying the Lord's day, I did meet with such opposition by the wanderings of my own mind and injections of Satan, that the more I aimed at watchfulness and circumspection, the less freed I came; so that I knew not what to do. To slack my endeavours I durst not, and to bind them more I could not; and when I endeavoured it, I was beaten back with loss: and so, for some time, I walked in heaviness. My brother, who had been my teacher, finding me in this case, by my frequent sighs, inquired what ailed me? Was I in doubt about my soul's salvation? I said, I am not. I have Christ for my righteousness, and by his merits I hope to be

saved. What can trouble you then, said he. I answered, this troubleth me, that I cannot serve the Lord my God cheerfully and constantly; especially on his own day, as, sometimes, I have been able to do. He laboured partly to encourage, and partly to drive me out of this heaviness; but it had no effect. I continued in heaviness, until, on a certain Lord's day, the Lord spoke to my soul by his Spirit, out of the 71st Psalm, "I will walk in the strength of the Lord, and will make mention of thy righteousness even of thine only." Thereby, great light shined within my soul, disavowing the ignorance and darkness, wherein I was walking, and that when the Lord first taught me to rejoice, I observed not that I was mostly upheld by the hand of the Lord, but my thought was that I had gotten a stock of grace in my keeping, that would suffice to carry me through all difficulties. And then, I looked upon this as my own, which no doubt provoked the Lord to blast all my efforts, and to withdraw his gracious assistance; that, so I might learn what I was, and what was my own; to wit, weakness, folly, wandering, deadness, backsliding, &c. Then did I see, that the strength whereby to walk with God, was not committed to my keeping, nor at my command, but in thy hand, O Lord! Who didst withdraw from me, that thou mightest again embrace me. Then did I experience the truth of that scripture, 'The Lord is my strength and my song, He also is become my salvation.' This did the Lord teach me, that the stock and strength of sin was in myself; yea, that I carried about with me a body of sin and death—a bitter root of sinning—sin abounding and bringing forth fruit unto death—that, although God had quickened the soul, yet the principle of sin sought to reign and frequently prevailed; so that the new creature was assaulted and carried captive, hindered from doing good, and carried away to evil; and that strength to resist was to be looked for from a Preserver and Deliverer. Then I perceived, that sin, which had appeared to be dead, had too much of vigorous life, which appeared most evidently when the spiritual law urged obedience, according to Rom. vii. 8, 'Sin taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence, for without the law, sin was dead.' Then, O Lord, thou wast pleased to humble thy ser-

vant, and to drive me out of myself, to teach me not to trust in myself, but in God who raiseth the dead. Then began I to learn the meaning of that, 'When I am weak then am I strong,' 2 Cor. xii. 10. The Lord gives proof of his power, when he makes a discovery of weakness. If any think this was no great manifestation of an important truth, I answer, it is one thing to know a truth naturally or notionally, and another to know it spiritually. Between these there is a difference in kind or species. His true spiritual knowledge is affectionate and practical: as it flows from the Spirit of God, so it carries with it a current of holy affections, and stirreth up to endeavours and earnestness in holy practice.

"Thus began I in a serious way to study the person, the nature, and the offices of the Mediator; how he is made to us of God, not only wisdom as the great promised Prophet, righteousness as our Justifier, but also sanctification as our King to reign in us, and working that which is well-pleasing in his sight. Comfortable then was the consideration of his human nature, wherein He is touched with the feeling of our infirmities; for upon this ground we are invited to come to the throne of grace, that we may 'obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need.' And so our Saviour was made fit to be a sacrifice to satisfy for sin, and to be our friend to whom we might have recourse for sanctification to help us against all temptations. So also the consideration of his divine nature proved very comfortable, as by that He is able to subdue all his own enemies, and through abundant grace, to bring us to the possession of the promised inheritance, and to make us kings and priests unto the Father. And so now when the fulness and riches of Christ were laid open, O gracious God! how sweetly and satisfyingly did this refresh the soul of thy poor servant! But I perceived, that as Christ had an inward kingdom, so also he had an external kingdom, where He governed by his appointed officers and servants. This put me to a new examination of church government; considering first the scriptures, and then authors who had discussed this subject. In searching the scriptures, I did find that our Saviour, upon several occasions, did forbid lordship and domination even to his apostles, and, consequently, to all that shall at any time bear office in

his kirk. The apostle Peter also—on whom they pretend to build their hierarchy—forbids all such domination. 'Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but ensamples to the flock.' 1 Peter v. 3. And wherever bishops are mentioned in the New Testament, no other thing is meant than pastors, presbyters, or ministers: so that bishop and presbyter, in the language of the Holy Spirit, is nothing else but two names for one and the same office, which is acknowledged by the most learned of the prelatic party. They, therefore, ground the superiority of bishops on the ancient custom of the kirk. But it may justly be counted a profane conceit that Christ has not appointed the substantials of government, whereof officers are a principal part—and it contradicts the perfection and sufficiency of holy scripture. And as to antiquity it is no absurdity to call every substantial change, after the closing of scripture, a corrupt novelty. And as to the pretence, that it was introduced to keep unity, it is evident, that the remedy was worse than the disease; and the argument would be still stronger for a universal bishop."

"This may seem to be a digression; but it is not. For I profess that as I gained any progress in piety from the influence of the grace of Christ, I also attained unto further confirmation of the truth of the government of his kirk, by his appointed officers, and not by other intruders and usurpers, to whom I durst not give the accustomed titles of honour.

"But now, to open up the practical light wherein the Lord did lead me in these times. Having heard of the practice of some diligent Christians who daily took brief notes of the condition of their souls, I followed the same course, using an obscure way of writing, and kept it up about sixteen years; so that every Lord's day, the notes of the preceding week were considered and laid to heart; and at the end of every month the whole.

"But now I found some new obstruction to arise; and I was again put to a stand with great sorrow, wondering what would be the outgate. Sometimes I thought deeper humiliation for not improving a discovered Christ, would clear the way to me. At another time, I thought that more diligence would clear the way; and if ordinary diligence carried not

the matter, extraordinary would do it. But still the obstruction remained, to my great astonishment. Then that great oracle, so often set down in holy scripture, "The just shall live by his faith,' sounded in my ears.

"This led me to search through the scriptures, where I did find great weight laid on that grace, both in order to our justification and our sanctification. But I was not satisfied with what I did read in our divines, who described rather the high degrees attainable in this life, but gave not a description of it that agreed with it in all degrees. But when that Treatise of Faith, penned by Ezekiel Culverwell, came forth, I was thereby much satisfied with his views of the nature of faith. The description of old given of faith, that it is an assurance of the love of God in Christ, though it be true that many attain and comfortably enjoy it, and though it be true of a high degree of faith, yet argues not to all degrees of saving faith. Hence many gracious and sound believers, who have received Jesus Christ and rested on him as he is offered to them in the word, have been perplexed, and feared that they were not believers at all. On the other hand, many secure unhumbled unbelievers, who have not so believed as to love holiness and hate sin, out of self-love, without the warrant of the Word, conceit themselves to be beloved of God. I perceived also that many who make a right use of faith, in order to their justification, make no direct use thereof in order to their sanctification. I now found that the living of the just by faith reached further than I before conceived, and that the heart is purified by faith.

"If any think, what! knew I not till then, that precious faith, being a grace, was not only a part of holiness, but did set forward other parts of holiness? I answer, I did indeed know, and so avowedly made use of faith as a motive to stir up holiness, according to the apostle's exhortation, 'Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord,' (2 Cor. vii. 1). But I had not before that learned to make use of faith as an instrument to draw holiness out of Christ, the well of salvation; though it may be I had both heard and spoken of it by way of a transient notion; but then I learned to purpose, that they who

receive forgiveness of sins are sanctified through faith in Christ our glorious Saviour, as Paul taught, (Acts xxvi. 18). Then I marvelled not that my progress met with obstruction for not making use of faith for sanctification. I hoped then to make better progress, with less stumbling; but not long after, encountering difficulties, I wondered what discovery would next clear the way. Then I found that the Spirit of Holiness, whose appropriate work it was to sanctify, had been slighted, and so grieved. For, though the Holy Spirit had been teaching, and I had been speaking of Him and to Him frequently, seeking the pouring out of the same; yet that discovery was to me a new practical lesson; and so I laboured more to crave, cherish, and not to grieve or quench the Holy Spirit; praying to be led into all truth, according to the scriptures, that blessed guide; and by that heavenly comforter, I sought to be comforted in all troubles, and sealed up thereby in strong assurance of my interest in God.

"About that time the Lord set me to work to stir up the students who were under my discipline, earnestly to study piety, and to be diligent in secret seeking of the Lord; and my gracious Lord was pleased herein to bless my endeavours."

Mr. Blair's situation, as regent of the College of Glasgow, became embarrassing and unpleasant, on account of his opposition to the measures adopted by the court to bring the Scottish church into conformity with the church of England. Mr. Boyd, the principal of Glasgow college, while he extolled Blair's talents, took pains to prevent his getting a pastoral charge; for he was tired of teaching philosophy, and wished to devote himself to the ministry of the gospel. And when Dr. John Cameron* was sent down by the court to recon-

* This Cameron was a very remarkable man. Though he was born in Scotland and died in Scotland, he spent the greater part of his life in France. While at the University of Glasgow, he had as his classmates the two Rivets, from whom he learned to speak the French language. At the age of 20 he went to France, (1600), and was made professor of theology at Sedan. After this he accepted a pastoral charge at Bordeaux, where he had as his colleague another Scotchman, Mr. Gilbert Primrose. While there he was involved, together with his colleague, in a difficulty with the government of France, the consequence of which was their being forbidden to preach there any longer. The king signified to the Protestant synod, met at Charenton, that it was his will that neither of these ministers should be preferred to anything in the church, or to a pro-

cile the ministers of Scotland to the prelatical innovations, he for a while took the place of Boyd, as principal of the college, and was more inimical to Blair than his predecessor. He was a man of extraordinary abilities and great learning.

Mr. Blair wishing to converse with some eminent ministers, among whom were Daniel Dickson and Robert Bruce, who were confined in prison in the north of Scotland, on account of their refusal to comply with the late innovations in religion, which were attempted to be imposed by authority on the Scottish church, took a journey into those parts, and enjoyed much and satisfactory intercourse with these eminent servants of God. He was particularly satisfied with his visit to Bruce, who was so kind as to give him a full account of the various incidents and experiences of his life, in a manuscript book, from his own hand.

On his return, he found Dr. Cameron exceedingly displeased with him for having taken this journey, as he believed that Blair was engaged in carrying on some design, in cooperation with those ministers, in opposition to the innovations in religion, which he had undertaken, at the king's request, to promote. The difference between them was also increased by the part which Mr. Blair took in disputation, on some points on which Mr. Cameron supported opinions repugnant to the revealed doctrines of the church. Mr. Cameron also delivered lectures in explanation and vindication of the "Perth Articles," of which lectures Blair took full notes; and to which he prepared an answer.

Mr. Blair was now fully resolved to relinquish his situation

fessorship in any of their universities. Cameron therefore left France, and came to London, where, being found favourable to prelacy, king James sent him down to Scotland, to reconcile the Presbyterians to the innovations in religion, which he contemplated. But being entirely unsuccessful, he returned again to France. His fame as a theologian was great, and he became professor of theology at Montauban, and also at Saumur. Here he attempted to introduce a new theory of divinity, taking a middle course between Calvinism and Arminianism; for while he held the doctrine of gratuitous election, he maintained also the doctrine of universal grace and universal redemption. His lectures were published at Saumur, and his system was carried out by his disciples, Amyrald and Testard. Having preached the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance at Montauban, during the civil wars, he was attacked by a mob: heroically opening his breast, he said to one who murdered him, "Strike, you villain," on which the man knocked him down. He was taken care of by a woman, and was carried to a village where he died, aged forty-eight.

in the university of Glasgow; and Mr. Cameron, notwithstanding his previous hostility, used all his powers of persuasion to induce him to remain. For some time, however, Providence opened no field for his labours which appeared satisfactory. He was strongly induced to go to France; but while he was meditating a voyage thither, he received an invitation to Ireland, from lord Clancboy, patron of the church of Bangor, in the county Down. Having laid the matter before God in prayer, he was led to see that it was the will of God that he should accept this invitation; although his prejudices against the country were very strong. Upon landing, after a stormy night, and much suffering by sea-sickness, he fell in with a company of Irishmen at their cups, which confirmed his preconceived dislike. But being invited by the patron to preach, he did so for several successive sabbaths, after which several ancient men came to him, and assured him that his ministry was very edifying to them, and requested that he would continue to labour among them; and said, if the stipend furnished by the patron was not sufficient, they would make up the deficiency. He was also urged by the incumbent of the parish who then lay on his death-bed, not to leave the parish, but to pursue his preaching as he had begun.

This part of Ireland had been settled from Scotland, by emigrants who were not generally of the best character, though there were among them some respectable and worthy people. Their first preachers were not generally men of evangelical character; and it was on these accounts that Mr. Blair was prejudiced against the country. But he found here before him some preachers of excellent character, particularly Mr. Cunningham and Mr. Ridge. There had also been there a certain Mr. Hubart, from England, who had been a pupil of Mr. Cartwright, but he had lately died.

"The bishop," says Blair, "understanding that I was opposed to be episcopally ordained, had the liberality to permit the ceremony to be performed by presbyters, in his presence." Accordingly, Mr. Blair received ordination by the laying on of the hands of Mr. Cunningham, Ridge and others. And the former parson, old Mr. Gibson, having died, Mr. Blair was

inducted into the parish by lord Claneboy. When he first administered the Lord's supper, as he says, my lord Claneboy and his lady insisted on kneeling, against which Mr. B. strongly protested; but the matter was accommodated by their consenting to sit in their pew.

Mr. Blair relates a remarkable case of an attempt to assassinate him, by a man instigated, as he declared, by the devil, who had frequently appeared to him. But when he came into the presence of Mr. Blair, he was seized with such a trembling, that he was unable to carry his murderous purpose into effect; and, upon being questioned, confessed for what purpose he had come. Soon afterwards he was taken ill, and died in great agony of mind.

There was at this time, a certain Mr. Glendinning, settled at Carrickfergus, an eccentric, injudicious man; but possessed of a loud voice and much zeal, and making great pretentions to learning, by referring to books which he had never read. He attracted no small attention to his preaching; and in fact preached the terrors of the law so forcibly, that many persons were brought under deep conviction of sin; but he was unable to guide them aright, or to open to them the plan of salvation. This awakening, however, gave opportunity to Blair, Cunningham and Ridge, to preach the gospel to many who were inquiring what they must do to be saved. Glendinning, becoming envious at the popularity and success of the other ministers, began to vent some very extravagant opinions, pretended to new revelations, declared that the day of judgment was at hand, and acted in the most fanatical manner. On one occasion he thrust his foot into the fire, pretending that it would suffer no injury; but Mr. B. plucked it out.

In the year 1630, the Holy Spirit was poured out abundantly upon the churches in the north of Ireland. The narnative of this revival is given by Fleming in his "Fulfilling of the Scriptures," and by Reid in his History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. It will not be necessary, therefore, to enter much into detail, respecting this remarkable work of grace. The preaching of Blair was a principal instrument in the hand of God in carrying it on. One experience which he had of extraordinary assistance in preaching, as related by

himself, it will be worth our while to contemplate; especially as it will serve to show, in a clear light, the piety and humility of the man. It was on a Monday after communion, at which a very numerous congregation had assembled. The preacher for that day having, on some account, failed to be present, Mr. Blair without preparation, was reluctantly constrained to occupy the pulpit. He says, "In my preface, before prayer, I promised a blessing from God to them that would ask it—a thing I never did before nor since—after calling on the name of the Lord and earnest wrestling with Him for his presence. The Lord so carried on the business, that only one proposition was offered to me to speak of, and no more, until the closing of that point; then another edifying point was suggested from the text, and so various others until the glass was run. In all this, I was but the voice of one crying. There was a prompter that suggested to me, even He that sent me to preach the gospel. But when the hour-glass was ended, three points, all weighty and concatenated together, were presented to me, the uttering whereof was almost (as I suppose) as much as all the rest.' I hastened to my chamber, that I might meet with nobody, but that I might hide me in my chamber, and spend some time in admiration. I feared applause, whereas there was nothing in me but a voice. Yet I was surprised, as I was stealing away, by that ancient minister, Mr. Bryce, of Broadisland. He, perceiving the haste I was making, cried after me, "Of a truth the Lord was with you;" and I, turning, cried to him, "Sir, God forgive you your backdrawing." I continued in my chamber until called to dinner, and sat silent, except when something was asked me. After dinner, I heard an honourable gentleman saying to another, he wished the speaker had spoken till sunset, the hearing of which sent me out of the room."

At this time the attention of the people was so much awake that they were never weary of hearing. "They," says Blair, "hung upon us, still desirous to hear more. No day was long enough; no room was large enough. Then said I, in the hearing of many, 'Our tide has run so high, that there will be an ebb. No doubt a restraint is near; our trials are hastening on.'"

In the revival of religion which was now so remarkable in the north of Ireland, every thing, for a while, was conducted with solemnity and good order; until, after it had gone on for some time, a number of persons became the subjects of swooning and various bodily agitations; which our author thinks was a device of Satan to bring the work into discredit; for upon careful examination, the persons thus affected appeared to be ignorant of the doctrines of religion, or to have no just views of truth during the time that they were the subjects of these bodily agitations. The ministers, therefore, did not encourage these extraordinary effects on the body, as any sign of true religion; but rather discouraged them; although some truly pious persons were also affected in this manner.

Blair, and his friends in the ministry, in the north of Ireland, were peculiarly situated as to their ecclesiastical relations. For, while they were fixed in their opinions against prelacy, they were under the authority of the bishop of the diocese. Echlin, the bishop, at first, appeared to be friendly to Blair, but after a while he began to lay snares for him. One instance of which was, that he wrote to him to be ready to preach at Archbishop Ussher's triennial visitation; but before the appointed day came, he sent him word, that another would perform that service. This was intended to leave him in uncertainty as to what would be expected of him; and that he might have some occasion to quarrel with him; as his private oral message contradicted his written appointment. Mr. Blair, however, prepared a discourse, which he delivered in the presence of all the bishops and clergy. His text was, "Therefore, seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not." Among other things, he undertook to show "that Christ, our Lord, had instituted no lord bishops in the kirk, but only presbyters and ministers, both to teach and govern." This, he undertook to prove, 1st, from the scriptures; 2d, from the testimonies of purer antiquity; 3d, from famous divines, who have been working reformation for 1300 years; and lastly, from modern divines, both over sea and in England. And he closed with the testimony of Archbishop Ussher himself. No remarks were publicly made on the discourse.

The bishop, having been defeated in his first attempt to ensnare Blair, contrived another trap more dangerous. Knowing that one of the judges, the Lord Chief Baron, who came, yearly, to the circuit, was a violent urger of English conformity, he wrote to Blair to have a sermon prepared by the time of the assizes. This was the more dangerous, because, it being Easter, the judges, according to custom, would communicate. Mr. Blair prepared himself by prayer and meditation, and then committed the matter to the Lord, who has the hearts and mouths of all in his own hand. He was also required to preach on the day before the communion; which was unprecedented. On the Lord's day, he preached in the morning, but said nothing about the sacrament, as his duty was not to administer it. He then returned to his chamber; and, in the evening, one of the judges sent for him, and said, he was well satisfied with his sermons, both on Saturday and on the Lord's day; but said, that he had opened a point he had never heard before, viz: "the covenant of redemption, made with the Mediator, as head of the elect church." He entreated him to go over the heads of the sermon. Then he opened his bible, and he and Blair went through all the proofs cited; and he said he was so well satisfied, that he protested, if his calling did not confine him to Dublin, he would gladly come to the north, to enjoy such a ministry. And this pious judge, as Blair understood, sent for the bishop, and exhorted him to lay aside his ill-will to Mr. Blair, and to be careful to put no hinderance in the way of his ministry.

When Primate Ussher came to town, Blair's patron introduced him to the archbishop, who treated him courteously, and invited him to be one of his guests, while he should remain. He inquired of him, what was his mind concerning justifying and saving faith. He answered that, in his opinion, "the receiving Jesus Christ as he is offered in the gospel," is the essence of saving faith. With this he was well satisfied, confirming the same in a large discourse. He spoke kindly and encouragingly, and said that if any thing should occur to interrupt their successful ministry in the north, it would break his heart. "They think," said he, "to cause me to stretch out my hand against you, but all the world shall never make me to do it."

"Beside our other helpers we had from the Lord, Mr. John Livingston was sent over to us. He was a man of a melting, generous spirit, and was greatly desired by the godly people of Torpichen, where he had preached as an assistant to another, but was opposed by the Bishop. Old Bishop Knox, of Raphoe, however, refused no honest man, after hearing him preach. By this chink, he and others got entrance, and the Lord was pleased greatly to bless his ministry, both within his own charge and without it, wherever he had a call to preach. But he was not permitted to continue long. Likewise Andrew Stewart, a well studied gentleman, and fervent in spirit, was settled at Donagore, and prospered well in the work of the Lord. But his ministry also was of short continuance, for he died in the midst of our trials."

Mr. Blair, about this time, had a contest with a certain Englishman, who had drunk in the opinions of the Arminians, and was exceedingly self-confident. By much appearance of zeal and devotion, he insinuated himself into the favour of many, and particularly won over to his side, Mr. Rowlie, a respectable gentleman, who was solicitous to have him enter into conversation with the brethren, at one of our Antrim meetings. "The brethren insisted that I should encounter this boasting polemic. Accordingly, I went to Antrim, though indisposed with a bad cold, and there I found Mr. Freeman and his partner, waiting for us to enter on the disputation. He insisted on choosing both the subject and order of discussion. The subject selected by him was reprobation. We told him, that this was an unsuitable topic to begin with; but yielded to his wishes, and he offered his first argument, which was easily answered, and retorted on himself. The second, had the same issue. He continued to manifest a jocund humour, telling us that he would soon come on with the strength of his arguments. But then, the Lord did smite him with such confusion, that he spoke nonsense; so that the scribe could set down nothing of it. All the hearers were sensible of this; and some fell a laughing; but his patron turned to me and said, 'You know what he would be at, set it in order, and give an answer to it.' To whom I replied, 'How can I know, seeing he knows not himself? But now,' said I, 'as it

is late, and you all see him in confusion, let him recollect his thoughts, and we shall meet in this place, the next morning.' In the morning, going to the place, and not finding him, I went to his lodging, where I found him with his patron, writing out arguments from an Arminian author. I snatched the book out of his hand, and asked him whether he believed that all events came to pass according to the determined counsel of God; to which he gave a flat denial. Then said I 'Know ye not that it is written, He hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek the Lord?' His answer was, that there was no such thing in the Bible. I desired his patron to turn to Acts, xvii, 26, 27. Then said Mr. Rowlie, 'We need no more disputation: I see evidently his ignorance of the scriptures. Mr. Freeman, I have followed you too long—here I renounce you, and will have no more to do with you;' and immediately departed. Being left alone with him, I gave him my advice seriously, which he, in his usual jocund way, seemed to wave. The ground of my apprehension was, that he knew nothing of the grace of Christ, and this event followed sadly; for he being deserted of the people who formerly adhered to him, turned more dissolute, and at last, as I was credibly informed, fell into mischievous practices."

The bodily exercises, before mentioned, were made an occasion of accusation against Mr. Blair and his coadjutors. One of his own charge, a dull and ignorant person, in the time of divine worship, made a noise, accompanied with spasmodic action of the body. Immediately he rebuked the lying spirit that disturbed the worship of God, charging the same, in the name and authority of Jesus, no more to disturb the congregation. And they had nothing more of the kind. "But Mr. Livingston and myself," says he, "being in Scotland, on a visit to our friends, on our return, we were both invited to assist an aged and infirm man, who was about celebrating the Lord's supper at the kirk of Shotts, where there was a great confluence of zealous people. A certain Mr. John Maxwell informed Mr. Leslie, by letter, of our presence, and an accusation was brought against us, that we taught the necessity of a new birth, by bodily pangs and throes. The bishop of Down,

having received some information from Leslie, of the part which Blair and Livingston took in the meeting at the kirk of Shotts; and the old calumny of their teaching a new birth by physical agonies, having been received; immediately, without further examination or trial, suspended not only Blair and Livingston, but also Dunbar and Welsh. Upon this, Blair made application to Archbishop Ussher, who wrote to Bishop Echlin, which induced him to relax the suspension for the present, and they went on with their ministry as usual. But shortly a letter coming from court, in which the old accusation was renewed, the bishop, although well assured of the innocence of these ministers, cited them to appear before him, and required of them a subscription to the liturgy; which they refused, as not being required by any law or canon, in the kingdom of Ireland. Upon this refusal, the bishop deposed them from their ministry. When Archbishop Ussher was made acquainted with the fact, he expressed great sorrow, but said he could not help them.

There appearing no other method of relief, Mr Blair was urged by his brethren to lay the matter before the king. This he undertook, and during the journey was attacked by a painful disease; but in answer to prayer was almost instantly relieved. Indeed during the whole journey he experienced several remarkable interpositions of Providence in his behalf. By the favour of the secretary, his petition was presented to the king, then at Greenwich, and was favourably received; so that letters were written to Ireland, directing inquiry to be made into the facts, and if were they found as represented by the deposed ministers, to grant relief. They were addressed to the Earl of Strafford who was just gone to take the chief authority in that kingdom. Mr. Blair greatly rejoiced in his success, and hastened his return, but took Scotland in his way; where he visited Rutherford and some other dear friends.

While on his journey, he had one night a remarkable dream, in which he was informed of the death of his wife. When he awoke in the morning, the impression on his mind was so vivid, that he entertained no doubt of the fact; and opening his Bible, the passage that met his eye was, "Son of

man, I take from thee with a stroke, the desire of thine eyes: but thou shalt neither weep, mourn nor lament." The fact was just as it was represented to him; his wife died that very night.

Many things of this kind are recorded in the experiences of the eminent ministers of those and former times. The reflections of Blair on the subject are solid and judicious. "If any reading these things shall stumble, that both now and hereafter, I have mentioned what hath been revealed to me of events to come, seeing revelations are now ceased, and we are to stick close to the revealed will of God, in the scriptures, for their satisfaction I answer, That if an angel from heaven should reveal anything contrary to the scriptures, or offer to add anything to that perfect rule of faith and manners, he ought to be accursed; and much more if any man upon earth should do the same. But in the meantime it ought not to be denied, that the Lord is pleased sometimes to reveal to his servants, especially in a suffering condition, events concerning themselves and that part of the church of God wherein they live; innumerable examples whereof might be produced, and not a few within this land, as in the case of the blessed martyr Wishart, Mr. Knox, Mr. Davidson, Mr. Welsh and Mr. Patrick Simson. This I write under protest, that I compare not myself with these I have now mentioned."

Mr. Blair returned to his place at Bangor, and was received with great joy, on account of his success in obtaining a favourable letter from the king; not indeed that this removed the sentence of deposition, under which the ministers lay; but as recommending a reconsideration of the matter, and a restoration, if the facts should be found correct, as stated by Mr. Blair. But when this letter was presented to Lord Strafford, who had just arrived in Dublin, he paid no attention to it; but began immediately, in the most vituperative style, to speak against the church of Scotland. This was a sad disappointment to the ministers; but the Lord overruled it for their relief. For Sir Andrew Stewart, making a visit to the lord-deputy, after praising his other acts, convinced him that he had acted improperly in treating a respectable minister so roughly; and inquired of him how Blair had conducted him-

self in his presence; he said, humbly, modestly and cautiously. "But now," said he, "let us help it the best way we can;" and he wrote to the bishop of Down, to give them indulgence for six months. This was an unexpected relief. Mr. Blair, when he heard it, was fourteen miles from home, but he hastened to his people, and found a great congregation assembled, not only of his own flock, but of the neighbouring parishes, to whom he preached a sermon from the words of Hezekiah, "What shall I say? He hath spoken unto me and himself hath done it, I shall go softly all my years, in the bitterness of my soul." (Isaiah xxxviii. 15.)

"These six months," says Mr. Blair, "were well improved, and by the blessing of God the people made more progress in God than ever before." By means of the same excellent gentleman, who had obtained for them this indulgence, another six months would have been added, had it not been for the interposition of bishop Bramhall, who, on account of their refusing to kneel at the Lord's supper, induced the lord-deputy, to withhold the letter which he had written. "We, therefore," said Mr. Blair, "celebrated the Lord's supper and delivered up our people to the Great Bishop of our souls, from whom we had received our charge. And being convened a third time, we received a sentence of deposition; at which I cited the bishop Echlin, to appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, to answer for that wicked deed. To which he replied, 'I appeal from justice to mercy.' 'But,' said I, 'your appeal is likely to be rejected, because you act against the light of your conscience.' Soon after the bishop sickened, and when the physician inquired into his complaint, he said, 'It is distress of conscience.' The physician said, 'For that I have no cure.' When the physician reported this to the Viscount of Airds, he charged him never to speak of the matter; but the Viscountess, being present, replied, 'No man shall get that report suppressed, for I shall bear witness of it to the glory of God, who did smite that man for suppressing Christ's witnesses.'"

After making some ineffectual attempts to obtain the liberty of preaching, these pious ministers, having heard that many of the English were going to New England, to escape from

the religious oppression to which they were now subjected, also began to think seriously of emigrating to America: and a number of other persons being willing to cast in their lot with them, it was determined, to build a vessel to convey them to the new world. They were much encouraged in their design, by the conversation of Mr. Winthrop, son of the governor of Massachusetts, a gentleman of extensive information, who had travelled much on the continent of Europe. Mr. Blair having been left a widower, with three helpless children, thought it expedient to take a second wife, and accordingly, he selected a pious woman of a good family, of whom all he says is, that she bore him nine sons and a daughter.

The company who had agreed to transport themselves to America, thought it expedient, while the vessel was building, to send two of their number, Mr. John Livingston and Mr. William Wallace, to go before them and visit New England, and to fix on a place for their settlement. But this measure failed, in consequence of Mr. Wallace not coming to the place of embarkation at the appointed time; for the first ships had sailed before they were ready; and afterwards for fourteen days contrary winds prevented, so that they were unable to reach London in time. And Mr. Wallace falling sick, his physician advised him not to enter on the voyage at so late a period.

The company, however, persevered in their determination to prosecute their voyage to America, and on the 9th of September, 1606, they loosed from Loch Fergus; but from the commencement of the voyage, they experienced unfavourable weather, and were long detained by contrary winds. And at length, when they were unable to go forward, after being more than half way over the Atlantic, they met with a tremendous storm, which so shattered their vessel, that after much earnest prayer and consultation, they came to the conclusion to turn back. The number of persons on board was about a hundred and forty. Their pecuniary resources were much impaired by this voyage; for they had invested their money to a considerable extent in provisions, and in goods which they expected to sell to advantage in the colony. Notwithstanding the prohibition of the bishop, both Mr. Blair and Mr. Livingston

found means of preaching somewhere every Sabbath. Their enemies, however, soon found out their places of residence, and an information was lodged against them; upon which an order was issued to apprehend them. A pious servant overheard a direction given to another servant, to have a horse ready to go to the north, early in the morning, to bring down the deposed ministers to Dublin. This servant, whose name was Andrew Brown, immediately went and hired a horse and rode all night, and brought word to Messrs. Blair, and Livingston of the intention to arrest them; on which they immediately passed over into Scotland.

Here they were kindly received by the Rev. Daniel Dickson, minister of Irvine, and were frequently employed by him in preaching to his people. On a sacramental occasion, when many assembled, and not a few of their friends from Ireland, both Blair and Livingston preached at Irvine. Mr. Cunningham also came over, and died at Irvine, at the house of Mr. Dickson.

Mr. Cunningham's end was peaceful. From his dying bed he gave many pious counsels to his friends, and to the whole presbytery of Irvine, who visited him. His epitaph was written in Latin, by Mr. Blair. For some time, Mr. Blair preached in Irvine and its vicinity, and also in Edinburgh; but the persecution by the prelates, being very hot through the land, against all who refused the service-book and a compliance with the Perth articles, Mr. Blair determined that he would emigrate to France; for he had received an invitation to become the chaplain of Col. Hepburn's regiment, then stationed on the continent. His friends in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose; for he actually set off to go to France. The boat, however, on which he embarked, having a company of Highlanders who were exceedingly profane and offensive in their discourse, he was much annoyed, and felt it to be his duty to reprove them. On which one of them was so enraged, that he attempted to kill him with his dirk, but was prevented by his companions. Having reached the ship, he resolved that he would not go in company with such a crew, and requested to be put on shore. Here, he met with a signal deliverance, which he attributed to the guardian care of angels. For, as

he attempted to leave the ship, his foot slipped, and he fell down the side of the vessel, and must have been drowned, had it not been for one of the lines of the vessel, which providentially happened to be there to receive his hand. While he was hanging by the side of the vessel, he had these reflections: "I have often read and preached, that the good angels are ministering spirits, sent forth by God to serve and preserve them that shall be heirs of salvation. I knew that truth notionally; but now experimentally. Now I find that true which is written, 'He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways: they shall bear thee up in their hands.' Though it cannot be proven from scripture that every one has a tutelary angel, yet it is certain that the good angels do many kind offices for the people of God; especially to his ministers and ambassadors, which we do not see nor remark to know; especially when we are in danger, in our infancy or old age."

When Mr. Blair returned to Edinburgh, his friends received him joyfully. A sister of his former wife brought him paper, pen and ink, and entreated him to write a petition with his own hand, to the secret council, for liberty to preach; and promised that the women would present it to some member of the council, as he passed along to the place of meeting. He consented, and when it was finished, it was committed to one of the oldest women among them, who attempted to put it into the hands of Traquair; but he, fearing that it contained something which would not be agreeable to the council, put her aside, declining to take the paper; on which Barbara Hamilton, his former wife's sister, taking the petition, seized Traquair by the arm, and said, "Stand, my lord, in Christ's name, till I speak to you." He, looking back, said, "Good woman, what would you have from me?" "There is," said she, "an humble supplication of Mr. Blair, for liberty to preach the gospel. I charge you to befriend the matter, as you would have God to befriend you in your distress and at your death." He promised to do what he could; and accordingly, the request was granted by the council. Thus we see that the Scottish women were more resolute in seeking relief, than the men. Mr. Blair, being thus providentially prevented

from going to France, and having obtained liberty to exercise his ministry, received and accepted a unanimous call from the town of Ayr; and much about the same time, Mr. Livingston, his companion in labour and suffering, received and accepted a call from the church at Stranmaer, in the same neighbourhood. As towns were situated near the western coast of Scotland, many of their friends came over from Ireland, and took up their residence among them. At one time, there came over five hundred persons. Besides, others who did not remove to Scotland, brought over their children to be baptized. As many as twenty-eight of these were baptized at Stranmaer in one day.

But Mr. Blair was not permitted to remain quietly at Ayr, for the General Assembly of 1636, of which he was a member, having deposed the bishops, ordered that he should be translated to St. Andrews; but he was so reluctant to leave Ayr, where his labours began to be blessed, that he ventured to disobey the order, hoping that the next Assembly would permit him to remain. In the mean time, the king's army approached the borders of Scotland, on which the Covenanters collected their forces and marched to meet them. Blair accompanied the Covenanters as chaplain, as did many other of the evangelical ministers of the Church of Scotland. But when the armies came near together, a negotiation took place, which terminated in a compromise; and no blood was shed.

The Assembly of 1639 censured Mr. Blair for not obeying the order of the former Assembly, and peremptorily resolved, that he should immediately be transported to St. Andrews; and at the same time ordered that Mr. Rutherford should take charge of the college, from which Spottiswood had fled. But Mr. Rutherford made it a condition of his going, that he should be associated with Blair in the pastorate of the church. They accordingly both removed to St. Andrews, about the same time.

In the year 1642, the General Assembly appointed Mr. Blair to visit the churches in the north of Ireland. He found the state of religion to be greatly deteriorated since he left the country, but there was a universal hunger for the word; so that he preached once every day, and twice on the Sab-

bath; and in some places the assemblies were so large that no house could contain the people. Mr. Row, who writes the supplement to the autobiography of Blair, informs us, that he had conversed with some aged people, who had heard Blair's discourses on this visit, who said, "that in their lifetime, they never heard the gospel so powerfully preached, and pertinently applied; and that they never saw such commotion and heart-melting, with greatest abundance of tears, among hearers."

Finding the charge of the parish of St. Andrews too onerous, as many of the parishioners lived in the country, Mr. Blair resolved to get a new parish formed out of the old. And, as a new church and stipend for another minister would be required, he relinquished a part of his own salary, and employed a zealous, active man to solicit voluntary contributions for the object. This enterprise was successful. The new parish was named Cameron, and the people called Mr. Nairn to be their pastor. It is recorded, that he found the people of St. Andrews, when he came to them, in a very unfavourable state. The poor were ignorant and superstitious, and the rich exceedingly profane, irreligious and prelatical.

In the year 1643, commissioners from the English Parliament and from the Westminister Assembly were sent to propose and promote a closer union between the two kingdoms, and uniformity in religion. Mr. Blair was a member of the committee to whom this matter was referred; the result of which was the SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, to be sworn individually, by ministers and people, by magistrates and citizens, in both kingdoms. This proposal was received by the pious in Scotland with great joy. "Such a torrent of overflowing affection," says Row, who was present, "I never saw on any other occasion. When the aged ministers were asked their opinion, their feelings were so strong that they were unable to speak, while the tears rolled down their cheeks. And Blair declared, "that a solemn covenant for reformation and uniformity of religion, for the three kingdoms, came up to his highest wishes when he indulged his most sanguine anticipations."

Mr. Blair took a very active part in the contest between the Scottish forces and those of the king; and at the battle at

Longmarston, in which Prince Rupert's army was defeated, he was present. He soon, however, returned to his parish, at St. Andrews, and as the plague was at Edinburgh, the parliament sat at St. Andrews, before whom Mr. Blair often preached. Several persons of distinction were imprisoned there, as traitors to the country, whom he often visited in prison: and his conversation with one of them, Nathanael Gordon, was attended, apparently, with very happy effects. For this person manifested deep repentance for the course which he had pursued, and for all the sins of his life; so that Mr. Blair, at his earnest request, obtained for him a remission of the sentence of excommunication under which he lay; and attended him on the scaffold, where he was greatly satisfied with his conduct.

In the year 1646, the General Asssembly met at Edinburgh, and Mr. Blair was elected Moderator. By this Assembly, three persons were chosen to go to Newcastle, where the king then was, to deal with him, respecting taking the Solemn League and Covenant, and establishing Presbyterian government. The persons selected were Robert Douglas, Andrew Cant, and Robert Blair. They immediately repaired to the king; and on their first introduction, Andrew Cant, who was zealous, forward, and of a fiery temper, very unseasonably addressed the king, and charged him with being a favourer of popery. Blair interposed, and said, "We think this neither a fit time nor place to speak to your majesty." The king, looking at him, said, "That honest man speaks wisely and discreetly;" and appointed the next day for an audience, in his chamber. From this time, the king manifested a particular regard for Mr. Blair, more than for any other of the Scottish ministers, who from time to time attended on him.

The object of this commission to the king was, as has been said, to induce him, if possible, to gratify the wishes of the Scotch Kirk, by signing the Solemn League and Covenant; and Blair and Alexander Henderson, who was already with the king, went so far as on their bended knees, and with tears, to entreat him to comply. But their efforts were not successful; he refused to the last. It is wonderful, that these good men should have so earnestly urged the king to do a thing which

was against his conscience. But in those days, no allowance was made for a diversity of opinion, even in regard to church government. The committee of estates, also, sent nine commissioners to treat with the king, in relation to the same thing; but he still refused to comply with their wishes. Mr. Blair now returned to his charge, and Alexander Henderson, being sick and overburdened with sorrow and grief, came to Edinburgh and died there, August 19, 1646. As soon as the king heard of the death of Henderson, who had been his chaplain, he appointed Blair as his successor. Upon the reception of his patent, he was thrown into much perplexity respecting his duty, and deferred an answer, until he had sought, by wrestling prayer, guidance from the Father of light. He also consulted his friend, Mr. David Dickson, who advised him to go. Mr. Blair now left his charge at St. Andrews, in obedience to the king's orders, and repaired to New Castle. Here, in the performance of his arduous duties, he was most faithful and diligent. He prayed in the king's presence and that of his attendants, twice every day; preached twice every Lord's day, morning and evening, in the presence of the king. But his most painful duty was, dealing, in conversation, with the king, with whom he had many debates, respecting prelacy, the liturgy, and forms of prayer; in all which, he urged his majesty to comply with the earnest wishes of his Scottish subjects. But after finding that the king was proof against all his arguments and entreaties, he returned home to St. Andrews. But in the next year, 1647, he returned to Newcastle, with a view of dealing yet further with the king; for the Scottish nation was resolved not to receive him, unless he would subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant, by which both nations were now united in a solemn bond. The king received him very graciously, and while many flocked around to hear a debate between him and the king, his majesty disappointed them, by conversing very pleasantly, and even facetiously, with Mr. Blair; and directed him to come to him in his chamber, where Mr. Blair renewed his arguments and solicitations; but the king pleaded conscience, and particularly his coronation oath, and said, that he would sooner lose his crown, and even his life, than violate his conscience.

In the disputes which arose about the Engagement, among the Scotch people, Blair took a middle course, and exerted himself to reconcile the parties. And, although he did not altogether succeed, his mediation was productive of much good, by moderating the long-continued animosities of one party against the other.

In the year 1648, Messrs. Blair, Dickson and Guthrie were sent, by the Commission of the General Assembly, to confer with Cromwell, who was then in the country with an invading army. Blair had seen Cromwell before, and had taken up a very unfavourable opinion of him. Cromwell made a long speech to them, "with a fair flourish of words, and not without tears." Mr. Blair answered him, by saying much in few words. He told him plainly, that nothing stood in the way of a reformation and uniformity of religion in England, but only his army. On this occasion, Mr. Blair put three questions to Cromwell. The first was, whether he was in favour of monarchical government? Cromwell answered that he was, and was also in favour of the king and his posterity. The second question was, whether he was in favour of toleration? He said he was not. And the third was, what was his opinion respecting the government of the church? Cromwell replied, "O, Mr. Blair, you article me too severely. I cannot give you an immediate answer to this. I must have time to deliberate." When they came out, Mr. Dickson said, "I am very glad to hear this man speak as he does." Mr. Blair replied, "And do you believe him? If you knew this man as well as I do, you would not believe one word he says. He is an egregious dissembler, and a great liar." Cromwell soon after returned to England, with the greater part of his army.

In 1649, Mr. Blair was sent to London to promote reformation; but now all power was usurped by the army; and strong measures were taken against the king, which issued in his trial and condemnation; against all these proceedings Blair protested; as did the other Scotch commissioners. Mr. Blair being in London, as one of the commissioners of the church, joined cordially with the other commissioners, both of the church and estates, in a protest against the whole proceedings of the men who arraigned, tried and condemned the king.

Indeed, the spirit of loyalty was so strong in Blair, that he declared that he would be as willing to lay down his head on the block, as he ever was to lay it on a pillow, if he might be permitted to die with the king, for whom personally he seems to have entertained a high esteem. The king also felt a particular regard for him; and, when cruelly debarred of the privilege of having the services of his own chaplains, expressed an earnest wish to see Blair; who, on being informed of the king's request, was very solicitous to go; but was not permitted to see him by those who were his persecutors. He declared, that if he had had access to the king, he would have advised him not to submit to a trial; nor to answer to any charges, and when condemned not to walk on his own feet to the scaffold. He speaks of his accusers and judges as cruel murderers.

The Scottish commissioners, both of the church and state, as soon as the king was dead, declared the prince Charles to be the legitimate king. And it was resolved, that Mr. Blair and others should be a delegation to the king, in Holland, to inform him of their allegiance, and that the Scotch people considered him the legitimate heir to the throne. But when they were about to sail, they were prevented by the ruling powers. When this was made known in Scotland, other persons were appointed to represent both the church and state, who immediately crossed the sea, and repaired to the young king. The parliament, fearing that the Scotch commissioners might still attempt to go to the king, sent them down to Scotland under a guard. By his frequent journeys, and hardships in them, Mr. Blair's health was much broken. During this last journey to England, he was greatly afflicted with the gout; but he was not a man to spare himself. After this, however, he was unable, as formerly, to attend the judicatories of the church; yet he was a member of the General Assembly of 1649. When the commissioners, sent to Holland, brought over the young king, Mr. Blair conversed with him at large, and gave him much good advice.

When the Scotch rulers of church and state had got the king into their power, their first step was, to induce him to swear to the Solemn League and Covenant, which he did, with

apparent seriousness and sincerity, in the following solemn form of words, viz: "I, C. R., King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, do assert and declare by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the National Covenant, and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling; and for myself and successors shall covenant and agree to all acts of Parliament, enjoining the National Covenant and the solemn League and Covenant, and fully establishing Presbyterian Government, the Directory of Worship, the Confession of Faith, and the Catechisms of the kingdom of Scotland, as they are approven by the General Assembly and Parliament of this kingdom; and that I will give my royal assent to acts and ordinances of Parliament passed or to be passed, enjoining the same in my other dominions; and that I shall observe these in my own practice and family, and shall never make any opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof." What a comment on this solemn oath is the conduct of this same king, when restored to power! Soon after this ceremony, the coronation of the king took place; on which occasion, the coronation sermon was preached by Mr. Robert Douglas, from 2 Kings, xi. 12.

Cromwell, however, coming into Scotland, with his well disciplined army, proceeded to defeat and scatter all the Scottish forces which had been raised to defend the king, and restore him to his throne. Still, the Scottish parliament took measures to collect another army from the north. But an unhappy division arose respecting the discipline of persons who should be admitted to office and to join the army. The parliament were anxious to unite, as far as possible, the whole nation in defence of the king and country. They therefore proposed the following query to the commissioners of the General Assembly, then sitting at Perth: "What persons are to be admitted to rise in arms and join the forces of the kingdom, and in what capacity for defence, against the common enemy?" The commission, after serious deliberation, returned the following answer: "That considering it a necessary duty, both by the laws of God and nature, to use all lawful means in de-

fence of the liberty, lives, and estates of the people against the common enemy; and considering that the forces are so routed and scattered, and that there cannot be raised any competency of forces out of those parts of the kingdom that's free, unless there be a more general calling forth of the body of the people than hath been before; therefore, in this case of so great necessity, we cannot be against the raising of all sensible persons, and permitting them to fight for defence of the kingdom; excepting such as are excommunicate, forefaulted, notoriously profane or flagitious, and, such as have been, and continue still, obstinate and professed enemies and opposers of the covenant and cause of God."

This answer grievously offended such as had declared themselves against any conjunction with those formerly debarred. Many of the presbyteries, also, were dissatisfied, and wrote letters to the Commission, expressing their dissent from the answer to the query. Mr. Blair was not present at that meeting of the commission; but he did not show any dislike to their answer, and had several debates with the warm opposers of the act. As he remained some time at Perth, he preached there, and in his sermon, we are told, alluded to the unhappy division among the ministers, respecting the answer returned to the parliament by the commission, and their resolutions on the subject. He said, "There are some that say, Give us religion well secured, become of the king what will; and there are others that say, Give us the king well established on his throne, become of religion what will. But blessed be God there are some, both ministers and others, who wish well both to religion and the king; giving to God what is God's, and to Cæsar what is Cæsar's." It was a prominent trait in Mr. Blair's character to be moderate, and avoid extremes; steadily to steer betwixt dangerous rocks on either hand.

This difference of opinion among the leading and most eminently pious ministers of the Church of Scotland, instead of being reconciled, increased, greatly disturbed peace, and hindered all combined and successful action against the common enemy, by whom the country was then invaded. The presbytery of Stirling came out strongly against the resolutions, and the Commission, which next met at St. Andrews, in

January, 1651, appointed Mr. Blair, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. John Smith, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Sharp, to confer with Mr. Guthrie, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Wetherford, and others, who were opposed to the resolutions. Mr. Blair, on account of infirmity, was not able to attend; but the conference produced no favourable result.

The king being about to go to the north to expedite the raising of troops, Mr. Blair, sensible that his own end was approaching, took this occasion of speaking freely and kindly to him, in regard to his future conduct. At the same time, he expressed freely what he liked and disliked in his royal father, of whom he entertained a more favourable opinion than most of his brethren. He said, "that he was a good king, badly used."

The controversy respecting the resolutions became very warm. Brethren, hitherto united, were now engaged in dispute both from the pulpit and the press. Mr. Daniel Dickson wrote in favour of the resolutions, and was answered by Mr. Guthrie, in four letters, to which Mr. Dickson replied. Mr. Patrick Gillespie wrote against them, and Mr. James Ferguson in defence of them. After various fruitless conferences, to settle the dispute about the public resolutions, the General Assembly met at St. Andrews. Immediately after it was constituted, and before a moderator was chosen, Mr. John Menzies arose and moved, that none of the members of the Commission, who adopted the resolutions, should be allowed to sit as members in that Assembly. To which it was replied, that it would be much more reasonable to exclude from the Assembly those ministers who had preached and published against the acts of the highest judicatory of the church. As the majority of the Assembly appeared to be favourable to the resolutions, the opposers withdrew, and Mr. Samuel Rutherford drew up a PROTEST against the Assembly, to which twenty-two persons subscribed their names. Thus, the most able and pious ministers were warmly engaged in quarrelling with one another, about a matter which must now produce astonishment in every candid mind. The question between the parties was, "whether those persons who had acted inconsistently with their covenant engagements, should be permitted to

take part in the defence of the country?" And at the very moment that they were contending with one another, intelligence was received, that the enemy had landed, with a considerable force, at a neighbouring port; so that the Assembly consulted their own safety, by adjourning their sessions to Dundee. The Assembly, now convened at Dundee, summoned James Guthrie, Patrick Gillespie, John Menzies, James Simson, and James Nasmith, to their bar; and proceeded to depose from the ministry, Messrs. Guthrie, Gillespie, and Simson; and to suspend Nasmith. The breach between the parties was now wide, and apparently irreparable. Henceforth, the church was divided into two parties; the RESOLUTIONERS and the PROTESTERS. Blair tried much to reconcile the parties, being much respected by both, but he could not succeed.

The controversy, between the RESOLUTIONERS and PROTESTERS, continued without abatement, although the country was not only invaded, but conquered, by Cromwell. All effectual resistance to the English was prevented by these unhallowed divisions.

The General Assembly, in the year 1651, had a majority in favour of the resolutions; and a solemn warning against the Protesters was issued by that body. But the Protesters, so far from submitting to the supreme judicatory of the church, grew more violent in their opposition, and openly declared this Assembly to be no legitimate Assembly.

Again, in the year 1652, the state of parties was much as in the preceding year. And when the Assembly met at Edinburgh, July 3, 1653, after having sermons from those distinguished men, David Dickson and Daniel Douglas, before they had proceeded to any business, a company of British officers appeared in the house, and commanded them to disperse, as they were met without authority from the government either of England or Scotland. Mr. Dickson answered, that they acted under the authority of Jesus Christ. But the officers ordered them to march out after them, which they were obliged to do, and were led entirely out of the town; marching in a body, along the streets. The Protesters were prevented from presenting their protestation to the Assembly, in consequence of its being broken up. They then met by themselves,

but their meeting also was dissolved by a proclamation, requiring all ministers to depart from Edinburgh. Against this, they drew up a protest, and sent it to the commanding general of the English army.

During this whole controversy, Mr. Blair acted the part of a mediator and peacemaker, between the parties, but without effect. Oh, the folly and evil of religious bigotry!

Cromwell, being now securely seated in the highest place of power, wished to hold a consultation with some of the leading ministers of Scotland, in regard to ordering the affairs of their church. He therefore sent for Blair, Douglas, and Guthrie; but such was the state of Mr. Blair's health, that he was unable to undertake the journey; and, besides, he had not great fondness for the Protector. In all the attempts at bringing about a reconciliation between the two contending parties in the church, there was no man who so entirely agreed with Mr. Blair in his views and feelings, as the eminently pious and learned Durham. He laboured much to promote unity and peace among the brethren; but in vain. One of the heaviest judgments of God on any church is to be given up to angry contention; and the less important the matters in dispute, the more rancourous, often, does the polemical spirit of the parties become, and the more difficult is the restoration of peace. The Church of Scotland paid dearly, in a few years, for these unnecessary and unhallowed contentions; when prelacy came in upon them with intolerance and violence, and when some of those who had appeared zealous for truth, apostatized from the cause of presbytery. The General Assembly, in order to have an orthodox commentary on the books of scripture, appointed a number of the most distinguished divines, to expound particular books. Mr. Blair had assigned to him the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. With this appointment, he was not well satisfied: for he wished to employ his remaining days in the study and explanation of those parts of scripture which contained most of the gospel. He did, however, comply with the Assembly's order, and composed and preached a number of lectures on Proverbs; but whether the work was ever completed and published, does not appear.

After the introduction of prelacy, by authority of the Eng-

lish government, the zealous Presbyterians who would not yield their principles, were treated with unrelenting severity. Some of their most zealous and leading men were brought to the scaffold and suffered death, and, particularly, the Duke of Argyll and the Rev. James Guthrie; and the resisting Covenanters were persecuted and dragooned, in such a manner, that few persecutions have been more cruel.

Mr. Blair having felt it to be his duty, in a public discourse, to bear a faithful testimony against the prevalent errors of the time, and against the unfaithfulness of many ministers, was prosecuted for the same, by Archbishop Sharp—who was one of the apostates—and was put under restraint and forbidden to preach. For three years he abode at Kirkaldy, for he was not permitted to remain with his flock at St. Andrews, and finally he sent in a resignation of his charge. During this time, he suffered much from various diseases, particularly the gravel. While resident at Kirkaldy, many serious people and ministers came to see him, and to confer with him about the concerns of their own souls; and also respecting the state of the suffering church. And though prevented from preaching, he had religious service in his own house twice every day, and kept a solemn fast on the last day of every month. His invetcrate enemies, however, would not allow him even this privilege, and caused him to be removed to an obscure village in an unwholesome place, near a marsh. Here the good man ended his days, in the faith and assured hope of the gospel, in the seventy-third year of his age. Two days before his death he was visited by Mr. Geo. Hutchinson, who upon leaving his bed-side said, "Truly, I think persecuted Mr. Blair is now dying a martyr. Is it not a martyrdom to be thrust from the ministry that was his delight, and hindered from doing good to his people and flock; and after he was driven from his place by the prelates, and especially by the malice and tyranny of Sharp, to be driven to this unwholesome place? Let others think what they will, I say Mr. Blair is dying, not only a persecuted minister, but a faithful martyr of Jesus Christ." His death occurred August 27th, 1666.

The character given of him by Kirkton, in his history, is as follows: "This month Mr. Robert Blair, that godly and able

minister, departed this life in his confinement, whither he was sent by the state, at the bishop's request. He was a man of great piety, ability, and high experience; and though he died a sufferer, yet he died full of hope that the Lord would deliver Scotland, and very confident that God would rub (as he expressed it) shame on bishop Sharp, as it came to pass."

Few ministers have had a more eventful life; and few have spent their life in more troublous times; and perhaps none in modern times with a character more free from every stain. Mr. Blair was not only eminent as a minister of Christ, but had few equals in his day, as an elegant classical scholar. His Latin poetry places him near to George Buchanan, in this species of composition. A few of his poems are found in his life, by Rowe, from which our narrative has been taken. But his greatest praise is, that he, with his intimate friend and fellow-labourer, John Livingston, had an instrumental part in the conversion of a greater multitude of souls, than almost any others since the Reformation.

ART. II.—*Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical.* By the Rev. William Henry Foote, D.D., Pastor of Presbyterian Church, Romney, Virginia. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. 1850. 8vo. pp. 568.

We have not the slightest hesitation in expressing our belief that Dr. Foote has in this work made an offering of inestimable value to our church. The experiment has proved that there may be rich gleanings even in fields which have been reaped by many and able hands. In every period of the history contained in this volume, and especially in the early parts, we have learnt much that we never knew before; indeed the filial veneration of the author, by leading him to unwearied collections from oral tradition, recondite manuscripts and rare volumes, has resulted in a treasure of unexpected facts, and has filled up some important chasms in our church-history. One consequence of this assiduity has been,

it is true, the accumulation of many documents which are properly memoirs to serve the future historian; but where the grand object is authentic annals, we can readily exchange facility of narrative for full details. Dr. Foote, as a son of the Puritans and a native of New England, brought to his task some qualifications which ensure impartial judgment; but he has painted the history of the Presbyterians, especially of the Scotch Irish, with a warmth of admiration which must satisfy the sternest adherent of our standards.

So dense is the mass of facts, that we cannot even abridge the interesting annals of what relates to the civil history of Virginia; though even here there is much to give the work a claim to be numbered among original histories of the English plantations in America.

The first Christian minister in Virginia was the Rev. Robert Hunt, who was of the little company that landed at Jamestown, on the 18th of May, 1607. Every tourist has looked with pensive meditation on the dwindling ruins of the old church on the James River. Mr. Hunt's labours were arduous and his life was short. He was a man of scholarship and piety. When Jamestown was burnt, the memorial is, "Master Hunt, our preacher, lost his library and all he had but the cloathes on his backe; but none never heard him repine at the losse." Mr. Whitaker, the Christian instructer of Pocahontas, was likeminded; he had charge of the town of Henrico, built in 1611. "I hereby let all men know," says Crashawe, "that a schollar, a graduate, a preacher, well borne, and friended in England; not in debt, nor disgrace, but competently provided for and liked and beloved where he lived; not in want, but (for a schollar and as these days may be) rich in possession, and more in possibilitie; of himself, without any persuasion, (but God's and his own heart) did voluntarily leave his warme nest; and to the wonder of his kindred and amazement of them that knew him, undertook this hard, but in my judgment, heroicall resolution, to go to Virginia and helpe to beare the name of God unto the Gentiles." Good Mr. Whitaker complained and mused much, we are told, that so few of the English ministers that were so hot against the

surplice and subscriptions came to the colony, where neither was spoken of.

The father of American Presbyterianism was Francis Makemie; and never before has so much been published of his history as now. He was from Donegal in Ireland. One fact only is known of his early religion, namely, that at the age of fourteen, under the instruction of a pious schoolmaster, he felt the converting power of grace. He was ordained an evangelist for America by the Presbytery of Lagan; this was probably in 1682 or 1683. He laboured in Barbadoes as well as Maryland and Virginia. The first mention of Mackemie's name by any record in America is in the county of Accomac, Virginia, and bears date February 17, 1690. The first known qualification on record under the Toleration Act is that of Makemie, in the same record, October 15, 1699. This record states his owning the Anglican articles, except the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth, and part of the twentieth. In Maryland he preached at Snow Hill, Rehoboth or Pocomoketown, Head of Monokin, Wicomico, and on Joseph Venable's land. He married in Virginia, and acquired some fortune by this, as well as by his own industry, for his hearers probably did little for his support. At his death the congregations gathered by him were sufficient to employ three ministers.

Severe as were the English laws in Virginia, Makemie preferred it as his residence, and, as abundant records show, was duly qualified and shielded by the courts. In 1704, he went to Europe, and prevailed with the ministers of London to undertake the support of two itinerants for two years; but they failed to fulfil the engagement. After his return from England, in 1705, we find him before the county court of Somerset, with two ministers, John Hampton and George McNish, whom the records style "his associates." Soon after this return from Europe, the venerable Presbytery of Philadelphia was formed. As the first leaf of the old minutes is lost, we can only conjecture the date, which Dr. Foote thinks it safe to set down at the latter part of 1705. In 1706 the ministers of this Presbytery were Francis Makemie, George McNish, John Hampton, Samuel Davis, John Wilson, Nathaniel Taylor

and Jedediah Andrews. His will bears date April 27th, 1708, and he died soon after. For the filling up of this outline we refer to the volume under review, but we cannot refrain from being a little more full in regard to one incident of his life, in which the sagacity, zeal and courage of the old-time Presbyterian shine out undeniably.

In January, 1707, Mr. Makemie and Mr. Hampton stopped at New York on their way to New England. At first they were well received by Lord Cornbury, who entertained them at the castle. On January, 19th Mr. Mackemie preached in the house of a mechanic named William Jackson, in Pearl street, and on the same day Mr. Hampton preached to a regular congregation at Newtown, Long Island. For these offences both were arrested, on a warrant signed by Cornbury. The narrative published soon after the event, and probably drawn up by Makemie himself, gives us the following lively report of an examination much resembling scores in the old country. When they appeared in the council chamber, Lord Cornbury inquired, "How dare you to take it upon you to preach in my government without my license?"

"Makemie replied—'We have liberty from an act of parliament made in the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, which gave us liberty, with which law we have complied.

"*C.* 'None shall preach in my government without my license.

"*M.* 'If the law for liberty had directed us to any particular persons in authority for license, we would readily have observed the same; but we cannot find any directions in the act of parliament, therefore we would not take notice thereof.

"*C.* 'That law does not extend to the American plantations, but only to England.

"*M.* 'My Lord, I humbly conceive that it is not a limited nor local act; and am well assured it extends to other plantations of the Queen's dominions, which is evident from certificates from courts of record of Virginia and Maryland, certifying we have complied with the law.' These certificates were produced and read by Lord Cornbury, who was pleased to say they did not extend to New York.

"*C.* 'I know it is local and limited, for I was at the making thereof.

"*M.* 'Your Excellency might be at the making thereof, but we are assured there is no such *limiting clause* therein as is in local acts, and desire that the law may be produced to determine the point.

"*C.* (Turning to the attorney, Mr. Bekely,) 'Is it not so, Mr. Attorney?

"*Attorney*—'Yes, it is local, my Lord.' And producing an argument he

went on to say—'that all the penal laws were local and limited, and did not extend to the plantations; and the Act of Toleration does not extend to any plantations.'

"*M.* 'I desire the law may be produced; for I am morally persuaded there is no limitation or restriction in the law to England, Wales and Berwick on Tweed; for it extends to sundry plantations of the Queen's dominions, as Barbadoes, Virginia, and Maryland, which is evident from certificates produced, which we could not have obtained if the act of parliament had not extended to the plantations. I presume New York is a part of her Majesty's dominions also; and sundry ministers on the east end of Long Island have complied with the law, and qualified themselves at court by complying with the directions of said law, and have no license from your Lordship.

"*C.* 'Yes, New York is of her Majesty's dominions; but the Act of Toleration does not extend to the plantations by its own intrinsic virtue, or any intention of the legislators, but only by her *Majesty's instructions signified unto me, and that is from her prerogative and clemency*, and the courts which have qualified these men are in error, and I will check them for it.

"*M.* 'If the law extends to the plantations any manner of way, whether by the Queen's prerogative clemency or otherwise, our certificates were demonstration that we had complied therewith.

"*C.* 'These certificates were only for Virginia and Maryland; they did not extend to New York.

"*M.* 'We presume, my Lord, our certificates do extend as far as the law extends; for we are directed by the act of parliament to qualify ourselves in the places where we live, which we have done: and the same law directs us to *take certificates of our qualification*, which we have also done: and these certificates are not to certify to such as behold us taking our qualifications, being performed in the face of the country at a public court; but our certificates must be to satisfy others abroad in the world, who saw it not, or heard any thing of it, otherwise it were needless. And that law which obliges us to take a certificate must allow said certificate to have a credit and a reputation in her Majesty's dominions; otherwise it is to no purpose.

"*C.* 'That act of parliament was made against *strolling preachers*, and you are such and shall not preach in my government.

"*M.* 'There is not one word, my Lord, mentioned in any part of the law against *travelling* or *strolling* preachers, as your Excellency is pleased to call them; and we are to judge that to be the true end of the law which is specified in the preamble thereof, which—'for the *satisfying scrupulous consciences, and uniting the subjects of England in interest and affection.* And it is well known to all, my Lord, that Quakers, who have liberty by this law, have few or no fixed teachers, but are chiefly taught by such as travel, and it is known to all, that such are sent forth by the yearly meeting at London, and travel and teach over the plantations, and are not molested.

"*C.* 'I have troubled some of them, and will trouble them more.

"*M.* 'We hear, my Lord, one of them was prosecuted at Jamaica, but it was not for *travelling and teaching*, but *for particulars in teaching* for which he suffered.

"*C.* 'You shall not spread your pernicious doctrines here.

"*M.* 'As to our doctrines, my Lord, we have our Confession of Faith, which is known to the Christian world, and I challenge all the clergy of York to show us any false or pernicious doctrines therein; yea, with those exceptions specified in the law, we are able to make it appear that they are, in all doctrinal articles of faith, agreeable to the *established doctrines of the Church of England*.

"*C.* 'There is one thing wanting in your certificates, and that is signing the articles of the Church of England.

"*M.* 'That is the clerk's omission, my Lord, for which we are no way accountable, by not being full and more particular; but if we had not complied with the whole law, in all parts thereof, we should not have had certificates pursuant to said act of parliament. And your Lordship may be assured that we have done nothing in complying with said law but what we are still ready to perform, if your Lordship require it, and that ten times over. And as to the *articles of religion*, I have a copy in my pocket, and am ready at all times to sign, with those *exceptions specified by law*.

"*C.* 'You preached in a private house not certified according to act of parliament.

"*M.* 'There were endeavours used for my preaching in a more public place, and (though without my knowledge) your Lordship's permission was demanded for my preaching in the Dutch church, and being denied, we were under a necessity of assembling for public worship in a private house, which we did in as *public a manner* as possible *with open doors*; and we are directed to certify the same to the next Quarter Sessions, which cannot be done until the Quarter Sessions come in course, for the law binds no man to impossibilities: and if we do not certify to the next Quarter Sessions we shall be culpable but not till then. For it is evident, my Lord, that this act of parliament was made and passed the Royal assent May 24th, and it being some time before the Quarter Sessions came in course, and all ministers in England continued to preach without one day's cessation or forbearance; and we hope the practice of England should be a precedent for America.

"*C.* 'None shall preach in my government without my license, as the Queen has signified to me by her royal instructions.

"*M.* 'Whatever direction the Queen's instructions may be to your Lordship, they can be no rule or law to us, nor any particular person who never saw, and perhaps never shall see them. *For promulgation is the life of the law*.

"*C.* 'You must give bond and security for your good behaviour, and also bond and security to preach no more in my government.

"*M.* 'As to our behaviour, though we have no way broke it, endeavouring always so to live, as to 'keep a conscience void of offence towards God and man,' yet if your Lordship requires it, we would give security for our behaviour: but to give bond and security to preach no more in your Excel-

lency's government, if invited and desired by any people, we neither can nor dare do.

"*C.* 'Then you must go to gaol.

"*M.* 'We are neither ashamed nor afraid of what we have done; and we have complied, and are ready still to comply, with the act of parliament, which we hope will protect us at last. And it will be unaccountable in England, to hear that Jews, who openly blaspheme the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and disown the whole Christian religion—the Quakers who disown the fundamental doctrines of the Church of England, and both the sacraments,—the Lutherans, and all others are tolerated in your Lordship's government, and only we, who have complied and are still ready to comply with the Act of Toleration, and are nearest to and likest to the Church of England of any dissenters, should be hindered, and that only in the government of New York and the Jerseys. This will appear strange indeed.

"*C.* 'You must blame the Queen for that.

"*M.* 'We do not, neither have we any reason to blame her Majesty, for she molests none, neither countenances nor encourages any who do; and has given frequent assurances, *and of late*, in her gracious speech to parliament, that she would inviolably maintain the toleration.'"

Here Lord Cornbury began writing precepts for discharging the prisoners from the custody of the sheriff of Queen's county, and for their commitment in New York. Mr. Hampton, who had hitherto remained silent, demanded a license to preach, according to Act of Toleration; Lord Cornbury absolutely denied it. Mr. Makemie then moved that the law be produced to determine the point whether it were local and limited or not. He said he doubted not the Attorney was able soon to produce the law; and further he offered to pay the Attorney for a copy of that paragraph which contains the limiting clause.

"*C.* 'You, sir, know law?

"*M.* 'I do not, my Lord, pretend to know law; but I pretend to know this particular law, having had sundry disputes thereon.' He here refers to his appearance before the courts of Maryland and Virginia. The mittimus being made out, the high sheriff of York city and county, Ebenezer Wilson, took them to his dwelling house, as the place of their confinement. On Friday the 26th, after sundry demands, by the prisoners, he gave them a copy of their commitment, viz.

"You are hereby required and commanded to take into your custody the bodies of Francis Makemie and John Hampton, and them safely keep, till further orders; and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand and seal this 23 day of January 1706, 7.

CORNBURY (seal)

To Ebenezer Wilson, Esq., High Sheriff of New York.

A true copy—Ebenezer Wilson."

Finding themselves imprisoned, they sent a petition to the Governor, praying for speedy trial, but without success. Again

at the next Quarter Sessions, they asked that in custody of the Sheriff they might be permitted to apply for license as the law directs: this was denied them. They then applied to the above named court for a like privilege, and application was made for license of the house in which Makemie preached. On the arrival of Chief Justice Mompesson, before the March term, their petition was granted and a writ of habeas corpus was issued, March 1706–7. On March 11th Makemie and Hampton appeared before the Supreme Court; the name of Hampton was soon dropped from the prosecution. The bill found by the Grand Jury charged Mackemie with having preached in New York to more than five persons, without permission or qualification, and also with using other rules and ceremonies than those found in the book of common prayer. Mr. Makemie was permitted on bail to return to Philadelphia, and it is probable Lord Cornbury was quite willing to let the matter drop here, but he had to deal with a man whose learning had not inclined him to shrink before injustice. Accordingly he came from Accomac, and on the 4th of June, 1707, pleaded "not guilty of any crime by preaching a sermon at York." Among other incidents of the trial, which we owe to Dr. Foote, Mr. Makemie challenged a Huguenot, summoned as a juryman, and added these words, that "he was amazed to find that one so lately dragooned out of France for his religion, and delivered out of the galley, so soon prove a persecutor of the same religion," It is not our intention to report the trial, interesting as we have found it. At a certain stage of the proceedings, Makemie obtained leave to speak, and expressed astonishment that the Attorney should construe the Act of Toleration as applying to the province of New York, after he had produced an argument to prove that it was local, when Lord Cornbury was examining the defendant for commitment. Judge Mompesson called upon him to speak directly to the point; upon which Makemie replied:

"May it please your Honour, I hope to make it appear that it is to the point; and what was Mr. Attorney's argument then, is now mine. For whatever opinion I was of, while an absolute stranger to New York and its constitution, now, since I have informed myself thoroughly with its constitution, I am entirely of Mr. Attorney's opinion, and hope he will be of the same still. I allow of the Queen's supremacy, and in all the

Attorney has said, I cannot learn one argument or word from all the quoted statutes, that preaching a sermon is the least contempt or overthrow of the supremacy; and I hope it is not unknown to any, that the oath of supremacy has been abolished by a law ever since the Revolution. And I cannot learn from any law yet produced, that Lord Cornbury has any power or directions to grant license to any dissenters, or that any of them are under any obligations to take license from his Lordship before they preach, or after.' He then discussed the Queen's instructions to Lord Cornbury, at large, and with great force, to show that they applied only to members of the Church of England coming from England or other places. He also plead that the penal laws did not and could not extend to New York, where there is no law in favour of the Church of England, and no restriction on the liberty of dissenters. He concluded by saying—'And if Jews, who openly blaspheme the Lord Jesus—Quakers, and Lutherans, and all others, or whose persuasions, are allowed even in this government, it is matter of wonder why we only should not be allowed of, but put to molestation, as we now are by present prosecution. Is it because we are Protestants? Is it because we are nearest like the established church of England of any dissenters? Is it because we are the most considerable body of Protestants in the Queen's dominions? Is it because we have now, since the union, a national establishment in Great Britain as nearly related and annexed to the crown of England as the Church of England themselves? Sure such a proceeding, when known, will and must be a prodigy in England.'

"*Attorney*—'It is impossible for any man to answer all that has been offered, where so much has been said; and by so many.'

"*Makemie*—'I verily believe it is impossible for the Attorney to answer what has been said; it is a great truth which he has uttered.'

"The Attorney then proceeded to argue that the penal laws, at least some of them, were coextensive with the Queen's dominions. He said the kings and queens of England command their governors to grant licenses; and that it had been customary to take licenses from the governors.

"Mr. Makemie replied at large: and concluded by saying, 'And whereas Mr. Attorney affirms that giving and taking license was very common and universal: I am well assured there never was, neither is, to this day, any such practice in any plantations of America; and there are but few persons as yet in York government that have license: for beside the two Dutch ministers who differ upon Long Island, and it is said these licenses are the cause of their difference, there is but one English non-conformist minister in all the government, who has taken a license; and it is certain that Mr. Dubois, and sundry others of the Dutch churches have no license, neither will they submit to any such as are granted.'

"The Attorney then moved that the jury bring in a special verdict. The judges inclined that way too. The Attorney said, 'The matter of fact is plainly confessed by the defendant, as you have heard, and you are to bring it in specially, for the jury are not judges of law.'

"*Mr. Makemie*—'May it please your honours: I am a stranger, who lives four hundred miles from this place, and it is known to the whole

country what intolerable trouble I have been put to already, and we cannot consent to a special verdict, for that would only increase my trouble, multiply my charges, and give me further delay. Besides it is a known maxim in law, *that strangers are always to be favoured with expedition in justice.* This seems no way to admit of delay, and if this should be allowed of, no man's innocence would be able to protect him; for if I should be cleared I should suffer more attaint than if I were guilty of many penal laws in England. And as to the jury's judging of the law, and confessing the fact, I cannot see one point of law to be judged. It is true I have confessed preaching a sermon at the house of William Jackson, but have not owned it to be a crime, or repugnant to any law, or inconsistent with any of the Queen's instructions; nor hath the attorney made any thing of this nature to appear, for all those ancient statutes of Henry VIII. tend only to throw off the authority, supremacy, and jurisdiction of the Popes and See of Rome, and invest the kings and queens of England with that usurped authority, and to bring ecclesiastical persons under the civil jurisdiction of England, who in the times of Popery was made accountable only to the See of Rome; therefore they do not touch, neither are any way applicable to this case.'

"*Attorney*—'These gentlemen acknowledge, and say, that the ministers of the Church of England are to take license, and are obliged so to do; and if so the Dissenters should also, otherwise they must expect more favours and liberty than the ministers of the Church of England.'

"*Makemie*—'It is the constitution of the Church of England, that the ministers, notwithstanding their ordination, do not preach, or officiate as ministers until they procure a license from their Bishop; and they voluntarily bring themselves under oath of canonical obedience. But finally there is a great deal of reason why ministers of the Church of England submit to license; but not so with us. For it is only *bare liberty* which Dissenters have; but the *others* have not only *liberty*, but a *considerable maintenance* also, without which I never knew any of them value *liberty only*. And Dissenters having liberty only, without any maintenance from Government, are not at all under any obligations, neither is it required of them to take license.'"

The Judge in charging the jury stated his belief that this was the first trial of the kind in America. The jury returned in a short time, and being called, found the defendant *not guilty*. The defendant, thus cleared, was made to pay fees, amounting in all to 83*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* Soon after his liberation, Mr. Makemie preached in the licensed church of the Huguenots. His sermon was printed, and new accusations were made, that he was the author of a pamphlet then in circulation. The Governor again issued process, but his late prisoner had left the province. For the only letter of Makemie, known to be

in existence, we refer the Presbyterian reader to this history: it is addressed to Lord Cornbury.

The course of the historian, in this part of the work may be indicated, but we do not think of repeating his narrative. It was not until we turned to certain parts with some purpose of abridgement that we observed how much condensation had already been secured by the author. He inserts a lively chapter upon the Scotch Irish, a race which has furnished a large part of the Presbyterianism of our land; and this leads him to relate the siege of Londonderry, a picture in the history of protestantism and of our fathers, which we shall continue to unfold to our sons even in these days of theoretical non-resistance. We have good cause to know, that some who were in that beleaguered town were eminent among the founders of our American church. There is no evidence of any colony of Presbyterians direct from Scotland; but those who came from Ulster were really Scotch, often the sons of native Scotchmen, as their names, tenets, habits, and even their dialect, continued within our memory to show. Of these some settled in New Hampshire as early as 1719; a few in Massachusetts; large numbers on the Delaware, and still more in the west of Pennsylvania and Maryland. It was then that the emigration poured into the beautiful valley of Virginia and North Carolina.

Dr. Foote does not neglect to do justice to the Episcopalians of Virginia, and gives full accounts of Mr. Commissary Blair and the foundation of William and Mary College. He lingers with affectionate particularity on the work of God in Hanover county, one of the most wonderful events in our religious history, connecting itself with Whitefield, Davies and remotely with Patrick Henry. To these pages, therefore, we refer the reader for ample accounts of Morris's Reading Room, and the revival of religion in Hanover; the labours and sufferings of Hunt, Robinson, Roan and others; and the missionary visits of Tennent and Whitefield.

When Dr. Foote arrives at the name of President Davies, he allows himself a liberty of enlargement, which the greatness of the subject and the errors of some foregoing accounts, may well justify. This volume contains the first complete

biography of the great preacher. As the dates here given differ from those which have gained currency, it is proper to say, that the author has derived them from memorandums, made by Mr. Davies himself, in an interleaved Bible, now in the hands of a descendant. While these remarks were in preparation, the following letter from Mr. Davies to Dr. Bellamy appeared in the New York Observer, with the statement that it had never been printed before:

HANOVER, Va., August 26, 1750.

Rev. and very dear Sir: The continuance of the correspondence your friendly condescension has begun, will always be very agreeable to me, though the prospects of so many interruptions as our distance and other circumstances will unavoidably occasion, is afflictive. This, Sir, is like to be the only method of conversation we shall be blest with, till we come to our Father's house above, where everlasting intimacy subsists between all his numerous children, and where they are more fit for mutual acquaintance and society, than in this state of imperfection. Thither, I hope, I am aspiring, though faintly; and I request the help of your prayers to accelerate my motion.

Blessed be God, I am free from the burdensome necessity of an idle life. So large and rude a quarter of the Lord's vineyard is committed to my care, that I can hardly behold it without being animated to industry, or (which is frequently my case) sunk into discouragement at the disproportion of my strength to my work. O! that I may not have more reason to cry out at last, than Grotius had, "*Proh! vitam perdidi operose nihil agendo!*" I hope my poor ministrations are not wholly in vain, though my success is not, I think, equal to what the circumstances of these parts would seem to promise, according to common observation. Nothing seems wanting, but larger effusions of the divine Spirit from on high, and better accomplishments in the solitary, sleepy watchman. Thousands are eager to hear, from a principle of curiosity, or from a better principle. Sundry are proselyted, and a few, I hope, are "in the place of the breaking forth of children." There seems to be of late a greater solemnity among the people, (especially at the meeting house, where the greatest assemblies are wont to attend,) than I have observed for some time. The labours of that pious Enoch (for so I may denominate him for his intimate walk with God) Mr. Davenport, who has been here about two months, have been generally acceptable, and I hope serviceable to many. By observing his conversation, and reading Mr. Brainerd's Life, I have lately had clearer discoveries of my prodigious defects, than ever I had before. O! my brother, *what a misery, what a hell it is to be unlike God!* It is our criminal inadvertency that makes us so thoughtless about it, and our unaccountable stupidity that renders us so insensible of it! Forgive me, my dear brother, that I make these complaints in your name, as well as in my own; for I

cannot once think that you, or any of the heirs of heaven, have so much reason for them as I have. I have often with an aching heart, read that surprising delineation (or rather hypotyposis) of a Christian's life, which the mercy of God has given us in Romans xiv. 7, 8. May I never rest, till I find myself the glorious transcript of it!

I hope, Sir, your endeavours have not been wanting to provide some supplies for the numerous vacancies in this colony; and your prudence will direct you to send more, but such as you judge qualified for a place attended with so many peculiar difficulties. Please to inform such as intend to come to Hanover, that it will be necessary for them to come about the 10th of April or October, that they may be qualified by the President and Council, who then sit for twenty-four days, for they have taken away the power of qualifying ministers from the County Courts, and appropriated it to themselves. As for the new settlements, where there are nine or ten vacancies, their distance secures them from the inspection of the Council, and therefore ministers may officiate there, without molestation at any time.

I have had some thought of preparing for the press, the substance of four sermons I delivered lately on 2 Cor. iv. 3, and Acts viii. 22. On the first text, I proposed, I. To show who those are to whom the Gospel is hid. II. In what great danger they are of perishing, or that it is dreadfully uncertain whether they ever will be brought out of their present condition. III. To vindicate the justice of God in suffering such to continue ignorant of the Gospel, and perish.

On the secoud text, I proposed, as far as I can now remember, (for I have not my notes about me), I. To show that it is awfully uncertain whether those who are now impenitent, will ever be brought to penitence, and so obtain forgiveness: yet, II. That it is possible. III. That a mere possibility is sufficient to excite the impenitent to use all means of obtaining repentance, &c. It pleased the Lord to make these discourses solemnizing to sundry; and I have found, since, that they were peculiarly fit for the awakening of the secure here. This, together with an apprehension that they might be suitable to the cases of secure sinners in other places, has inclined me to publish them. If you think any of them will be needed in your parts, please to inform me, and I shall endeavour to send them to such places as you shall nominate.

Pray, Sir, write to me as often as you can; and when you cannot find a readier method of conveyance, direct yours to the care of the Rev. Mr. Burr at Newark. I shall be glad to know of the affairs of the church with you. And now, committing you to that God, "whose you are, and whom you serve," I must break off conversation with you, and only assure you that I am, Reverend Sir,

Your affectionate brother, and fellow-labourer
in the Lord's vineyard,

SAMUEL DAVIES.

To the Reverend Mr. Joseph Bellamy, Bethlem, Connecticut.

P. S. When I review my letter, I cannot but secretly blush to see what freedom I have used with an entire stranger. But while I was writing, I found my affections to you so warm, and the pleasure of free conversation so great, that I could not easily restrain myself; and therefore I hope, dear Sir, you will take it in good part. S. D.

The celebrated letter to the Bishop of London, and other parts of correspondence with Dr. Doddridge, Dr. Avery and others, are given at length; as is also Mr. Davies's Journal of his visit to Great Britain, in 1753, 1754 and 1755, on behalf of the College of New Jersey. The precious autograph of this has long been familiar to us, and we thank Dr. Foote for republishing a diary so replete with useful and entertaining facts. Doddridge was no more, when Davies landed in England, but his excellent widow received the stranger with Christian warmth. The Rev. Gilbert Tennent was Mr. Davies's companion in this mission. It would be tedious to recite all that is recorded concerning the great men, Nonconformists of England and Presbyterians of Scotland, who gave him the right hand of fellowship. Much may here be found concerning Guyse, Benson, Lardner, Chandler, Jennings, Kippis, Stennet, Gibbons, Walker, Gillies, Hamilton, Maclaurin, Cumming and Webster. It is almost superfluous to say, that this journal gives no authority for the story which has passed from mouth to mouth, about Mr. Davies's rebuke of George the Second. Those who will peruse the record will at once perceive how far the poor dissenting minister of Virginia was from royalty; and those who are well read in Scottish history recognise in the fable a metamorphosed fact in regard to a famous preacher of the Reformation before James the Sixth; with these parties the alleged conduct on either side tallies very well. Dr. Foote passes the legend with dignified silence. As many who have heard it will be willing to trace its origin, we give the story as told by Livingston of Robert Bruce. "The King had a custom very frequently of talking with those about him in time of sermon. This he fell into that day. Mr. Bruce soon noticed it, and stopped, upon which the King gave over. The King fell a talking to those next him a second time, and Mr. Bruce stopped a second time, and, as I remember, sat him down in his seat. When the King noticed this

he gave over, and Mr. Bruce went on with his subject. A third time the King fell a talking. Mr. Bruce was very much grieved that the King should continue in this practice, after the modest reproofs he had already upon the matter given him; and so a third time he stopped, and directing himself to the King, he expressed himself to this purpose: 'It's said to have been an expression of the wisest of Kings (I suppose he meaned an apocryphal saying of Solomon's), When the lion roareth, all the beasts of the field are at ease; the Lion of the Tribe of Judah is now roaring, in the voice of his Gospel, and it becomes all the petty Kings of the earth to be silent.' "*

No apology is needed for inserting the paragraphs which follow.

"Makemie stands as the father of the Presbyterian Church in America; Davies as the apostle of Virginia. To no one man, in a religious point of view, does the State owe as much; no one can claim a more affectionate remembrance by Christian people. His residence in the State is an era in its history. To Virginia we look for the record and fruits of his labours. The Virginia Synod claims him as her spiritual father; and the Virginia creed in politics acknowledges his principles of religious freedom and civil liberty. His influence on politics was indirect, but not the less sure. The sole supremacy of Christ in the Church,—the authority of the Word of God,—the equality of the ministers of religion,—and individual rights of conscience,—principles for which he plead before the General Court, and in defence of which he encountered such men as Pendleton, Wythe, Randolph, and the whole host of the aristocracy, are now a part and parcel of the religious and political creed of an overwhelming majority of the citizens of the '*Ancient Dominion*.' He demonstrated the capability of the Church of Christ to sustain itself, not only without the fostering aid of the State, but under its oppressive laws. He showed the patriotism of true religion; and in defending the principles of Presbytery, he maintained what Virginia now believes to be the inalienable rights of man. The time of Mr. Davies' labours in Virginia embraced that interesting part of Patrick Henry's life, from his eleventh to his twenty-second year. This great orator, in his youth, could not have been unacquainted with the dissenting ministers of his native county; and it is scarcely possible he was unaffected by his ministrations. Two of his sisters, Lucy Henry, who married Valentine Wood, and died in Havana,—and Jane Henry, who married Colonel Samuel Meredith, and lived and died at New Glasgow, Amherst county, were known to be pious people, and members of the Presbyterian Church;—and we have the authority of an elder in the church, now living, a grandson of Lucy Wood, that they were members of Mr. Davies' congregations. The first

*Wodrow's Life of Bruce, p. 154, ed. 1843.

popular pleading of Mr. Henry was in Hanover against the authorized construction of those very laws under which Mr. Davies and the dissenters had groaned, and from which they had obtained but partial relief. The oratory of these great men was much of the same kind. Both reasoned from great principles and facts, and addressed human nature with an overflowing heart, on subjects to which the souls of men are ever alive,—their individual rights and personal interests. What Dr. Finley said of one may be said of both, 'the unavoidable consciousness of native power made him bold and enterprising. Yet the court proved that his boldness arose not from a partial, groundless conceit, but from true self-knowledge. Upon fair and candid trial, faithful and just to himself, he judged what he could do; and what he could, when called to it, he attempted, and what he attempted he accomplished.' The same bold eloquence that roused the militia of Hanover in Braddock's war, was heard again in Hanover and Williamsburg, calling to arms in the revolutionary contest. Mr. Henry, through life, held to the religion of the Bible. In another chapter the influence of Presbytery on the civil constitution of Virginia will be traced at large, and the indirect influence of Mr. Davies and his co-labourers fully seen.

"Mr. Davies' own pen shall close the sketch of his life, with the beautiful and characteristic sentiments in his correspondence with Dr. Gibbons as preserved by Dr. Finley. 'I desire seriously to devote to God and my dear country, all the labours of my head, my heart, my hand, and pen: and if he pleases to bless any of them, I hope I shall be thankful, and wonder at his condescending grace. O my dear brother! could we spend and be spent, all our lives, in painful, disinterested, indefatigable service for God and the world, how serene and bright would it render the swift approaching eve of life! I am labouring to do a little to save my country, and, which is of much more consequence, to save souls from death, from that tremendous kind of death, which a soul can die. I have had but little success of late; but blessed be God, it surpasses my expectation, and much more my desert. Some of my brethren labour to better purpose. The pleasure of the Lord prospers in their hands.

"'Blessed be my Master's name, this disorder'—a violent sickness from which he was just recovering—'found me employed in his service. It seized me in the pulpit, like a soldier wounded in the field. This has been a busy summer with me. In about two months I rode about five hundred miles, and preached about forty sermons. This affords me some pleasure in the review. But alas! the mixture of sin, and of many nameless imperfections that run through, and corrupt all my services, give me shame, sorrow, and mortification. My fever made unusual ravages upon my understanding, and rendered me frequently delirious, and always stupid. But when I had any little sense of these things, I generally felt pretty calm and serene; and death, that mighty terror, was disarmed. Indeed, the thought of leaving my dear family destitute, and my flock shepherdless, made me often start back, and cling to life; but in other respects, death appeared a kind of indifferency to me. Formerly I have wished to live longer, that I

might be better prepared for heaven; but this consideration had very little weight with me, and that for a very unusual reason, which was this;—after long trial I found this world a place so unfriendly to the growth of every thing divine and heavenly, that I was afraid if I should live any longer, I should be no better fitted for heaven than I am. Indeed, I have hardly any hopes of ever making any great attainment in holiness while in this world, though I should be doomed to stay in it as long as Methuselah. I see other Christians indeed around me make some progress, though they go on with but a snail-like motion. But when I consider that I set out about twelve years old, and what sanguine hopes I then had of my future progress, and yet that I have been almost at a stand ever since, I am quite discouraged. O, my good Master, if I may dare call thee so, I am afraid I shall never serve thee much better on this side the regions of perfection. The thought grieves me; it breaks my heart, but I can hardly hope better. But if I have the least spark of true piety in my breast, I shall not always labour under this complaint. No, my Lord, I shall yet serve thee; serve thee through an immortal duration, with the activity, the fervour, the perfection of the *rapt seraph that adores and burns*. I very much suspect this desponding view of the matter is wrong, and I do not mention it with approbation, but only relate it as an unusual reason for my willingness to die, which I never felt before, and which I could not suppress.

"'I am rising up, my brother, with a desire to recommend Him better to my fellow sinners, than I have done. But alas! I hardly hope to accomplish it. He has done a great deal more by me already, than I ever expected, and infinitely more than I deserved. But he never intended me for great things. He has beings both of my own, and of superior orders, that can perform him more worthy service O! if I might but untie the latchet of his shoes, or draw water for the service of his sanctuary, it is enough for me. I am not an angel, nor would I murmur because I am not.

"'In my sickness, I found the unspeakable importance of a Mediator, in a religion for sinners. O! I could have given you the word of a dying man for it, that Jesus, that Jesus whom you preach, is indeed a necessary and an all-sufficient Saviour. Indeed he is the only support for a departing soul. *None but Christ, none but Christ.* Had I as many good works as Abraham or Paul, I would not have dared build my hopes on such a quicksand, but only on this firm eternal Rock.'"

The chapters on Liberty of Conscience in Virginia and the progress of opinion on that subject during the Revolution, will continue to be consulted, even by those who do not show an interest in the history of Presbyterianism. The several memorials of the Hanover Presbytery which are given at length, and the notices of Jefferson and Madison in respect to the bill for religious freedom, are deserving of particular study.

We are by no means surprised that the author has devoted

a chapter to the Rev. James Waddel, D.D., and the churches in the Northern Neck. Those who have talked with old inhabitants of Virginia are familiar with traditions respecting the eloquence of the Blind Preacher, which seem exaggerated if not fabulous: yet these are fully supported by the testimony which Dr. Foote has collected. The early labours of Mr. Waddel, in the Northern Neck, belong to a most interesting chapter in Presbyterian annals. The manuscript journal of Mr. James Gordon, from which copious extracts are here for the first time published, now lies before us, and fully justifies the account given of those churches. They were visited by Whitefield and Davies, and, under a Christian zeal and eloquence such as few communities ever enjoyed, they grew and prospered. Yet at this moment a large part of that favoured field lies utterly waste. It is almost an unexampled fact in the annals of our missionary plantations, and is to be ascribed to causes altogether remote from aught of religious error or unfaithfulness; such as the unhealthiness of the country, the incursions of the enemy, and the retrocession of trade to other marts. So far as we are informed, no record of Dr. Waddel's life and services has ever appeared, which can be compared with that which is here presented; and it will be regarded as not the least fascinating part of the volume.*

Writing where we do, we naturally feel interested to observe that Dr. Foote ascribes the projecting of Hampden Sidney College to Mr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, afterwards Dr. Smith: it was taken up by the Hanover Presbytery at his instance, as early as 1771. In 1776 they named Mr. Smith, at that time a probationer within their bounds, as a proper person to undertake the new school in Prince Edward. Mr. Smith had previously taught in Princeton College. In February, 1775, Mr. Smith was formally chosen Rector of the Prince Edward Academy. Among the Trustees we observe the names of several whose families continue to be among the most distinguished in Virginia. When Mr. Stanhope Smith was elected

* As Dr. Foote mentions the orthography of Dr. Waddel's name, we think it proper to add, that in the autograph of Col. Gordon's Journal, now in our hands, it is written as we here give it, in the great majority of instances, as also in numerous autographs of Dr. Waddel himself, in our possession.

professor in the College of New Jersey, his brother Mr. John Blair Smith, just ordained, was chosen to succeed him. The connexion of these two brothers, both highly gifted, but very unlike, had a remarkable relation to the work of education, as the history of American Colleges will show. The revolutionary reminiscences of the College would be spoiled by any abridgment of ours; they must be read in the very happy collections of our author. The names which occur on every page of the record bring to our memory persons and scenes connected with some of the brightest days of Southern Presbyterianism, in which our honoured fathers were yet more nearly concerned. We rejoice to be able to record that an institution so intimately connected with the progress of our church in Virginia is at this moment in a most flourishing condition.

It ought never to be forgotten by our sons, that from the very beginnings of Presbyterianism in America, our fathers were intent upon leaving a learned ministry and universal education. In this they breathed the spirit of Calvin, Knox and Melvill. They saw no inconsistency between the highest zeal for classical learning and the most arduous labours for the conversion of souls. In the midst of a great revival, such as has never been exceeded among us, for burning affection, large extent and permanent results, the very men who preached with a frequency and fervour that seems hardly credible, were working night and day in forwarding schools and academies, which in several instances grew to be noted colleges. Many of these preachers were far beyond the age in liberality of view; they were good scholars and able writers: in numerous instances they assumed in their own persons the toils of the schoolmaster. In terseness and pungency the letter of Waddel bears comparison with Junius, and his eloquence was justly applauded by Patrick Henry. The Smiths were foremost among the literary men of the day. Graham was not merely a preacher and a president, but a master in metaphysical research. They were in an eminent degree the educators of the time, and thousands now living are reaping the harvets which they sowed. Each of the Smiths was president of two colleges, and their venerable father rendered services little

less valuable in his academy at Pequea. Hence it was, that within our own recollection the colleges of America were to a remarkable extent under the presidentship of Presbyterian ministers; the appellation being taken in its wide and popular meaning. The history of these labours forms a conspicuous part of this book; nor should it fail of its impression on all who are seeking to extend our institutions over the opening territories which invite the mighty emigration of our own period.

In this connexion we ask special consideration for all that relates to the academies here named, and to Washington College, in Rockbridge. The memoir of the Rev. William Graham is worthy of the place it holds. He was truly a great man, and like his companions gave all his energies to the establishment of our church, and the revival of scriptural truth and piety.

It is possible, we think, to urge the total separation of teaching from preaching with a stiffness which is unwarranted by sound principle, and utterly impracticable in the peculiar condition of thin populations and new settlements. Great as are the demands for the gospel, there is a simultaneous demand for schools. This the reformers felt: this was acknowledged in the Presbyterian foundations of Scotland; and this was nobly acted on by our fathers a hundred years ago. Similar situations make the same demands in our new countries. Where the clergy are the best scholars in the land, they must condescend to labour sometimes in teaching, or they must see the people left in ignorance, or they must abandon the work of training the youth to the hands of other sects or of the world. For a century to come, part of our country will need men like Melancthon and Melvill, or their humble, faithful, holy imitators, Finley, Graham, and the Smiths and Tennents. Such men there are, whose labours in the word and doctrine, over and above the tedious bondage of the schools, are far more numerous and fruitful than those of sundry who live as pastors exempt from every such avocation and encumbrance. Liberty Hall, afterwards Washington College, and the Log Colleges, were as essential to the progress which has resulted in our congregations, as the silver trumpets of Davies and Lacy.

The blessing of God crowned those joint labours with a revival of religion which can never be forgotten. Of that revival, these pages contain an ample record.*

Throughout this volume, as in that on North Carolina, there breathes a spirit of American patriotism, which we recognise as belonging to our forefathers. When the struggle for our colonial rights, and afterwards for our National Independence began, it is not too much to say that the Presbyterians, both ministers and people, were united as the heart of one man. Of Tory clergymen and railers against the Congress and the Commander in Chief, our history furnishes no examples. When Greene retreated before Cornwallis, the Presbyterians of the valley were addressed by Mr. Waddel, whose fire was kindled by the knowledge of the ravages committed in his once happy flocks on the Northern neck. After the battle of the Cowpens, when the men of Southern Virginia were flocking to Greene's army, the President of Hampden Sidney College went in person as far as Halifax to join them, and was with difficulty persuaded to return. In 1777, all the students of that College, who were above sixteen years of age, enlisted and marched to Williamsburg; and though most of them were sent home by the Governor, some remained in the army as officers, and others as private soldiers. William Graham commanded a company. John Blair Smith was at one time a captain, before his licensure. Similar facts might be multiplied in respect to Liberty Hall and the Scottish Presbyterians of the valley. How characteristic this was of the same people in Pennsylvania, and how unreservedly and unanimously they threw themselves into the patriotic ranks, has been openly testified by all impartial writers, especially by Mr. William B. Reed, in more than one of his masterly historical productions. This was a favourite topic with the late Mr. Gallatin, who was fond of tracing these traits to the lessons of his native Geneva.

If Dr. Foote had done no more than give us in a permanent form the documents relating to the progress of opinion and

* The late Dr. David Caldwell was a pupil of Mr. Smith's school at Pecquea. The memoir of this venerable servant of God, which was published at Greensborough, N. C., in 1842, by the Rev. Eli W. Caruthers, is a work of valuable contents, to which, however, we never had access until within a few months.

enactment, touching liberty of worship, he would have deserved well of his church and country. In no part of our land has this controversy had a more marked character than in Virginia; the evil and the good having, at different periods, stood out with singular prominency. The eventual settlement of the question on the basis of rational legislation, in conformity with the highest principles of politics which philosophy has yet attained on earth, concurs felicitously with the analogous declaration of civil rights, in which Virginia retains precedence; and connects itself with the names, first of Henry and Madison, and then of the Smiths, Todd and Graham. We claim attention to the fact that Presbyterianism was in the van of this battle. The first Presbyterian, Makemie, in the uncompromising spirit of his forefathers, vindicated and obtained the limited rights which were possible under British acts; in Virginia, in Maryland, and in New York. The greatest of Presbyterian preachers, Samuel Davies, threw down the same gauntlet, and won the same prize, in various courts, before divers magistrates, in the face of the King's officers here, especially of Randolph, and by correspondence and personal application and conference, in England.

That the clergy of the Establishment in Virginia should frown on another church, even though established in part of the United Kingdom, and that they should relinquish their emoluments and prerogatives with an ill grace, is no more than might have been predicted. But they miscalculated the strength of what they called dissent, in the new accessions of population, in the Valley and beyond the Blue Ridge, and could not understand the temper of the men, who more than all others formed by their courage and enterprise the barrier between the older settlements and the Indian frontier, and who were from the beginning of the Revolution Whigs to a man. Several testimonies on this head might be added to what these sketches contain. The scholarlike pen of Mr. Reed, an impartial as well as a fearless witness, records some unwelcome truths, in the Memoir of President Reed; of whom he thus writes:

"Mr. Reed was, it may incidentally be remarked, firmly attached to the Presbyterian church, in which he had been educated. In one of his publications, a few years later, he said

of it, 'When I am convinced of its errors, or ashamed of its characters, I may perhaps change it. Till then, I shall not blush at a connexion with a people, who in this great controversy are not second to any in vigorous exertions and general contributions, and to whom we are so eminently indebted for our deliverance from the thraldom of Great Britain.'"

It was not the Presbyterian clergy, who in New York and New Jersey, became Tories; nor was it one of our eminent men, who in 1776 acted as a guide to Sir Henry Clinton, or contributed clever ribaldry to Rivington's Gazette. The connexion between zeal for civil liberty, zeal for religious rights, which Hume has pointed out, was obvious in the history of Virginia. When the era of colonial subserviency and petty official tyranny gave place to the era of legislation, the whole pile of prescriptive arrogance came down: but it was by successive shocks. The word toleration, about which so many disputes had been waged, was already obsolete. The Bill of Rights, adopted in 1776, declared, "That religion, or the duty we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love and charity towards each other." This is the American doctrine, but it was too high for some of the old politicians, in the first General Assembly at Williamsburg. Their earliest suggestion came, we gratefully record it, from the Presbytery at Hanover: it is given at length. Of this, as of the numerous similar memorials from that judicatory which followed during several years, we may observe that it is not only strong but elegant, closely resembling the state papers of the period, in chasteness and weight of masculine English, and worthy of the body which comprised Waddel, Graham, and the Smiths. If, as we suppose, some of these were draughted by Samuel Stanhope Smith, they are monuments to his skill in reasoning language, from his very youth. The last in order is known to have proceeded from the hand of the Rev. Wm. Graham, and though less terse, it has a ponderous logic and closeness of diction about it which is rare. In the progress

of these debates, Jefferson and Madison rendered great service to the cause of truth: they were stoutly opposed by Pendleton and Nicholas, who stickled for Episcopalian privileges. In the first conflict, much was gained; but it was still declared, that religious assemblies ought to be regulated, and that provision ought to be made for continuing the succession of the clergy, and superintending their conduct. This led to a second memorial, among other things remonstrating against a general assessment for any religious purpose, and very significantly adding: "These consequences are so plain as not to be denied; and they are so entirely subversive of religious liberty, that if they should take place in Virginia, we should be reduced to the melancholy necessity of saying with the Apostles in like case, 'Judge ye whether it be best to obey God or man;' and also of acting as they acted."

There were yet many who held the old European doctrine, still clung to even by Presbyterians in Scotland, that public worship could not survive a separation of Church and State, and the formalities of the ancient State religion were to be preserved. But the question was staved off from year to year, and meanwhile the salaries of the Episcopalian incumbents were suspended. The increasing body of Baptists, who had suffered great persecution, threw their weight for the American and Presbyterian doctrine of liberty. It was not however until 1779, that the established church was deprived of compulsory support, by a repeal of the act for the support of the clergy. They still retained their glebes, and claimed the right of solemnizing marriage. The marriage question was still further disembarrassed by the act of 1780; but something was still needed in order to perfect equality. In 1780 the Presbytery of Hanover, meeting at the house of the Rev. Mr. Waddel, issued a memorial, asking for further liberty. Another memorial, of date May 1784, prepared by Messrs. Smith and Waddel, strongly expresses their regret, that the security of their religious rights, upon equal and impartial ground, instead of being made a fundamental part of the constitution, as it ought to have been, was left to the precarious fate of common legislation. Speaking of the Presbyterians, they say: "Their continuance so long in a republic, without animadver-

sion or correction by the Assembly, affords just ground of alarm and complaint to a people, who feel themselves by the favour of Providence happily free; who are conscious of having deserved as well from the State as those who are most favoured; who have an undoubted right to think themselves as orthodox in opinion upon every subject as others, and whose privileges are as dear to them." In 1784 there was another memorial, against the incorporation of the Episcopalian clergymen as a distinct body, and resisting any such incorporation of any clergymen, "independent of the religious communities to which they belong;" as well as any general assessment for the sustentation of ministers, even though it should include their own. These were the questions which came before the Assembly of 1784. The bill for incorporating the Episcopalian clergy was passed. Equality of rights in regard to marriage was established. When the bill for supporting the ministry came up for discussion, it had the support of Patrick Henry, known as the champion for religious freedom. On its third reading, it was sent out for the opinions of the people. The Presbytery of Hanover was unanimously opposed to the measure. Their memorial, drawn by Mr. Graham, is pregnant with argument, wisdom and resolution. Possibly some of its expressions are less guarded than we might require, as to the protection of our privileges; but it is a great and memorable document, worthy of being laid up in cedar or carved on brass, among the charters of a protesting church.

The Legislature met on the 17th of October, 1785. The chief supporter of the Bill for Religious Freedom was James Madison. The Rev. John Blair Smith, President of Hampden Sidney College, was heard for three days on behalf of the Presbytery. In the committee of the whole, the Assessment Bill had its quietus, and Mr. Jefferson's bill was reported to the house. And on the 17th of December, 1785, an engrossed bill, entitled *An Act for establishing Religious Freedom* passed the house. We do not claim for our Presbyterian fathers the sole agency in achieving this victory; but the chief agency, in originating these opinions in the colony, maintaining them under penalties and in courts of law, and carrying them through by patriotic agitation and invincible argument, we do and will claim, without the fear of contradiction.

The interest of this volume by no means declines as it approaches its close, for there is not a chapter in it which will awaken more deep affections than that which concerns the revival of 1787 and 1788. It is already condensed in its narrative; and any attempt to present it in further abridgment would exclude those personal traits and characteristic extracts, which give it prominence and colour. Though less connected with it than our fathers, we have wandered over its scenes and talked with some of its surviving sons, few of whom now remain. Many a heart will throb at the names of Cary Allen, Lacy, Pattillo, McGready, Hoge, and those we have already mentioned. Of the Rev. Dr. Hill, the Rev. Mr. Calhoon, and a few venerable survivors, we might speak with equal respect. The burying-grounds of our Churches in Philadelphia, by a singular coincidence, hold the remains of three eminent and beloved labourers in this work, John Blair Smith, Drury Lacy, and Moses Hoge. But though the generation which felt that mighty influence has departed, the results of the gracious visitation are abiding to this day, not only in Virginia and North Carolina, but in all the Presbyterianism of the South and South-West, which retains a peculiar character of warmth and tenderness from the impulse then communicated. In this there is great encouragement to pray and labour for such extended successes of the truth, especially in the formative period of our new settlements. The graces of Davies still hover over hundreds of the churches. The theology which he taught, with an eloquence never surpassed in America, is the system which against many and able opponents is established in the hearts and minds of our wide-spread church. The books which were circulated, by dozens or scores, in the great revival, and which are exponents of the doctrines which produced it, are the books which our Board of Publication is diffusing by thousands: such as Alleine's Alarm, Baxter's Call, Boston's Fourfold State, Doddridge's Rise and Progress, Willison on the Catechism, and Dickinson's Letters. The Colleges at Lexington and Prince Edward still remain as fountains of the same truth, and they are still blessed with effusions of the Holy Spirit. In no part of our states is the line of ancient Calvinistic Presbyterianism more unbroken, in none is the harmony of brethren more complete, nowhere are church courts more

frequently sought as places of fervent preaching and delightful communion, than in the regions over which this wave of saving influence poured itself three score years ago. In these, therefore, the volume now introduced to our readers will have early currency and continued favour.

In comparing these Sketches of Virginia with the author's preceding work, we observe a decided improvement, in all that relates to literary ease and correctness. Numerous errors in trifles seem to be owing to the writer's remoteness from the press.* Every chapter gives proofs of extraordinary caution in founding the narrative on unquestionable authorities: these have been collected with great labour, in frequent and toilsome journeys, over many States, not without tedious consultation and transcription, as well as recourse to living witnesses. If the thread of the story is broken by repeated citation of documents, it is not only pardonable but praiseworthy; as many of these are extant no where else in print. Notwithstanding the insertion of long and numerous papers of this kind, the narrative is never diffuse and never wearisome. We should do the respected author an injustice, if we did not add, that every part of the elaborate work is written in the spirit of the soundest evangelical doctrine, and with the filial ardour of a genuine Presbyterian.

ART. III.—*A History of the Hebrew Monarchy from the Administration of Samuel to the Babylonish captivity.* By Francis Newman, D.D., Oxon. London: John Chapman, 142 Strand. New York: George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway. 1849.

Many readers of the Bible will take up this book with the hope and expectation that it will satisfy a want which they have long felt. It might be fairly inferred, from the standing

* One or two errors are such as affect the historical verity. On page 151, the charter of William and Mary should bear date 1692. On page 305, Havana is put for Fluvanna. On page 541, line 19, Mississippi should be read for Alabama; and on page 557, line 18, Parsons for Vanmeter.

of its author, that it would contain a serious attempt, at least, to gather up and arrange and harmonize the facts which now lie scattered through the historical books of the Old Testament; and which on the face of them appear to some conflicting, and to others irreconcilable. Such a work would be a valuable addition to our Biblical literature. Instead of this, however,—while it is the result of extensive reading, and is often acute and plausible in its suppositions, it must be characterized as a deliberate, and to the author himself apparently grateful attempt, to destroy the authority of a large part of Scripture; and if it have any force at all, as grounded upon general principles of criticism, to change throughout the very idea of inspiration.

The history of the book is somewhat interesting, both from its genesis, and from the position of the author. It is avowedly of German origin, and in part at least from the worst of Germany. We do not mention this at all as accounting for its character, but simply to note it, as a sample of the influence which that kind of study may exert upon a certain class of English minds. The author is or was a divine of the Church of England, the brother, we believe, of the Mr. Newman, who not long since went to Rome. The Via Media, like most other ways, has, it seems, two directions, and these diametrically opposite. We may walk in it until it leads us up to the gates, and indeed into the very heart of the Eternal City; or if we start with our faces in the other direction, we may never leave the beaten track, and still come out into the clear, but dreamy wastes of unbelief. It is instructive to observe the workings of different minds, and the apparently opposite results to which they come, when leaving the sure ground, and the only sure ground, of a firm hold upon God's word as the authoritative rule of faith The result, as it is brought out in history, is no more than might have been predicted from the fact that different minds are working under these conditions. It is just such as it always has been, and always must be, when men trust to anything else than the word of God. For after all, tradition, or superstition, as distinguished from reason and scripture, by whatever name it may be called, is but another form of Rationalism. There is a hidden unity in the thousand forms of error, could we trace them back to their source, just as there is in all truth.

They cannot be reduced down to the strict dependence of a logical system, and each one assigned to his peculiar place and sequence; but they wear still common features, the ineffaceable marks of their one descent and common parentage. And thus there is a common origin for the opposite errors, which make tradition or reason the highest authority, and last appeal in matters of faith. It is still the assertion of the individual right to choose what, in such questions, shall lie back of and above the word of God; in one case leading him to submit to the authority of his fellow-men, with its galling bondage; in the other shutting his eyes upon every thing beyond the reach and compass of his own understanding, with its bald and lifeless conclusions. It is but the difference between bowing down and worshipping at the altar of men, and the attempt to deify and then fall down and worship one's self. It is the primal sin of our race, that is, a refusal to credit God's word as the rule of our faith and practice, working itself out into widely different results.

The history of the Jews, differs from the history of other nations in this, that it is interwoven with, and indeed takes its peculiar character and form, from their religion, and as their religion reaches its end in the Christian faith, and involves its truth or falsity, the questions in their history becomes of momentous interest. It is true that the religion of any people must have a marked influence upon its condition, and must therefore be studied in its spirit and forms, before its history can be rightly understood or written. But religion has more to do with the history of the Jews than this. They owed their existence, as a nation, to their religion. Their periods of prosperity and decay were co-extensive with those of the purity or corruption of their faith. Their history ends with the end of their religion; or rather when casting away its bands and forms of separation and support, it expanded itself into the pure and spiritual and universal religion of Christ. In one sense they may be termed a religious people, rather than a nation, for it is this which distinguishes them from other nations and not any civil or social peculiarities, further than these were the fruits and outworkings of their faith. Their history falls, more properly to the ecclesiastical than to the civil historian. It

demands the same character and qualities of mind, the same spiritual insight into the plans of God's government, and the methods in which it is administered, which alone have accomplished any thing of permanent value in the history of the Church. This peculiarity of their history accounts in a great measure for the difficulty which is found in any attempt to form a clear, and connected statement, of the events in their national existence, from the records furnished in the Scriptures. For the religious element is there kept all-important. To bring this out prominently was the main object, for which these historical books were given us. It is never their design to record the outward history of the Jews as a nation. When they speak of the national growth and glory, it is always as the fruit of piety in the people or their rulers; when they record its decay it is as the effect of a general apostacy or flagrant sins. Wars and battles, treaties and leagues, every thing which belongs peculiarly to their political history, and forms a main element in other histories, obtains here only an incidental place; and even this often with an ulterior object which casts back its own shadows, and gives its colouring to the facts. Unless therefore we know the design of these books, and of course their relation to each other, unless we enter in some measure into the spirit of their religion, and start from that point, we shall constantly be liable to misinterpret the facts which they state. The various statement of the same event, and the different connection in which it stands recorded, may appear like contradictions, while the special end of the authors, if it were known and kept in view, would at once shew them consistent. This is only the application of the principle which alone gives any perfectly consistent and harmonious statement to the gospel history; a principle which would go far to explain every difficulty which is met with in the Old Testament history; if we except mere differences in numbers, which no sane and candid man, taking into account the facility with which errors of this kind are made in transcription, would ever urge as a serious objection. It is not intended to press this, as any excuse for apparent inaccuracies of statement or contradiction, these must be explained by special principles applicable to particular cases, but to urge as a general ground underlying this whole field of criticism, the

imperative necessity that the spirit and end for which these books were written should be well ascertained before we are fit to sit in judgment on their facts.

When, therefore, any one attempts to write the Jewish history he enters at once and necessarily upon a religious field. He must deal with momentous truths as well as with facts, truths not merely speculative, but in the highest sense practical, spiritual and in their results reaching on into eternity. The philosophy of his history runs high into the purposes of God. From the sources to which he goes, he must fall in with the fundamental question of revealed religion, that which comes next to the possibility of religion at all—that is, the question of inspiration. It lies in his way, and he cannot avoid it. He may not discuss it; but he must practically decide it.

He must use his authorities as coming to him with the seal of God's truth upon them; or he might use them as the mere word of man. The decision of this question will determine the spirit with which he writes. It is thus with the author of the work before us, and it is this relation which his work bears to the grounds and truths of religion that gives it a special importance. As a mere statement of facts, it is mainly well enough, and when wrong may be set right by a reference to the original records; but in its criticism upon the sources from which those facts are drawn, in its judgments upon the characters and actions which pass before us in the course of his narrative, in its allusions to other portions of the word of God, in its whole theory of the divine economy of the Old Testament, and its relations to the gospel, it is only evil and that continually. It could not well be more ruinous than it is. The author has evidently settled the question of inspiration for himself. He does not hesitate to deal with the scriptures as the writings of men only. The books of Kings and Chronicles are no more than a Jewish Tacitus or Livy. A Thucydides or Herodotus would be far more credible. He stops at no results of his criticism. He does not flinch at any consequences which it may draw with it. There is no shrinking back from the abyss which yawns before him. His own faith, the faith of the church, are cheerfully sacrificed to his pre-conceived opinions and theories. We do not remember to have read a work which

could claim with a better right, the merit of strict consistency; consistency we mean in carrying out his principles without faltering to their result; fearful as it is when thus starting from false assumptions as its premises.

The book of Chronicles is of later origin and priestly in its spirit; therefore the sacerdotal system and especially the Levitical side of it must be of recent growth, the work of ambitious men, little by little working itself as an element, into the constition of the state, and outlasting the power of the king. The image of the brazen serpent was not destroyed until the time of Hezekiah, therefore "the Hebrews were habitual image worshippers," and this too of the worst kind, "as we have no means of learning whether in their worship they fancied they were pleasing Jehovah or not. The serpent is a well known emblem in various pagan superstitions." It was left for Josiah to break down the high places, therefore it was not till this time that idolatry was understood to attach to the use of images, even though Jehovah was the object, and of course all the condemnations of it, in the earlier history are after thoughts inserted to justify the requirements of the clearer knowledge of the later kings. Only one copy of the law was found in the rubbish of the temple, but the extreme improbability that there should be but one copy, and that unknown to the king, justifies, in the opinion of our author, the assertion that the work was partly a forgery of Hilkiah, and answers to what we call the book of Deuteronomy; and partly a collection of the other four books of the Pentateuch, which had previously existed in fragments and comparatively unknown. How well this agrees with the fact that the book of Deuteronomy is the only book quoted by our Saviour in his conflict with the tempter, is of course a matter of consequence. It is true indeed that the latter assertion is defended upon other grounds, but this seems to have called out the theory, the attempted defence follows necessarily, in order to sustain if possible so startling a conclusion. In the breadth of its sweep, as it takes away at once a large part of the Pentateuch, seems to have given the author some trouble; but it is from pure compassion for his English readers, who may be distressed at the assertion, and not at all from any fear or trembling lest he should be trifling with that which "was guaran-

teed to us by God himself." So again, because there were false prophets, therefore it is a fair inference that there was nothing in the character of Hilkiah which would make forgery and falsehood inconsistent. Since it is possible that he might have been a false prophet, it is probable that he was. Because God has chosen to execute partially his judgments upon the idolatrous priests of Baal and their idolatrous supporter, therefore we must conclude that those who were his instruments, were men of ferocious dispositions, who shrunk from no means however cruel and bloody, through which they might gain their ends. The prophets, whose whole lives bear testimony to their purity and goodness, who suffered want and persecution gladly for the truth, must stand out in history with blackened characters (to say nothing of the charge which rests impliedly upon God) because their conduct does not seem to fall in with our author's idea of justice, or rather because, as he believes God has no right to do what he will with his own. We shall see hereafter how this grows out of his principle of criticism. Ambition, or revenge, or state policy seem to be the only motives which find access to his mind as adequate to account for such conduct. He never reaches the conception that it may be, and often is the duty of men, to obey the commands of God, even as the ministers of his justice; that as he often makes us the channel of his mercies, so he may make us the channels of his wrath; that as the angels are ministering spirits to the heirs of salvation, and also the messengers of destruction to those who oppose the purpose of God, so it may be with men; that as the angel of death went on his awful mission through the land of Egypt, so men may not be called, and that consciously, by the same holy Governor and Judge, to execute the purposes of his vengeance. We give these as specimens of the objections and insinuations which come to our notice on almost every page of this work. We cannot however pretend to follow him as he advances in his task. At some of his objections we should be disposed to smile, were it not for the moral state in which they have their spring and source; while others break upon our ears like the harsh sounds of blasphemy, and we feel it difficult to restrain our indignation. There are many things which must shock every one, who has not in some way become ac-

quainted with the reckless spirit in which this modern criticism has been prosecuted, when in the hands of unbelievers. A special refutation of these objections would be impossible of course, within the compass of an article like this; and it might not be worth while to attempt it, even if it were possible, for the best refutation after all would be the careful and reverential study of the books themselves, with the aids which most intelligent readers now possess. It is rather the principle and spirit of the book, taken as a specimen of those which we may look for in the course of a few years, (for our author intimates that this is but the beginning of the end,) to which we wish to call the reader's attention.

There is, however, a preliminary point upon which we shall offer a remark. It is that these works come mainly from the professed friends of religion, and from those who are bound officially to defend its claims. It is perhaps a characteristic of the unbelief of this age, that it hides itself in the church. It clothes itself as an angel of light, and conceals its deformities under scriptural forms of expression and an earnest attachment to a purely scriptural religion. Hitherto the opposers of the Bible have for the most part been manly and open in their opposition. Its friends have known where to find them. It was thus with the Deists and infidels of the last century. There was too much honour and common fairness in the English mind to avail itself of the arts of the assassin, who gives the most deadly blow while greeting you with the warmest friendship. It was left for others to devise and act upon the distinction between an exoteric and esoteric faith. This is the fair growth of German infidelity. It required the ingenuity and depth of a Strauss to shew the honesty and consistency of preaching the gospel, or professing to preach it, and yet denying him who is its source and sum The presence of such a man in the assemblies of the church, reminds us of a similar assembly of which we are told in the first chapter of Job. But the disease has spread, and with us as in Germany we fear that opposers of the gospel are found in the bosom of the church, and ministering at her very altars. There is always, as of old, the same pretence of a strong love for spiritual christianity. The same plea for freedom of thought and investigation, the same complaint against symbols and creeds and the subscriptions which the church has

ever required of her teachers. There is something fearful in all this. It seems as if the church herself were drifting away from her moorings, and already far out upon the sea of unbelief; as if the very pillar and ground of the truth were shaking beneath us, from the perpetual heavings of an unbelieving world. As in every age, there have arisen peculiar forms of opposition to her progress, and she has been called to defend first one and then another fortress of the faith against the assaults from the world without; so in every age, there have been peculiar forms of strife within herself. It has ever been Satan's master policy to turn the church against herself, both individually and collectively. He makes the heart of a believer her worst foe. All the severer conflicts of his spiritual life are fought out and decided here. He has long had the parts of the church, the members of that one living body of which Christ is the head, warring against each other; frightful gashes and scars are upon every member; her voice as it "sounds to us through ages," has been sometimes the cry of battle, and at others the wail and lamentation over her bleeding body and wasted energies. The world has looked on with secret exultation, and refused to credit what the church was to proclaim and witness, that Christ came from the Father, and came into the world. Christ from his throne in glory has watched her strifes, and in the midst of them all, to the confusion of her adversary and when his scheme seemed most likely to prove successful, has appeared for her deliverance, healed her wounds and refreshed her exhausted strength; and more than this, he has out of all wrought clearer views of truth, a fuller comprehension of the cardinal points in her faith, and thus laid the ground, for the fulfilment of his last prayer, in a higher and more abiding unity.

But now we have a new device; it is not so much the members striving against each other, as a part of them covertly joining with her enemies, and entering cordially into their plans and labours. From her very bosom, there have come forth vipers, who would pierce her very vitals, were not their fangs made harmless and their eyes blinded with the excess of their rage. They strike quickly, and with deadly intent and force, but their blows fall frequently upon themselves. It is no security however, against their influence, that the very intensity of their malice is thus overruled and made to frustrate their design.

Nor is this device of Satan likely to confine itself to any one land. It has accomplished too much for his ends for him to abandon it now. It is not in Germany alone that infidelity cloaks itself in the church, and from her altars, peers, with its sightless eyes, out into the darkness which it has created. For the tendency out of which her unbelief has grown is not peculiar to the Germans. It has its ground not in the mental habitude of a nation, but in that of the race. It lies deep in the nature of us all, and we do but deceive ourselves, if we trust to any thing which distinguishes us from them, as that which shall stem the tide coming in with its might upon us. It is true that the strong practical cast of the English mind may prevent in some degree the fearful ruins which we witness there; but unless our confidence rests upon something stronger than this, it will surely be swept away, and we too may be left to mourn over deserted pulpits, or what is far worse, over pulpits filled with men who preach any thing but Christ. This is not a bare conjecture. We can feel too well the beating of the church's pulse to doubt its significance. There is a feeble and unsteady hold upon the truth. There is a spreading theory of inspiration which permits the word of God to be held subject, in some respects, to the revelations of modern science, and the results of what is termed philosophical criticism, and a tendency to reconcile these where they may apparently differ, not by waiting until science shall become perfect, and by consequence perfectly consistent in its results with faith, but by a ready sacrifice of Scripture. There is a wide spread laxity of doctrinal belief which betokens any thing but good, and which discovers itself by sure signs to those who can see. When the truths of the trinity and atonement, the most fundamental in the gospel, can be called in question and submitted to a process of explanation which empties them of all life and power, by those who minister in the church, and enjoy the fellowship of ecclesiastical assemblies, it requires no peculiar perspicuity to see that there is a prevalent false liberality of sentiment, a breaking down and a breaking over the old forms of truth and the truth itself, among those whose office it is to teach. In the reach after charity, errors are made of little account. A fatal error obtains in too many minds, that because we are bound by every Christian feeling, to the exercise of charity toward those who may

differ from us in opinion; that therefore we are to cherish a charity which will compass in its embrace all opinions, from Popery to Unitarianism; that we must make a creed wide enough and loose enough to cover all forms of doctrines, because charity requires us to love the men who hold them. The lesson is needed with us that the largest charity, and the only thing which deserves the name, is strictly consistent with the firmest hold upon the truth, and that even as to its form, so far as those who teach is concerned. For if the gospel is any thing, it is truth as well as life, and the holding of that truth, with the most unyielding tenacity—provided we do not judge those who differ from us—cannot be incongruous with the spirit which it breathes; that spirit of love which sums it up, and which had its brightest example in him, whose lips dropped love, and who yet spake with the utmost distinctness and frequency, the truths which are now so unpalatable to men; who ever in his teachings mingled the sternness of inflexible truth, with the most boundless charity. Nor is this mistaken notion of charity all. Men are growing restless under the restraints of the church and her creeds. Some are ready to disown these altogether as the marks of narrow-mindedness and bigotry; the last hold and refuge of a lifeless orthodoxy. They would cast them away, as the shackles and unyielding forces, which have cramped and moulded the workings of a free mind, as bars to the progress of all enquiry and research, an effectual obstacle to the growth of spiritual Christianity. There is something deeply significant in all this, something which may remind some of our readers of the first steps in that course which Semler took in Germany.

But what concerns us most here is, that there is a plain reason for this anomaly of a ministry holding its position in the church, and yet actively opposing her faith and progress; a reason which is in itself a warning and a cause of trembling to those who may think their feet stand firm. A man may hold a merely speculative truth, though he may not know it to be true by any experience of his own; and yet after years have passed away, his faith may be as strong and as well-grounded as when he first professed to receive it. But it is not so with moral and religious truth. A man who professes to receive the Bible, and is not conscious, to some considerable degree, of its

power in his own experience, runs great danger, if he be an intelligent and reflecting man, of becoming an unbeliever. For as there is no evidence so convincing to the believer as that which grows up from his own experience of the truth, upon which he can say with the highest certainty, I know in what I have believed; so there is nothing which leads more directly to unbelief, than the want of that experience, while he still assents to, and even cherishes an outward faith in the truth which should produce it. There is more here than the influence of our moral character upon our convictions. The case is different with those who make no profession. They may stand aloof from the consideration of this question altogether, and look upon the experiment as it is tried in the hearts and lives of others with the interest of a mere spectator. If they have no evidence in themselves for its truth, they have none against it. If they have never felt its power, they know that they have never given it a fair trial. Years may roll over them, and their relation to the truth remains unaltered, so far as their experience is concerned. There is no greater obstacle in their hearts to the reception of the truth than before, if we except the natural growth of every unrenewed heart in sin. They have never felt themselves called upon to decide it, and if they have, it has been as a speculative and not a practical question. But when a man professes to hold a truth so practical, which proposes to change his whole heart and life, and at the same time is conscious of no corresponding effect, his mind is thrown into opposition to itself. A practical question arises at once out of this inconsistency, and he must either own his profession insincere, or deny that the Bible is what it claims to be. And as there lies in every one a predisposition to reject the Scriptures, the probability is, (and indeed the certainty, were there no influences at work upon us out of ourselves,) that the constantly increasing power of this want of conformity between his profession and his life, would lead him to the latter side of the alternative. He must have relief in same way from this flagrant inconsistency, (for men cannot long consciously be hyprocrites,) and unless he find it, in a cordial submission to the truth, and a perceptible moulding of his life under its influence, he will find it, and must find it, in casting away his profession. Nothing less than this, if he is awake and thought-

ful, can relieve the difficulty. Nothing less than this will set him at one with himself. It is true indeed that some may avoid this question, or rather smother it, and find relief in ritual observances, by changing the Bible from a revelation of living and divine truths, to a mere ceremonial code. But the result here is still practically the same. For mere formalism is little better than open unbelief, and may be regarded as such. And those who are sincere in their observances, are either practising upon themselves a vast deception, through which they suppose that the whole power of the Bible, the end for which God has made a revelation, was to lay down and enforce a round of rites; or in the midst of their formalism, the truth has come to them in its real power, and they have the seal and witness of it on their hearts. And this brings them upon one or the other side of the alternative stated above.

Now, just in proportion as any one finds this inconsistency between his life and what it should be, if the truth he held exerted its legitimate effects, will the spirit of unbelief, which exists in every one of us, and which makes us conscious of its power, have the advantage over him. There are no doubts so fearful and almost overpowering to any one conscious of this short coming, as those which arise when he compares his life with the truth upon which he professes to form it. Compared with these all the arguments against the Scriptures, which skeptical ingenuity can devise, are comparatively powerless, mere withs of tow. He may silence them indeed by falling down, and confessing that the fault lies in his own evil heart; but this supposes that he has already known or knows in his present experience, the truth of the scripture doctrine of sin. The only other way is avowed unbelief, which silences them by yielding to their clamorous demands. A mind in this state would naturally resort to just those means, which we see in the cases around us, (and which appal us even in the distance,) have been resorted to. There would naturally be an attempt to invalidate its authority; for it would be no relief to deny the power of the truth, and yet admit that it came from God. There must be an attempt to justify this denial, by proving it an imposture. The first step would be to invalidate its evidences; then if this should fail, to impeach its histories and

facts; then to deny and explain away its mysteries; and then to turn the whole into a beautiful allegory or fable. And this must be the case, wherever there is an enlightened and thoughtful, but not a spiritually minded ministry; wherever the form is held without the power; wherever truth is professed, while the life is contrary to its spirit. This might be shown by an historical induction, so far as questions which concern the inward experiences of men admit of being argued on historical grounds; but our limits here forbid.

We proceed to mention some of those particulars, which characterise this unbelieving criticism, which betray its spirit, and upon which it may be met, rather than by a laborious refutation of its special objections.

It sets out with the assertion that the Bible must be approached and treated as a book of human origin; that its authors must be judged of, as we judge of living authors, as subject to the same biases, prejudices and errors. It is stated in the work before us as follows.

"In criticising we have no choice but to proceed by those laws of thought and reasoning, which in all the sciences have now received currency. We advance from the known to the unknown. We assume that human nature is like itself, and interpret the men of early ages, by our more intimate knowledge of contemporary and recent times; yet making allowance for the difference of circumstances. Much more do we believe that God is like himself; and that whatever are his moral attributes now, and his consequent judgment of human conduct; such were they then and all times. Nor ought we to question that the relation between the divine and the human mind are still substantially the same as ever."

As thus presented there seems at first view little that can be objected to; and yet under this plausible exterior, there lies sufficient error, in its application, to sweep away a large part of the Scriptures. One of the first lessons they teach us, is to distrust their forms of expression, to gather their principles of criticism, from their application in the progress of the work, rather than from any statement of them, which they may make. It is no doubt true that as the authors of the Scriptures make use of the instrument of human language, they must be interpreted

by the same general rules, as the works of other men using this instrument. The principles of philosophy, grammar and logic, must be applied here as well as elsewhere; or we cannot take the first step towards any apprehension of their meaning. The mind must work under certain conditions and in certain fixed formulas or methods in all its reasonings, and if it work upon the Bible at all, it must work here, as upon all other subjects. But granting all this, we are not therefore prepared to admit the broad principle, as it is laid down and understood by those who avail themselves of it in their investigations, that the methods of modern science in its application to criticism can be applied without any limitations to the criticism of the Bible. It is neither fair nor safe to say, that, unless the same methods are strictly adhered to in the criticism of the Scriptures, as in mere human writings, the conclusions to which we arrive in our interpretations are unreliable. If it is safe to reason from what has taken place in nature, to what under like circumstances, will take place, it is not therefore safe to infer that men will act just as they have acted, or that the dealings of God with them will always appear the same. Neither does it follow, that because, so far as we have known men, they are subject to bias and liable to error in their statements of facts and truth, that therefore the authors of the Bible were liable to a similar bias and error. For although the Bible is the work of man, it also claims to be the work of God. If it has a human side, it has also a divine side, and comes to us with a presumption that it differs essentially from human writings. If indeed, there were men among us, who wrote under the same influences as the authors of the Scriptures, and we had formed our rules of criticism upon their works; then we might safely proceed from the known to the unknown, judge of their writings by those of recent times, and apply to their interpretation the principles which we had found sufficient to explain the writings of contemporaneous authors. But until this shall be the case, we cannot bring the two classes of works under entirely the same methods of criticism. There will remain an element so distinct and so peculiar to the Scriptures, that we cannot pass from our writings to theirs, in our reasonings; without involving a fallacy which vitiates our conclusions. We are not justified,

even prior to any examination of their subject-matter, in predicting the same things precisely of them, which we do of all merely human books. And if modern science has taught us any one thing with distinctness, it is that we should use the extremest modesty and caution in forming our generalizations; that we should confine them strictly to the class of things, or fields of truth, in which our observations have been made, and check at once all inferences from one thing to another which differ in kind, or have elements peculiar to themselves; and this even when we have no more than a suspicion that such a peculiar element exists in either. And it does not seem too much to insist upon the same scrupulous caution, in our reasonings upon matters which decide our destinies, and compared with which all questions of mere science are lost in insignificance. But if this principle be true, in the broad sense in which it is claimed, we are at liberty with all confidence, to pass at once in our inferences and generalizations from man to God, and from the forms of our thinking to the forms in which he thinks. And as this principle is neither safe nor reasonable, so in fact those who have gone upon it in their criticism, have never thrown much light upon the Bible. They are perpetually at variance with themselves, and to be consistent with their own theory, are driven to the most violent assumptions, which rob the Scripture of its richest meaning, and pervert its sense. Were there no other argument against this claim, the mere fruit of its workings, the vast amount of evil which has grown out of its unrestricted use, must convince any one that it needs to be limited, in order to be safe, and in order to produce any very beneficial result.

We cannot therefore criticize the scriptures altogether as we criticize other writings; and the very claim of inspiration, a claim which has all the presumption in its favour, growing out of the fact that it has been generally admitted from the time of their origin to the present, places them all at once out of the category of human works, and requires that so far as we may safely apply the ordinary laws of criticism, it should be done with a very different spirit than if they made no such claim. We do not mean of course that the question of their inspiration must be settled before all criticism; for the two processes must

intermingle and in a large measure be carried on together; the one grows up and decides itself in the prosecution of the other. But what we do mean is, that the claim that they are the very words of God, and the possibility that this claim may be true, ought to strike every one with a sacred awe, who ventures upon critical inquiry; that the work should be undertaken with a seriousness which would never permit him to trifle with hopes dearer to multitudes than their lives, and with a purpose to explain and vindicate where that was possible, rather than to find fault or search for objections. Such a spirit would lead to widely different results from those before us.

Again, as the Bible is a spiritual book, it demands as a prerequisite to any just appreciation of it, a peculiar moral and spiritual culture. A bad man stands scarcely any chance of reaching the full truth. For even if he should sincerely strive after it, as an intellectual exercise, his views must necessarily be warped and modified by his own internal state. We make ourselves, after all, however unfair it may be, the standard of our own judgments. This influence of our moral character upon our speculative judgments, though not easily defined is still freely admitted by most. Those who have made the effort know that as they become better men, in that proportion their views of moral and religious truth are clearer. And this again places the Bible upon other grounds, than the mass of human books, as to the requisitions it makes upon those who investigate or interpret it. It is true that this does not apply with so much force to the historical parts of Scripture; yet as history and doctrine, are so constantly interwoven in the Old Testament as well as in the New, we may not omit it here.

Closely connected with this, and yet distinct from it is the fact that the human and divine elements in the Scriptures so interpenetrate each other, that we cannot bring the one under the processes of our criticism, without at the same time sitting in judgment upon the other.

Now although this does not in any measure exempt the Bible from a free and fair criticism; although it does not at all conflict with the most searching investigations; yet it does clearly and strongly demand something in the purpose and spirit of those who carry on these processes, very different from that

which is demanded for the fair criticism of the works of men. While therefore it is true that we must follow the same law of thought in our investigation of Scripture, which we use in the investigation of other works; yet this is not true as it is understood and applied, by this unbelieving criticism; it is not true without the limitations which naturally arise from the distinctive divine element, claimed to enter into the constitution of the Bible, from the peculiarity of its structure and from the nature of the truth which it contains.

There is another concealed error in this principle as stated above, founded upon the assumed fact, that the dealings of God with men are always the same, and that the relations which exist between men are likewise unchangeable. This is by no means the case. God is indeed unchangeable, but in his works as they are seen by us there are changes. The same unchanging principles of justice and mercy are the habitation of his throne; yet as they work themselves out in the course of his providence, in the history of individuals and of nations, they appear widely different. In one case the one is visibly prominent, and in another the other. His purpose is one and absolute and yet under that unity of purpose there are a thousand diversities of operations. Nor is there any inconsistency in this. In God himself all these apparent changes are resolved into his one eternal immutable counsel, and could we trace them back to their origin, they would appear to us, as they are in fact, perfectly consistent and harmonious. It is through this endless variety that he ever brings out a real and substantial unity. It is thus that he works in nature, and we ought to expect that he would work thus in providence. We may as well demand that the mountains should be cut into squares or pyramids, or that every shore should be turned into an unvarying bank of sand, as to demand that there should be no diversities or apparent changes in the administration of his government. The one is no more inconsistent with the truth that "God is always like himself" than the other. There is no difference as to his absolute immutability, between his natural and moral attributes. Because as we see his works they are ordinarily marked with mercy and grace, it is not inconsistent with his immutable counsel, that he should at other times mani-

fest himself in wrath and justice. He may sweep away the world with a devouring flood, and he may spare it long to receive the influences of his grace, and yet be without variableness or shadow of turning. He may smite the first-born of Egypt, filling the whole land with mourning and death, and yet be the same who sent Joseph to preserve it from death. He may call Abraham to sacrifice his own son, and yet be the God who calls to him from the heavens, "Lay not thine hand upon the lad." And so he may commission a Saul to smite and extinguish the Amalekites; an Elijah to call down vengeance upon the prophets of Baal; a Jehu to destroy the idolatrous Jezebel, and still remain the Lord God gracious and merciful. Otherwise how could there be that mingled work of mercy and judgment carried on, which every thing within us, our sense of justice, our guilty consciences, and our reason teach us to expect from a holy God, toward a world fallen, apostate and buried in sin.

Nor is it any more true that the relations of the human and divine mind are always the same. If we admit the idea at all, that God works in and upon his creatures, that the human and divine mind can have any communion or communication with each other; then it is natural to suppose, judging from what we know of God's dispensations towards men in other cases, that it would not always be the same here. As to their moral characters, men must stand in substantially the same relations to God; but as the organs by which he makes known his will, as the instruments in carrying out his purposes in the world, and as to the methods by which they may become conscious that he thus calls them, they may and do stand in very different relations to him. Unless we admit this we shall find ourselves, whenever we open the Bible, in a world of perplexities and strange anomalies. We meet with the record of deeds and actions which cannot be explained by the motives which ordinarily govern men; which cannot be explained as consistent with the characters of those who perform them; but which are perfectly consistent when we regard the agent as acting under the special influence and discretion of God; an influence declared by the narrative to be peculiar, but which this theory of the unvarying relation must deny. It is no sufficient explanation, for exam-

ple, of Samuel's conduct in the slaying of Agag, to say that he was jealous of Saul's alliance with foreign monarchs. It is in direct opposition to the whole of Samuel's character, as portrayed in the narrative, that such a deed should have been committed by him or commanded to be done, except under the supposition that he was thus directed to do by God, who, for purposes known to himself, had determined the destruction of the Amalekites, and chose the king of Israel as his instrument. It is no adequate reason to assign for the destruction of the descendants of Saul, when the kingly power of David was at its height, that it was jealousy of the remaining power of the former royal house. There is no evidence in the history that there was any popular attachment to the members of that family. Everything appears to the contrary. The whole previous treatment of the house by David lies against such a supposition. We are driven therefore to the conclusion, which is perfectly apparent in the account itself, that he felt himself in a peculiar relation to God as the executioner of his just judgments, upon the wicked members of a wicked race. We might bring other instances of this kind in the lives of the best kings and prophets, which are inexplicable on the supposition that they were subject only to the motives which ordinarily govern men, or if we deny the special interference of God by which he selected them as the agents of his purpose and righteous retribution. For it is always to be remembered, that in the requiring and authorizing such actions on the part of those whom he selects, God acts not purely as a sovereign (as our author seems to suppose,) but as a judge. And though he should appear sovereign to us, in those cases in which we cannot trace out the reasons of the judgment, it still proceeds in the mysterious depths of his own decree upon the grounds of justice. There are cases of an entirely different kind occurring throughout the period before us, which require the intervention of a special influence on the part of God to their harmonious explanation, to which we might fairly appeal, as proving that the relations of the divine and human mind are not always the same. But it is too clear to require any further illustration. The fundamental principle therefore of this criticism, without faith; that the Bible must be approached as a human book, and its investigation carried on by the application

of general rules of thought, though true in part, and safe in the hands of a spiritual and reverential man, is not true as these men apply it. And it follows clearly enough, that if this be so, the special objections and errors which spring from its application are likewise groundless and false.

A second point, which is fatal to this criticism, is that it does not seek truth as its end, and of course its theories or processes are not likely to be true. It carries upon its face indeed a deep and earnest love for the truth. Its very object, if we allow it to judge itself, is to save us from those doubts which arise out of the difficulties in Scripture; to remove the stains which it assumes to lie upon the pure and spotless character of God; to harmonize conflicting statements; to explain away the misinterpretations and glosses which in the course of ages have found a lodgement in the Bible. Its labour is professedly one of love. But some might prefer to be left in the gloom of doubt, and where they could not understand, still walk by faith and wait for the light hereafter, rather than be thrust forth into the utter darkness of unbelief, or where the light which shines around us, is but the last flickerings of a faith consumed, or the glare of the fires which have consumed it. It is not of course the part of any one to sit in judgment upon the motives of such writers. We would be unwilling to doubt their sincerity, except so far as the doubt is forced upon us by the course which they pursue. There may be many who are seeking the light with an honest purpose; who do not believe because they do not see sufficient evidence to convince; who find it hard to free themselves from the assertions and ideas of a false philosophy; whose doubts claim our respect, although it does not concern us the less to be on our guard against them. But there are some, who do not appear to be thus driven on to their ungracious work; to whom it seems not a necessity but a delight to unsettle if possible the faith of the Church; whose whole course compels us to believe, even in the exercise of the largest charity, that levity and malice mingle in their motives; who manifestly as far as actions can manifest motives, hate the truth; and who only profess an attachment to it, that they may injure it the more fatally and if possible destroy it.

To every well disposed mind, there is a solemnity attaching it-

self to all processes of investigation which have the truth for their end. Even where the results hoped for do not concern us practically as religious beings, there is still something about the truth itself which imparts a sacredness to all such investigations and forbids us to trifle while we study. No light-minded man, no one who allows any other end than the truth itself, to become his object, much less any one who disregards the truth or despises it, ever took a step in the progress of science. In a far higher degree is this true, when the line of our studies leads to those subjects which concern the destinies of our race and of ourselves. These problems reaching far over into eternity, which suggest themselves to every reflecting man, even aside from any revelation, and often force themselves upon his attention, and demand a solution, must ever rise into a majesty and grandeur, which commands the reverence of every spirit which ponders them. No one, it might seem, could trifle where he felt himself to be deeply concerned; and no one can fail to feel, or shake off the feeling at his pleasure, that he is concerned with problems like these. From the very condition of our nature, they take a hold upon us which we cannot escape. We cannot turn away from our own souls at will the seal and signature of our divine origin, and the end for which we were made. Reason teaches us, our nature compels us to believe that there is an awful truth somewhere in those questions, upon which the Scriptures profess to give us light, and we justly expect and require that those who treat of them should do it with an earnestness commensurate with their importance. We need not open the Scriptures to justify such a demand. It is an all sufficient reason that they speak of questions, which correspond to every man's wants, of man's relation to God, of the possibility of communion with him, and the methods by which we may now secure and maintain it, and of the world hereafter. No one who has reflected upon his condition and character; who has felt the painful conflicts and contradictions of his own nature, the earnest of his spirit, and yet felt that there was a truth lying beyond the reach of his own powers, which could explain the anomalies of the earth, and the conflicts of his own soul, and give him certain ground upon which to rest, needs any thing further to make him earnest and reverential in his enquiries, or to justify him in making the same demand upon

those who search and enquire for him. Under an influence like this, which a sincere love for the truth always imparts; there will appear a manifest effort to save rather than to destroy; difficulties will be forced upon the wise, not sought for or created; grounds upon which apparent contradictions may be reconciled will be brought out to the light, not concealed, and it will be confessed sometimes, that there is a propriety in waiting and believing, when we cannot perfectly explain. It would be scarcely possible for such a mind to array itself in opposition to the Scriptures. It would be a painful process by which open unbelief should be forced upon the soul. All along the path of these enquiries, light would arise and truth appear in her harmony and beauty. For it is true here, as in all other lines of study, that they who seek with the whole heart, and they alone, shall find. Truth does not reveal herself, or unveil her hidden glory, to those who have no earnest longing for her. It is given only to those who by patient continuance in search attain it, to stand upon the heights, and look over the broad fields and tracts, hitherto concealed from their view. The law that we shall reach results only by labour, and labour in the right spirit, holds in this as in all the departments of God's word. And if we violate that law in fact or intention, we necessarily reap disappointment for ourselves. Nor is it out of the analogy of God's requirements, nor inconsistent with the utmost impartiality to demand that all investigations should be prosecuted with a spirit thus conservative of the truth; and that consciously and purposely. To some indeed—in a world where truth at best is not intuitive, and does not force itself upon our convictions whether we choose to receive it or not, the maintaining of such a spirit, and a life of earnest search for the truth corresponding to it; may be (as Bishop Butler supposes) a large part of their discipline or trial. At all events, indifference to the truth, much less a secretly cherished opposition to it, is not impartiality. In hearts naturally prone to unbelief it is very far removed from it. As it concerns religious truth, it cannot exist at all. We must be for it or against it. The only other ground is absolute stupidity, and even that is a kind of lifeless opposition. When therefore it is professed it is consciously or unconsciously a mask for hatred. All investigations starting from such impartiality end in open opposition. The spirit of this

modern criticism has nothing of this love of truth. In the most charitable judgment it cannot even stand upon the assumed ground of indifference. The painful conviction forced upon us is that such inquiries labour only to destroy; that the restraints which religion imposes are odious, and the only way to escape from them is to loosen its hold upon the minds of men. It betrays throughout this desire to unsettle the foundations of all religious faith. There is a total want of the reverence which as we have seen, ever accompanies a truth-loving spirit, and which cannot be dispensed with in any Biblical investigation. Its strictures upon the characters and narratives and doctrines are reckless beyond belief. Its conjectures are purely arbitrary without the least evidence to support them, and oftentimes against the clearest evidence to the contrary. It deals with the books of Scripture, as no man would venture to do with the classics, who had the least regard for his reputation for learning or fairness. The strongest marks of unity, both in style and thought, are disregarded, and books which have come down to us as one, under the most unvarying tradition, and with the sanction of a well ascertained antiquity, are rent asunder, and the dismembered parts assigned to different authors, and at far distant intervals of time. No testimony however uniform has any weight against these conjectures. Every difficulty is held to be sufficient evidence either of ignorance or prejudice or deliberate fraud. Such criticism has no reference or regard even for any thing which has been done in the past. It proceeds as though nothing had yet been gained in the progress of theological learning or science, towards a consistent explanation. Old objections which have been answered a thousand times from the days of Celsus onward, are gathered up and repeated anew with all the assurance of fresh discoveries. Nor has it any faith in the future. The idea or the possibility that there may still be discoveries made, and new light gained in the progress of a patient criticism, that what appears dark to us, may be clear to the generations which come after us, never dawns upon their minds. So far as they are concerned, the world might have as well begun and ended with themselves. It is blind with looking at itself. It cuts itself off from all fellowship with those who have gone before, or those who may still come after them. It deals with the past only to rake among its rub-

bish for something upon which to support its own pretensions. It looks to the future only as the scene where its work shall be complete, and it can stand amidst the desolation it has made and glory over the shattered and broken fragments of a prostrate faith. Already we hear its shouts of exultation. It has not a single mark of those who are searching for the truth with honest hearts, and of course its vaunted conclusions are not only unreliable, but unworthy of serious regard.

A third remark is that so far as the criticism of the Old Testament is concerned, these writers take no notice of the results which have been reached in the criticism of the New. The Bible comes to us as a whole. The Old and New Testaments are the complements of each other. They cannot be rightly understood unless they are thus viewed. We must fall in with the manifest design of God's plan, and look forwards with the Jew and look backwards with the Christian church, or we shall fail to comprehend either its doctrines or its history. For as the ceremonies of the Jewish church, were but the types of Christian truth, and are only rightly understood when thus interpreted, so it is true that the history of the Jews has its significance in its relations to the Christian church. In its relations to the nations around, and to the truth of God entrusted to it, it pointed forward to the time when it should give way to the spiritual church, which should in a far higher sense and on a grander scale, sustain the same relations. At the same time, it was an example of the modes in which God carries on the world, in its relations to the church, to the accomplishment of his designs. It is vain therefore to attempt a separation of these in the processes of our criticism. There are doubtless some things recorded for the church then existing, which have answered their immediate purpose and are less important to us, and which can be best understood in the records which contain their fulfilment.

As it concerns the question of the genuineness of the historical books of the Old Testament, with which the work before us mainly deals, it is very much decided by the decision of the question as to the genuineness and authenticity of the New. The latter must in the order of things come up for determination first. It is nearer to us. There are contemporary

historians who may confirm or refute its statements. All the conditions to a fair settlement of an historical question are at hand; whereas the other can be determined only from an examination of the books themselves. They relate mainly to a period of time of which we have no contemporary history. It is therefore a much more difficult question to solve. But the decision of the one includes the other. The books are inseparable, and must stand or fall together. The New refers to the Old as containing a true history. It makes use of its facts; it refers to its actors and events; it borrows its genealogies; it adopts the same chronology; and unless therefore it can be shown that the writers of the New quote fables as history, we must believe that the authors of the Old were reliable and authentic. This presumption is greatly strengthened by the manner in which the Old Testament is quoted by the New, as the Scripture, including all the present canon, under the three-fold division which had long been recognised among the Jews. Coming now with this presumption in their favour, we find nothing, on an examination of their records, in their style or spirit, which casts discredit upon their genuineness and authenticity; nothing which forbids their being held as a part of that truth which God has guaranteed to us by his own witness and seal; which is profitable for doctrine, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, and which is able through faith to make men wise unto salvation. There are doubtless some inaccuracies in figures, some verbal contradictions, which have crept into the text, in its descent through a long succession of ages, and almost numberless transcriptions. Most of these will no doubt disappear in the progress of further criticism; and should they remain as they now are, they could never be fairly urged as an impeachment of their veracity, or even seriously trouble the faith of an intelligent believer. And there is evidence enough in their essential agreement with each other, in the use of credible sources, and in the scrupulous care with which they have been guarded by the Jews, to confirm and place beyond cavil, this result of the study of the narrative. A full enumeration of the objections would show how trifling and arbitrary most of them are. Indeed it requires the diseased vision of this morbidly sensitive

criticism to discover them at all. But we have not the space for such a catalogue, and it would not be necessary to form one if we had. The book will work out its own remedy. It may at first shock the reader who has not become accustomed to the most irreverent use of Scripture; but in its progress it becomes so sweeping in its assertions, so reckless in its spirit, and so bold in its assurance, that his fears will give way to indignation, and this in turn to wonder and contempt.

Art. III.—1. *Ancient Egypt, her testimony to the truth of the Bible. Being an interpretation of the inscriptions and pictures which remain upon her tombs and temples; illustrated by very numerous engravings and coloured plates.* By Wm. Osburn, Junior, Member of the Council of the Royal Society of Literature. London; Bagster & Sons, Paternoster Row. 1846, pp. 242, 8vo.

2. *The Monuments of Egypt; or, Egypt a Witness for the Bible.* By Francis L. Hawks, D. D., LL. D. With Notes of a Voyage up the Nile; By an American. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 155 Broadway. London: John Murray. 1850, pp. 412, 8vo.

3. *Egypt and the Books of Moses; or, The Books of Moses illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt: With an Appendix.* By Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg, Professor of Theol. at Berlin. From the German, by R. D. C. Robbins, Abbot Resident, Theol. Sem., Andover. New York: Robt. Carter & Brothers. 1850, pp. 300, 12mo.

4. *Nineveh and its Remains; with an account of a visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or Devil-worshippers; and an inquiry into the manners and arts of the ancient Assyrians.* By Austen Henry Layard, Esq., D. C. L. New York: George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway. 1840, 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 326 and 373.

We have grouped together the works that stand at the head of this article, not merely on account of their nearly contem-

poraneous publication and their interesting contents, but chiefly on account of a certain connexion between the subjects of which they treat.

Egypt and Assyria were the oldest and most magnificent of the early nations. Of the first we have obtained remarkably copious and minute information. To our stock of knowledge Mr. Gliddon has greatly contributed; and his zeal, his lectures, his pamphlets, his beautiful panorama, and his extensive pictorial apparatus, have awakened a wide-spread interest in the antiquities of Egypt.

The work of Hengstenberg is intended as a complete thesaurus for the student and antiquary, a sort of modern Witsius's Ægyptiaca. It displays characteristic erudition and research.

Osburn's work has not been reprinted in the United States. It is a beautiful specimen of typography, and its brilliantly coloured plates give a vivid idea of the costumes, furniture, and other objects which they are intended to represent. The author's purpose was to furnish a coup d'œil of the evidence afforded from the inscriptions on the tombs and temples of ancient Egypt in favour of the Scriptures. The proofs are every where apparent of a thorough exploration and an accurate scholarship, although some of his conjectures may be considered rather fanciful.

Dr. Hawks has the same object in view, and has largely borrowed from Osburn. His work does not pretend to be original, but is a compilation from the best writers on the subject. He frankly disclaims the merit of authorship, and aspires to nothing more than the humble office of a compiler. But he has done his work in a creditable manner, and has succeeded in producing, as he intended, not a profound but a popular book. His arrangement is lucid, and his style flowing and agreeable. On some points we could have wished him more diffuse, even at the expense of the omission of the vivacious and anonymous journal, which swells the bulk of the volume one-third. It is indeed not a little remarkable that on the subject of circumcision both Hawks and Hengstenberg are silent. It has been alleged that this rite was borrowed by

Moses from the Egyptians. This was Warburton's opinion; while Witsius was satisfied that it was the Egyptians who borrowed from the Israelites. Others have supposed that every difficulty is met by the restriction of the rite to certain classes of the priesthood only, while it was not the general practice of the people. The absence of all pictorial representations of a religious ceremony so important seems rather at variance with the statements of Herodotus, respecting the universality of circumcision and the punctilious distinction attached to it.

It strikes us indeed as not a little surprising that neither of the authors we are reviewing has said a word on this subject. The silence of Hengstenberg in a work meant for a thesaurus is very remarkable; unless we can perceive a reason for it in the following sentence:—"We satisfy ourselves with the statement of the *really tenable* Egyptian references," p. 153. Dr. Hawks remarks as follows on the Hebrew ritual: "In fact, the whole Hebrew ritual appears to have been framed on the principle of embodying Egyptian ceremonies, carefully guarded, modified and expurgated, and applying them to the worship of the true God. We are aware that in the opinion of some excellent men, this seems to detract from the Jewish ritual, as being but a modification of idolatry. We are unable to see this. It was a modification of idolatrous *ceremonies*, but it involved no recognition of idolatrous *worship*. It acknowledged no false god; on the contrary, it was so changed as to make the ceremonies retained, appropriate only in the worship of the true God. As well might it be said that retaining, as we do at this day, the heathen names of the days of the week, proves that he who only says 'Thursday' is an idolatrous worshipper of the northern Thor." p. 233. He goes on at some length to specify certain resemblances; as the naked feet of the ministering priests; their frequent bathing; their linen vestments; the ephod, girdle, breastplate, Urim and Thummim; the inscriptions on the doorposts; and the use of an ark. He next specifies certain points of contrast; as the prohibition of the worship of the heavenly bodies, or statues of men and animals; wounding their flesh; placing food near the dead; and planting trees round the place of worship. But in these

lists we look in vain for a syllable on the distinctive rite of circumcision.

There are some things which may be considered as settled at present beyond dispute; for instance, that the authentic records of Egypt do not mount to that high antiquity which was formerly claimed for them; that there has been no diminution of the human stature or of man's physical strength in the lapse of ages; that the pyramids were constructed for royal tombs; that the hieroglyphics were not a priestly device to conceal knowledge, but were a real written language as much as the enchorial or demotic; and that the antiquities of Egypt greatly illustrate and corroborate the books of holy scripture. The closing paragraph of Dr. Hawks's work sets this last subject in a clear light. While affirming that the Bible is independent of the incidental confirmations derived from the monuments of Egypt, he adds, "It has been too much the fashion of a certain class of men, infidel in principle, but claiming (and in some instances justly) to be scientific, dexterously to insinuate, rather than positively to assert, that Egypt was making to them wondrous revelations at the expense of the truth and scripture. The characters and claims of these men have, perhaps with a class, given weight to their insinuations when there was neither the ability nor the means to test their boasted science, or sift their artful insinuations. It was for this class principally that the present writer assumed the pen. Purposely avoiding all perplexing questions of mere science, it occurred to him that it might be useful to plain Christians of honest hearts and common sense, if from the labours of men as good and as learned as the self-styled scientific, there should be gathered into one body and plainly presented, evidence from Egypt, intelligible to ordinary faculties, tending to show that the Bible found there *some* support at least; and that unhesitatingly to reject it, on the ground of any supposed discoveries yet made there, indicated a disease of the *heart* quite as much as a fault of the *head*."

The divine wisdom employs divers methods of affecting men, according to their peculiar dispositions or circumstances. For an age of the world that was governed by the senses, God provided miracles; for the Jews just emerged from bondage and

surrounded by the pomp of heathen worship, he ordained a gorgeous ritual and a worldly sanctuary; for the Orientals, addicted to astronomical observations, he prepared a star as their guide to the Saviour; and we do not think it superstitious to suppose that for the reflecting and inquisitive mind of the present day, he provided prophecy in advance, together with an apparatus of proofs of its due fulfilment, to be brought to light at the proper time. The lettered monuments of Egypt, the rock-carvings of Petra, the sullen surf of the Dead Sea, the exhumed sculptures of buried Nineveh, all contribute, as by providential foresight, their quota of evidence in favour of the Scriptures. Is it too much to believe that the Great Disposer of all things will overrule the skeptical and inquiring spirit of this age for the final and triumphant establishment of his own revealed truth; as upon the burning prairies of the West, the raging element is converted into the means of its own defeat and subjugation? Of one thing we may feel well assured, that Christianity has nothing to fear from investigation. The furthest planet detected by the Tuscan tube, the spadeful thrown up from the earth's centre, the electro-magnetic experiments of the laboratory, the baring of the fibrous convolutions of the brain beneath the scalpel, the most subtle speculations of metaphysical acumen, the most thorough explorations of the curious traveller, will in the end promote, and not hinder, the majestic march of truth, and range themselves in the ever widening circle of superb and incontestable evidences of the inspiration of the Scriptures.

While the laborious German Professor, by an extensive induction of both a negative and positive kind, shows that Egyptian antiquity furnishes not only no evidence against the Books of Moses, but on the contrary weighty evidence in their favour; the English labourer in the same field ransacks tombs and temples for wall-paintings and inscriptions and deciphers the names of foreign nations brought into contact with Egypt; Canaanites, Hebrews, Arvadites, Hermonites, Zuzim, Jebusites, Hittites, Amorites, Philistines, and Syrians. Of these names, he has collected, in his Onomasticon, a catalogue of eighty-eight, among which we readily identify Amalek, Hermon, Rabbah, Ekron, Tyre, Sidon, Kadesh, Mahanaim, Canaan,

Megiddo, Hebron, Petra, the kingdom of Judah, and the valley of Hinnom.

Among these collaborators, amidst the dust of buried ages, while there is an essential agreement, we find an occasional difference of opinion; but it is gratifying to observe the perfect good temper with which each maintains his own position. Manetho's story of the expulsion of the Israelites as lepers, and their calling in the aid of the Assyrians or Canaanites, is an instance. Dr. Hawks is content to question the account as an interpolation. Professor Hengstenberg throws discredit on the whole work of Manetho as spurious, and considers it as the production of an individual who dishonestly appropriated the name. He convicts the author of being unworthy the repute of a learned priest of Heliopolis, from numerous philological and geographical errors. Mr. Gliddon, however, considers the table of Manetho confirmed by the sculptures.

Hengstenberg is disposed also to doubt the existence of such a dynasty as the Shepherd-kings. But to other investigators no fact appears better established than this. Hawks regards it as the most satisfactory explanation of different passages in Genesis, that every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians, &c. He supposes Abraham to have visited Egypt under the reign of one of the Hyksos, and that they were expelled just before the arrival of Joseph in Egypt. Others have been disposed to consider the king who knew not Joseph as the founder of a new dynasty succeeding the Shepherd-kings, and subsequent to the death of Joseph. Mr. Gliddon makes the Hyksos contemporaneous with the 17th Theban dynasty of Upper Egypt, who expelled the alien race. This Theban king might then be the king who knew not Joseph. Osburn thinks there were two invasions of the Shepherd-kings. The Canaanites were called Shepherds, as appears from the wall-paintings. Amenophis was entitled the Smiter of the Shepherds. Sethis and Sesostris are represented as fighting with them. He supposes that, after their first expulsion, the Canaanites, Hyksos or Zuzim, took advantage of the mishap and confusion resulting from the escape of the Israelites and the drowning of Pharaoh, or Si-phtha, to invade Egypt a second time. After the lapse of thirteen years they

were finally expelled by Remesses, the son of Si-phtha. Thus he explains the allusion of Manetho to the Israelites receiving aid from the Canaanites. He inclines to the opinion that the Osarsiph (Moses) of Manetho may have been a stranger and usurper, of the name of Remerri, of Heliopolis, himself of the blood-royal. He tells us that this Remerri effaced the names of Si-phtha and his wife from the tomb near Thebes, and on the fresh plaister, he inscribed his own. p. 94.

The subject of the Shepherd-kings is a vexed and intricate one. There are other illustrations of the Scripture history which are more clear and satisfactory. Of these Dr. Hawks has prepared a luminous series.

Beginning with Abraham, he shows the entire probability of the narrative in Genesis. At the time of the patriarch's visit, Egypt was a powerful, rich and civilized nation. Lower Egypt was then dry, and not marshy, as the disciples of Voltaire have pretended; Zoan in the Delta, being built seven years after Hebron. The kings of Egypt were called Pharaoh. The royal cartouches bear the hieroglyphic of the *Sun*, which in the Coptic, or old Egyptian, is Phre or Phra; *Pi* being the article. Domestic servitude then existed in Egypt, and the monuments display some examples of its rigorous character. Sarah wore no veil, because the manners of the female sex at that time were as free and unfettered as in our own country. Indeed the license they indulged in was carried to the utmost bounds; as some of the paintings represent ladies at entertainments indulging to excess in wine, and servants hurrying to their assistance with basins for no equivocal purpose. The loose manners that prevailed are seen in the despot's carrying away Sarah to his harem; a proceeding which is in perfect keeping with the habits of the East to this day. There was no dislike shown to Abraham's pastoral occupation. The gifts made him were appropriate, and Abraham accepted them without reluctance.

Joseph was sold to a caravan, such as, it is highly probable, then as since traversed the desert, for twenty pieces of silver, bullion, not of coin. He was sold for a household slave to the captain of the executioners or chief-marshall, a high court officer. As overseer of the house, he took account of every

thing, as the steward does in the tomb-paintings. As there was no restriction on the intercourse of the sexes, the German critics are mistaken in supposing that Joseph would not have been permitted to come into the presence of his master's wife. The story of the baker and butler is illustrated, and also the existence of the vine established, which Herodotus denied. The Egyptians are depicted without beards; and accordingly Joseph shaved himself before coming into the presence of the king. The luxuriant wheat of seven ears is fully substantiated as a peculiar product of the country. The elevation of Joseph, his vice-royalty, his seal, his naturalization, his marriage, &c., are all in accordance with probability. The possibility of a famine, though denied by Van Bohlen, has been abundantly proved. The refusal of the Egyptians to eat with foreigners; the wagons sent for Jacob; the settlement in Goshen; the embalming of Joseph, and putting him into a coffin; need not be dilated on.

The bondage of the Hebrews is another probable event. Brickmakers are seen in the paintings, with taskmasters over them. The treasure-cities, the use of straw, the making of boats of bulrushes cemented with slime, are all illustrated with vivid accuracy.

The handling of serpents by the Psylli to this day, and their making the reptile stiff and motionless like a rod, resemble the tricks of the magicians. But when the rods of Jannes and Jambres were swallowed up by that of Moses, we see a miraculous intervention. In the account of the Ten Plagues, nothing is found that does not harmonize with what we know of the country. The plagues fell on those things which were objects of worship, and thus converted them into instruments of punishment; or they were strikingly calculated to evince the supreme control and jurisdiction of Him who proclaimed himself as the Self-existent and Independent One. In regard to Moses, Dr. Hawks judiciously observes, that whether the account of Manetho were drawn from ancient records or from tradition, it must be conceded as a fact, independent of the Bible, that "there was a man called Moses, of a different race from the Egyptians; that he lived in Egypt; that he taught his countrymen to shun idolatry; and that finally, he and they

left Egypt together. Leper or no leper, these *facts* at least are distinctly and unequivocally recorded; and thus *the ancient Egyptian records bear testimony to the truth of the Bible.*" p. 117.

The worship of a golden calf, obviously in imitation of the sacred bull Apis, and the dancing round it, derive illustration from the manners of the Egyptians; and the narration in the Pentateuch displays his familiarity with the idolatrous system.

It has been objected that the Israelites were too rude and unskilful to do the exquisite mechanical work of the tabernacle. But the writers before us have shown with abundance of detail the existence of a high state of art among the Egyptians, and the consequent probability of the Israelites who resided so long among them becoming proficients in the arts. The wall-paintings of the tombs exhibit various handicrafts, with a variety of tools, some of them similar to those employed in modern times. They knew how to make leather, how to weave costly stuffs, how to engrave gems, and how to work in gold and silver.

The countless incidental illustrations of the Mosaic narrative thus indisputably indicate an author acquainted with all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and familiar with the scenes he describes. Nor was it ever doubted that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch till the 11th century of the Christian Era.

There is yet one more noteworthy evidence mentioned by Dr. Hawks, taken from the history of Shishak or Sesonchis. It was foretold to Rehoboam, king of Judah, that while his humble penitence would avert total destruction, yet he should not be exempted from punishment altogether, and that he should become a tributary of the Egyptian monarch. The younger Champollion was so acute as not only to discover the cartouche bearing the name of Sesonchis, but to read the indisputable proof of his conquest. "On his passage up the Nile, Champollion landed for an hour or two, about sunset, to snatch a hasty view of the ruins of Karnac; and on entering one of the halls, he found a picture representing a triumph, in which he instantly pointed out in the third line of a row of sixty-three prisoners (each indicating a city, nation or tribe,) presented

by Sheshonk to Amun-ra, the figure on the opposite page, and translated it, *Judah Melek kah*, "king of the country of Judah." p. 247.

A remark is subjoined by Dr. Hawks, not very complimentary to the *savans* of Europe. "But of the numerous captives that were once represented on that picture, why is it that now, but three remain? for such, we believe, is the fact. Those who defaced or removed some of them are known. They are Europeans, and profess to be scholars seeking for the truth. Is the suspicion well-founded that the mutilation is the work of those who deem it more honourable to be deemed scientific neologists, than it is to sustain Scriptural truth? We would fain hope that the destruction may have been accidental. Fortunately for truth, many copies of the picture had been made before its mutilation. It is the more to be lamented that this picture has been defaced, because the sculptured memorials of the Jews in Egypt, as we have already intimated, were not likely to be very common. The Egyptians could not but be humbled by that portion of their history which connected them with the Hebrews; they never, as we have stated, perpetuated their own shame in sculpture." p. 248.

From old Memphis and the Nile, and palace-temples with their forests of gigantic columns, let us now seek the banks of the arrowy Tigris, and survey the remains of Nineveh, "that great city."

While every smatterer knows something of Egypt and its history, Nineveh had been completely lost to the world. Of Assyria we knew next to nothing. Fables and obscurity involve her earliest annals, and thirty generations of monarchs are passed over by the historian as inglorious and unknown. The very site of Nineveh had been forgotten. Malte-Brun assured his readers that all traces of the city were irrecoverably lost. Xenophon and his Ten Thousand on their famous retreat found nothing but mounds of a ruined city called Larissa. The name of Nineveh does not seem to have reached their ears. From that period the silence of the grave again hung over the spot for centuries, broken only at rare intervals by the conjectures of Benjamin of Tudela, Abulfeda, and Niebuhr. In 1820 Mr. Rich possessed himself of a few kiln-

dried bricks; and in 1843 M.Botta, the French Consul, exeavated a mound opposite Mosul, and another at Khorsabad, and brought to light some sculptures, magnifiecnt engravings of whieh were published at the expense of the French Government.

But it was reserved for English enterprise to achieve the most signal triumph, to bring the modern world face to faee with the relics of a forgotten antiquity, and to place us in startling proximity with the times immediately succeeding the flood. Disentombed from the long sleep of nearly three thousand years, the stupendous monuments of Assyrian greatness meet our eye, coeval with those of Egypt.

The unity of this article, and the neeessity of economizing our space, preelude us from noticing Dr. Layard's interesting digressions. He made a visit to the Yezidis, or Devil-worshippers, and witnessed their romantie nocturnal procession. Recent reports say, that on a seeond visit since he has been admitted to oeeular inspection of the precious symbol, the Melek Taous, or King Peacock, whose existence some persons had affeeted to doubt. We must omit also the examination of his chapter on the Nestorians, and his error in laying at the door of the American missionaries the responsiblity of the massacre of those mountaineers. For the eorrection of this error, the reader is referred to Dr. Robinson's introduetory note, and to Dr. Grant's exculpatory letter in the Missionary Herald for March, 1844, p. 82.

Dr. Layard seems to have been admirably fitted for his task. A man of few wants; eapable of easily aecommodating himself to eircumstances; of a buoyant, genial disposition; and possessing wonderful taet in managing men of all sorts; he reminds us of Ledyard, and Burnes, and Borrow, and Stephens, and Fremont. His simple and easy style of travelling is described in his opening paragraph.

"During the autumn of 1839 and winter of 1840, I had been wandering through Asia Minor and Syria, scareely leaving untrod one spot hallowed by tradition, or unvisited one ruin conseerated by history. I was accompanied by one no less curious and enthusiastic than myself. We were both equally careless of comfort and unmindful of danger. We

rode alone; our arms were our only protection; a valise behind our saddles was our wardrobe, and we tended our own horses, except when relieved from the duty by the hospitable inhabitants of a Turcoman village or an Arab tent. Thus unembarrassed by needless luxuries, and uninfluenced by the opinions and prejudices of others, we mixed among the people, acquired without effort their manners, and enjoyed without alloy those emotions which scenes so novel, and spots so rich in varied association, cannot fail to produce." p. 25.

Leaving the graceful architectural ruins of Asia Minor, half hidden by the myrtle, the ilex, and the oleander, he bent his steps to the ancient Mesopotamia, where nothing but wide masses of denuded brickwork, shapeless mounds, and perpetual desolation meet the eye. Satisfied with the result of his own observations, and encouraged by the success of Mr. Botta at Khorsabad, Mr. Layard sought and obtained from Sir Stratford Canning, the British Government's representative at Constantinople, and from the British Museum, the means to prosecute excavations at the ruin of Nimroud, some miles below Mosul. It was on the 9th day of November, 1845, when he commenced his search, and immediately he found his perseverance richly rewarded. The traditions of the place, communicated by the Arab superintendent of his workmen, are not without interest. "The palace, said he, was built by Athur, the kiayah, or lieutenant of Nimrod. Here the holy Abraham, peace be with him! cast down and brake in pieces the idols which were worshipped by the unbelievers. The impious Nimrod, enraged at the destruction of his gods, sought to slay Abraham, and waged war against him. But the prophet prayed to God, and said, 'Deliver me, O God, from this man who worships stones, and boasts himself to be the lord of all beings,' and God said to him, 'How shall I punish him?' And the prophet answered, 'To thee armies are as nothing, and the strength and power of men likewise. Before the smallest of thy creatures will they perish.' And God was pleased at the faith of the prophet, and he sent a gnat, which vexed Nimrod night and day, so that he built himself a room of glass in yonder palace, that he might dwell therein, and shut out the insect. But the gnat entered also, and passed by his ear into

his brain, upon which it fed, and increased in size day by day, so that the servants of Nimrod beat his head with a hammer continually, that he might have some ease from his pain; but he died after suffering these torments for four hundred years." Vol. i. p. 42.

The wonder of the simple Arabs when Layard succeeded in disentombing a colossal statue, is highly amusing: "Hasten, O Bey, exclaimed one of them, "hasten to the diggers, for they have found Nimrod himself. Wallah, it is wonderful, but it is true; we have seen him with our eyes. There is no God but God! . . . . It was sometime before the Sheikh could be prevailed upon to descend into the pit, and convince himself that the image he saw was of stone. "This is not the work of men's hands," exclaimed he, "but of those infidel giants of whom the prophet, peace be with him! has said, that that they were higher than the tallest date tree; this is one of the idols which Noah, peace be with him! cursed before the flood." In this opinion, the result of a careful examination, all the bystanders concurred. vol. i. p. 73.

These excavations brought to light the site of three palace temples of large dimensions, whose walls were lined, or wainscotted, with slabs of alabaster, covered with a variety of well-executed sculptures. The method pursued was to dig down several feet till a wall was reached, along the line of which a deep trench was sunk, turning with the angles of the hall, and ascertaining the entire outline. The earth in the centre was generally left undisturbed. Mr. Layard met with repeated interruptions in his work, from the ignorant bigotry of the natives, and from the jealous interference of Europeans, of which last he bitterly complains; nor was he suffered to go on without molestation till he received a firman from the Sultan through the intervention of Sir Stratford Canning. It was during the intervals of suspension of his labour that he visited the Yezidis and the Nestorians, and the ruins of Al Hather and Kalch Shergat.

The excavations covered a quadrangle more than six hundred yards long by about three hundred in width; and they comprised, besides the high pyramidal mound seen by Xenophon, and which the author conjectures may be the "*Busta*

Nini" of Ovid, three palaces, together with an edifice in the South-east corner, filled with tombs. The palaces are named after their position, the North-west palace, the North-east palace and the Central palace. It is to be regretted that sufficient care has not been taken with the plates which present the ground plans, in consequence of which one who attempts to trace the descriptions in the text, is sometimes not a little perplexed. In one plate the North points to the right, in another to the left, and in a third to the top of the page. In the plan of the South-west palace, the letter *c* is three times used for reference, the letter *f* as often, and the letter *l* is wanting. In the plan of the North-west palace the letter *y*, which is frequently referred to, is wanting.

The palaces were subdivided into numerous chambers, of various sizes. The smaller ones were walled with bricks, plaistered, and covered with paintings, and seemed to serve only as corridors of communication. The larger chambers were faced with slabs ten feet high, of alabaster or gypsum, (such as abounds near Mosul and is easily wrought,) above which were high brick walls; of a like height, plaistered and covered with paintings which it was found impossible to preserve. These slabs were set in bitumen. Upon them were carved bas-reliefs differing in different apartments. In some there were alternations of kings and winged figures, eagle-headed, or holding a fir-cone. In others there were complete series or processions representing lion-hunts, battles, sieges, victories and triumphs. The king is drawn in his chariot, with armed troops and military engines. There are seen sculptured the mountains of Armenia and the castellated sea-coast of Tyre. The entrances are guarded by gigantic human-headed lions or bulls with wings of yellow limestone, twelve feet in height; thirteeen pairs of which have been discovered.

While there is a resemblance to Egypt in the custom of covering the walls with bas-reliefs and paintings, there is this difference, that all the scenes are of a public character, there are no figures illustrative of the manners of private life. There is also a striking want of those vast and numerous columns, which abound in Egypt. The temple of Karnac boasts no fewer than three hundred and sixty, of stupendous size. But not a single column has been discovered in the excavations of Nimroud,

although both pillars and arches have been found in the paintings. To support the beams of the ceiling, clumsy masses of brick were reared along the middle of the hall. Remains of beams were frequently found, but soon crumbled on exposure.

The execution of the bas-reliefs was in a superior style. The finish was elaborate, the development of the muscles strongly delineated, and the anatomy correct. There was none of that lank, splay-footed, stiff, conventional style peculiar to Egypt. And although the figures were in profile, they were not, like the Egyptian, drawn with a front view of the shoulder, and a side view of the legs. All the delineations both of men, horses, and lions, appear to have been taken from nature; and if we may depend upon their truthfulness, the Assyrians were a stoutly built, and muscular race. Some of the human-headed lions, however, betrayed a clumsy contrivance to suit the spectator's position, in being furnished with five legs. The same deficiency is found in perspective that is observable in both the Egyptian and Chinese, and we may add, the Mediaeval drawings. The bas-reliefs appear to have borne partial marks of paint, and were probably also gilded. The colours employed on the walls were the three primitive ones, blue, red and yellow. Of green there are no traces, except at Khorsabad.

The Assyrian method of building was first to raise a mound thirty feet high, then lay a pavement of adobes or sun-dried bricks, and upon that erect their structures. Although the apartments were furnished with drains, there were no perforations in the walls for windows. Whether they were roofless, or had sky-lights, is a matter of conjecture only. The exterior, Mr. Layard supposes to have been cased with slabs, which have become loosened and fallen to the bottom among the rubbish. The façade may have been sculptured or painted like the walls of Babylon, with the exploits of the "mighty Hunter."

The Central and North-west palaces exhibit no signs of fire, and it is to the falling in of the upper walls of unburnt bricks that the preservation of the sculptures is owing. The South-west palace has evidently been subject to the action of fire, from the calcined appearance of the alabaster, and the masses of charcoal. Of the destruction of Nineveh by fire ancient history informs us; but amid the uncertainty of historical details we are presented with the account of two kings who at different times

burned themselves in their own palaces to deprive an enemy of the expected triumph. Different dates are assigned to the destruction of Nineveh; but it is certain that these ruins cannot be less than 2500 or 3000 years old. In the second volume our authors brings forward a great display of erudition, to which we must refer the reader.

Mr. Layard is of opinion that in times not now ascertainable the original people were conquered, and the victorious enemy introduced a new religion, that of fire-worship, to supplant the ancient Sabdeanism. This he infers from the structure of the South-west palace, it being evidently later, and adorned with slabs brought from the older and deserted palaces. The slabs were turned with their sculptured faces to the wall, and prepared for the reception of new sculptures and inscriptions, as it was the custom not to engrave them till after they were set up.

To go into details upon such a subject as this would be to transcribe the two volumes; we will, therefore, let the author present us with a succinct reproduction of one of these palace-temples in its palmy days.

"The interior of the Assyrian palace must have been as magnificent as imposing. I have led the reader through its ruins, and he may judge of the impression its halls were calculated to make upon the stranger who, in the days of old, entered for the first time the abode of the Assyrian kings. He was ushered in through the portal guarded by the colossal lions or bulls of white alabaster. In the first hall he found himself surrounded by the sculptured records of the empire. Battles, sieges, triumphs, the exploits of the chase, the ceremonies of religion, were portrayed on the walls. Under each picture were engraved, in characters filled up with bright copper, inscriptions describing the scenes represented. Above the sculptures were painted other events—the king, attended by the eunuchs and warriors, receiving his prisoners, entering into alliances with other monarchs, or performing some sacred duty. These representations were inclosed in coloured borders, of elaborate and elegant design. The emblematic tree, winged bulls, and monstrous animals, were conspicuous amongst the ornaments. At the upper end of the hall was the colossal

figure of the king in adoration before the supreme deity, or receiving from his eunuch the holy cup. He was attended by warriors bearing his arms, and by the priests or presiding divinities. His robes, and those of his followers were adorned with groups of figures, animals and flowers, all painted with brilliant colours.

"The stranger trod upon alabaster slabs, each bearing an inscription, recording the titles, genealogy, and achievements of the great king. Several doorways, formed by gigantic winged lions or bulls, or by the figures of guardian deities, led into other departments, which again opened into more distant halls. In each were new sculptures. On the walls of some were processions of colossal figures—armed men and eunuchs following the king, warriors laden with spoil, leading prisoners, or bearing presents and offerings to the gods. On the walls of others were portrayed the winged priests, or presiding divinities, standing before the sacred trees.

"The ceilings above him were divided into square compartments, painted with flowers, or with the figures of animals. Some were inlaid with ivory, each compartment being surrounded by elegant borders and mouldings. The beams, as well as the sides of the chambers, may have been gilded, or even plated, with gold and silver; and the rarest woods, in which the cedar was conspicuous, were used for the woodwork. Square openings in the ceilings of the chambers admitted the light of day. A pleasing shadow was thrown over the sculptured walls, and gave a majestic expression to the human features of the colossal forms which guarded the entrances. Through these apertures was seen the bright blue of an eastern sky, inclosed in a frame on which were painted in vivid colours, the winged circle, in the midst of elegant ornaments, and the graceful forms of ideal animals.

"These edifices, as it has been shown, were great national monuments, upon the walls of which were represented in sculpture, or inscribed in alphabetic characters, the chronicles of the empire. He who entered them might thus read the history, and learn the glory and triumphs of the nation. They served, at the same time, to bring continually to the remembrance of those who assembled within them on festive occasions, or for the cele-

bration of religious ceremonies, the deeds of their ancestors, and the power and majesty of their gods." ii. p. 207—209.

As yet but small progress has been made in deciphering the cuneiform characters. Major Ronaldson has mastered the names of some fifteen kings. But no Rosetta Stone has been found to facilitate the translation of the ancient language. The hope is cherished that from a comparison of various trilingual inscriptions found in Persepolis, Behistun, and other parts of Persia, the contents of these ancient Assyrian records may be satisfactorily ascertained. Mr. Layard calculates from the names discovered in Nimroud, that the first palace could not have been founded later than about 900 years before Christ. He supposes that the most recent palace, the South-western, and Khorsabad, and Kouyunjik, were all contemporaneous edifices, and were destroyed by fire by Arbaces and the Medes.

The connexion subsisting between Egypt and Assyria is expected to shed some light on the perplexed subject of these dates. On a small, ivory tablet is a cartouche with sitting figures, manifestly Egyptian; and it is highly probable that considerable intercourse prevailed between the two countries about the time of Solomon. Articles of Egyptian manufacture were then introduced into the Assyrian cities. Egyptian names, Sethos and Horus, appear in the list of Assyrian kings; while on the other hand the names of Nimrot, Sargon, (Osorchon,) and Tiglath, (Takilutha,) occur among the Egyptian monarchs of the 22d dynasty. Whether there was an alliance, or an actual Assyrian occupation of Egypt, is a point yet to be ascertained. In the later monuments of Nineveh, are found the sphynx, the lotus and the obelisk. Manetho says, that the first shepherd-kings were very much afraid of an invasion from the Assyrians. And it coincides with such an apprehension, that at that period the Assyrians had extended their rule westward of the Euphrates, and had conquered not only Palestine but Tyre, if we may trust the monuments. (See Hawks's Egypt, p. 118.)

However, this question may be disposed of, we cannot doubt that Mr. Layard has identified the true site and boundaries of ancient Nineveh.

"If we take the four great mounds of Nimroud, Kouyunjik, Khorsabad, and Karamles, as the corners of a square, it will be found that its four sides correspond pretty accurately with the

480 stadia or 60 miles of the geographer, which make the three days' journey of the prophet. Within this space there are many large mounds, including the principal ruins in Assyria, such as Karakush, Baasheikha, Baazani, Husseini, Tel-Yara, &c. &c.; and the face of the country is strewed with the remains of pottery, bricks, and other fragments. The space between the great public edifices was probably occupied by private houses, standing in the midst of gardens, and built at distances from each other; or forming streets which inclosed gardens of considerable extent, and even arable land.

"From the northern extremity of Kouyunjik [opposite Mosul,] to Nimroud, [on the Tigris,] is about 18 miles; the distance from Nimroud to Karamles, about 12; the opposite sides of the square the same; these measurements correspond accurately with the elongated quadrangle of Diodorus. Twenty miles is the day's journey of the East, and we have consequently the three days' journey of Jonah for the circumference of the city. The agreement of these measurements is remarkable." Layard, ii. p. 194, 196.

The incidental confirmation of the book of Jonah; the prominence of the chase; the finding of the name of Nebuchadnezzar or Nabokhodrossor, the son of Nabonidas, in the ruins of Hillah, (Layard, ii. p. 141); the manifest destruction of the palaces by fire, ("there shall the *fire* devour thee," Nahum, 3, 15,); and the numerous illustrations of circumstantial allusions in the prophetic writings, respecting the magnificence of the Assyrian apparel, the luxury of their manners, their mode of waging war, their extensive commerce, their suspending the *shields* of the warriors on walls and ships, ("they hanged their *shields* upon thy *walls*," Ezek. 27, 11); all these things tend to corroborate the authority and credibility of the Holy Scriptures. Such will be the effect of the further prosecution of the researches in which Mr. Layard is still engaged. We shall look with interest for future communications from him.

When the ruined temples and monoliths of Central America were unexpectedly brought to light, there were not wanting those who fancied a resemblance between them and the monuments of the old world. But however confidently this opinion may have been expressed, a careful comparison will lead to a very different conclusion. There are indeed a few striking

resemblances; but there are also irreconcilable variations. The partiality for pyramidal forms, or rather for the truncated pyramid, the covering of the walls with sculptures and paintings, and the drawing in profile, are coincidences undoubtedly worthy of attention. But on the contrary, as Mr. Stephens has judiciously observed, the pyramid is a natural form, easily suggested as affording the firmest base, and its use is therefore not a sufficient reason for predicating a common origin. The pyramids of Copan and Uxmal, are high elevations or terraces, solid, serving as foundations for superstructures, and provided with flights of steps in front or rear, for the purpose of ascent; neither do the sides form a complete square. The pyramids of Egypt, on the contrary, are square, perforated with chambers, cased with stone on the outside, and complete in themselves without any additional superstructure. Steps on the exterior formed no part of the plan.

There is also a marked absence of those forests of stupendous columns in which the Egyptians delighted. There is not a column to be found in Central America. The dromos, prodromos and adytum are also wanting. In these respects there is a much nearer resemblance to the temple-palaces of Nimroud. The sculptures also bear a closer affinity to Nineveh than to Egypt. They neither resemble the hideous and many-limbed monsters of the Hindoo mythology, nor the lank and ungainly figures of the Egyptians. They exhibit the same rounded proportions and the same truth to nature, that we find in the Assyrian basreliefs. Although both of these are drawn in profile, neither presents the awkward arrangement of the Egyptians, who gave a front view of shoulders, but a side view of the lower extremities.

The cuneiform characters of Assyria are radically unlike those either of Egypt or Central America, which forbids the direct tracing of the latter to the nations of the Old World. Neither can the ruins of Copan, Uxmal, Duirigua, and Palenque pretend to vie in antiquity with which we have been contemplating; for while in Egypt and Nineveh wood has been found 3000 years old, the hot and rainy climate of Central America would prevent the duration of timber for any thing like that time. The perfect preservation of the ruins of Uxmal is therefore an argument against their ascending to a remote antiquity.

Art. IV.—*Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie*, Missionary to China. Written by his Father. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. 1849.

The American Churches have probably sent out no missionary to the foreign field of higher qualifications or greater promise than Walter M. Lowrie. His piety was enlightened, calm and profound. His disposition was cheerful and amiable. His physical constitution was good. His talents were of a high order, especially for the acquisition of languages; and his executive ability was not less remarkable. He was wise and prudent, as well as energetic. He was distinguished for his habits of order and for his untiring industry. He was early accustomed to make great use of his pen. While a member of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, though always maintaining the highest position in his class, he performed the laborious task of preparing a two-fold catalogue of the pamphlets contained in near a thousand volumes, the munificent gift of the Rev. Dr. Sprague of Albany. The volume before us, which contains abundant evidence of all the traits which we have attributed to him, bears full testimony to the importance of this facility in writing. No reader of his memoirs can fail to feel surprise that he was able to write so much, in the midst of his pressing duties and constant distractions.

Mr. Lowrie was born February 18th, 1819, in Butler, Penn. The principal part of his early training, owing to the public duties of his father, devolved on his excellent mother. After the usual course of academic instruction, he entered the Freshman class in Jefferson College in October, 1833, before he had completed his fourteenth year. His standing in all respects in college was high. When he graduated, September 1837, he received from the President the following certificate as to scholarship. Languages, grade 1. Moral Science, 1. Natural Science, 1. Mathematics, 1. His early education had been of course religious. He was well instructed in the

doctrines of the Bible, and went to college a consecrated youth; consecrated in baptism, and by the prayers and faith of his parents. While there he was led, during a season of revival, to embrace the offers of the gospel and to consecrate himself to the service of God. His first communion was on March 8th, 1835. As soon as this great question was decided, his mind turned towards the ministry. Under date of August 10th, 1835, he writes to his father: "I profess to be, and hope I am, a servant of Christ. The command is, 'Go work in my vineyard.' After having decided how I shall work—whether as a minister or otherwise, the next question will be, where?" On the 31st of the same month he wrote: "I have been engaged in the examination of the subject of the gospel ministry, and have at length been enabled to decide, at least from present views and feelings, and with prayer, that it is my duty to devote myself to the service of God in that manner." In November, 1835, he wrote to his mother an account of an address which he had heard with much interest, from an agent of the American Board of Missions, and adds: "If I ever desired to be a minister or missionary, I did last night. Such a glorious object! so worthy all the talents, feelings and affections of every reasonable creature, that it seems impossible, almost not to desire it. However, though it may be the duty of others to decide this matter while at college, I hardly think it can be mine, at least for a year to come." In a letter to his father, dated Jefferson College, February 7th, 1837, he says: "The question of personal devotion to the missionary cause, has, as you are aware, long been before my mind. When I first experienced a hope of salvation, this subject presented itself to my mind. This feeling has continued in almost every time and place. This session I felt it to be important to know what I should do, and what time I could spare was devoted to the examination of the question. I never found any particular difficulties, except as to my piety. At our last communion I was enabled to decide to be, by the grace of God, a missionary. It was like throwing a heavy burden off from my mind, and I have not since experienced one moment of regret at the decision. Sometimes, indeed, it seems hard,—O, very hard—to think of parting

with near and dear friends; but what are all these, or life itself, to the advancement of the Saviour's cause, to which, two years ago, I consecrated myself?"

Time alone can determine the nature of such decisions. Hundreds of young men, in the first ardour of their Christian love, have formed the purpose to be missionaries. But a change of circumstances or of feeling has led to its being soon abandoned. But where the purpose thus early formed is perseveringly cherished, and ultimately executed, it furnishes very strong evidence that it was the work of the Holy Spirit. It is therefore one of the many interesting features in the religious life of Mr. Lowrie, that he determined on devoting himself to the missionary work before he was eighteen years old, and never afterwards wavered for a moment. He had thus time to mature. He was constantly increasing in fitness for his high vocation, by the constant contemplation of his destined work. We have seen in other cases the healthful influence of this early consecration. In some, indeed, it was but a means of ripening the soul for heaven; death coming just at the close of a long course of preparation for a missionary life. But in others, the effect was, as in the case of Mr. Lowrie, a more intelligent, as well as more devoted consecration of the whole man to his chosen work.

After leaving college, Mr. Lowrie spent the winter in New York with his father, and entered the Theological Seminary in Princeton, May 1838, but joined the class formed at the commencement of the academic year in September following. He continued three years in the Seminary, leaving the Institution in May, 1841. During his course in the Seminary, he exhibited all those intellectual and moral traits of character to which we have already referred, and which were so conspicuously manifested in his subsequent career.

In a letter to his friend, Mr. John Lloyd, dated Princeton, August 21st, 1839, he says: "Let me whisper in your ear, for I don't want it known, that I look to a field nearer home than China, or even Northern India. Don't hold up your hands in astonishment at this—I mean Western Africa, the white man's grave. There has been a great change of feeling in the Seminary, in regard to this field, since I came here. Last summer, at

the first part of the session, there was not one student who even thought of Western Africa as a missionary field. But during the course of last winter, one, and then another of the brethren determined to go to Western Africa, and they have now gone." In his letter to the Executive Committee of the Board of Foreign Missions, offering himself as a missionary, dated December 10th, 1840, he says: "In making you this offer of my services, I shall leave it to the Committee to decide on my field of labour. My own preferences, however, are strongly towards Western Africa, and I am perfectly willing to take on myself the responsibility of going to that field. It has been before my mind distinctly for two years and a half, and before either of your present missionaries to that field decided on going there. Still, if it be probable that my usefulness would be greater elsewhere, I shall willingly go to any other field." No objections to his preference for Africa were made by his friends, and for several months the question of his field of labour was considered as fully settled. The peculiar exigences of the China Mission during the spring and summer of 1841, induced the Committee to reconsider the question. That mission was then in its infancy. It was one of special difficulty and importance. It had also been severely tried. Mr. Mitchell had been removed by death; Mr. Orr by the failure of his health; Mr. McBryde was, after a year's service, rapidly declining, so that the prospect was that I. C. Hepburn, M. D., would soon be left alone in that mission. Under these circumstances, and in view of the peculiar qualifications of Mr. Lowrie, the Committee were decided and unanimous in the opinion that he ought to go to China instead of Africa. To this decision he reluctantly consented, and it is evident from his letters, that even when in China, he often looked towards Africa with a kind of fond regret.

He was licensed to preach the gospel on the 5th of April 1841, and after leaving the Seminary he was sent to Michigan in the service of the Board. On his return he spent some time among the churches in Western New York. On the 9th of November he was ordained, but no opportunity for sailing to his destined field offered until the following January. The interval was chiefly spent at home. Several of his most inter-

esting letters belong to this period. We give the following extract from a communication to his friend Mr. Lloyd, as characteristic of his piety. It shows how religion in his case was rapidly maturing into a controlling principle. "Another thing that makes me say less about them (i. e. his feelings) is, that I have learned not to rely upon them so much as once I did; and indeed, I so often find it necessary to act without, and even against feelings, from a sense of duty, that this makes me less careful about them. They are certainly important; when we are in a proper 'frame,' and our 'feelings' are urged on by a favorable impulse, there is a great deal of pleasure connected with them. But too much dependence upon them will often unfit us for duty. A man's feelings may take their colour from many things besides his religious state. He may be melancholy, from a low state of health, when he thinks it is a sense of sin that makes him sad. He may be cheerful and feel very grateful, as he supposes, from a sense of God's favour; and yet the greater part of his joy shall be caused by the mere flow of animal spirits. Our feelings arise very often, indeed, from something in ourselves; but our standard of duty is not anything in ourselves, but the eternal word of God. That is liable to no changes, and does not fluctuate with the ever-varying tide of human passion, but flows on ever the same. I do not undervalue the importance of feelings; they are like the perfumes that sweeten the gales which waft us on our course; and at times they may even be compared to the gales that assist the galley-slave, as he toils at his oars. But we are rowing up stream, and it will not do for us to lie on our oars, every time the breeze lulls. 'Time and tide wait for no man,' and we, on the other hand, in our heavenly course, must toil on without waiting for time or tide, or wind or wave. 'Faint, yet pursuing.' As John Bunyan says of religion among men, so may it be said of religion in the heart, "We must own religion in his rags, as well as when in his silver slippers, and stand by him too when bound in irons, as well as when he walketh the streets, with applause.'"

On the eve of sailing he writes to his cousin, Mr. John M. Lowrie: "After long delay the Huntress is to sail to-morrow. We are all well here, and I believe all in good spirits. Very

seldom have I found my mind so perfectly calm and peaceful, and it has been since last Friday. The Sabbath was to me one of my bright days, or rather, as I seldom have bright, dazzling days, it was one of those calm, peaceful days, when the soul rises insensibly above the world, and dwells with the assurance of faith on unseen realities." This was the state of mind in which he bade a final farewell to home and country.

He sailed from New York, January 19, 1842, and after a prosperous voyage landed at Macao on the 27th of the following May. At the time of his arrival hostilities still existed between Great Britain and China, the five ports had not yet been opened, and the question whether Singapore should continue the chief seat of missionary operation for China was still undecided. Under these circumstances it was deemed important that Mr. Lowrie should proceed as soon as possible to Singapore to consult with the brethren then at that station. He accordingly took passage in a British vessel, manned with Lascars, the officers only being English. His accommodations on board this ship were very uncomfortable, and he suffered all sorts of anoyances while contending against the Southwest monsoon. From July 10th to August 11th, they gained but one hundred miles. He writes to Mr. McBryde informing him that "after beating about for thirty-one days, we found our wood, water and provisions growing short, and as the current was now so strong that we could make no progress against it, we very reluctantly turned about, August 11th, and shaped our course for Manilla, meaning there to refit. But our troubles were not over yet. The wind, which had been directly in our teeth, when we tried to go to Singapore, now, when we wanted to go the other way, first veered about to S. E. and then fell a dead calm." However on the 23d of August he reached Manilla in safety, sixty-six days after leaving Macao. "I arrived," he says, writing to his brother, "at Manilla a perfect stranger, not knowing even the name of a single person here. There were no Protestant missionaries in the Phillipine Islands, and Manilla is almost the only port, from Chusan in China to Calcutta in India, where I could not have found persons whom I knew, or with whom, from similarity of pursuits, I could not speedily have formed an acquaintance. Yet

I had not been on shore an hour, before I found myself most perfectly at home in the house of Mr. Moore, a merchant from Boston, and at present acting as United States vice consul."

On the 18th September he embarked on board the Harmony, counted one of the fastest sailing British merchantmen in the Chinese waters, bound for Singapore. The first week of the voyage was on the whole favourable; but on September 25th, about one o'clock P. M., while sailing at the rate of five or six miles an hour, "the ship struck against some obstacle with tremendous violence. It impeded her onward motion in a moment. We started to our feet; again she struck, and again she reeled like a drunken man. The deck quivered beneath our feet; and on going out we found the men running about, the officers giving their orders, and the terrified steward groaning and wringing his hands at the cabin door. The ship soon struck again with increased violence, knocking off large pieces of her keel, and completely breaking her back. It was an awful time; a strong wind, a heavy rain falling, and an unquiet and restless sea; yet there were no breakers and no discoloured waters—the usual signs of a shoal—and although in the intervals of rain we could see at least ten miles on every side, yet there was neither island, rock, nor breakers in sight; nor any other sign of danger. . . . . As you may well imagine, I was on my knees more than once. It was a solemn time; but my mind was kept in a calm and composed frame. We struck about half past one P. M. In less than an hour we had three feet water in the hold. In two hours more it had increased to six feet, in less than another hour there was seven, and in twenty minutes more, seven feet and six inches; and this though the four pumps were kept constantly going, and all drawing well. It was now near five o'clock, P. M., and it being evident that the ship must sink, the pumps were abandoned and the boats got ready. . . . It was arranged that twenty-one, including the captain and passengers, should go in the long boat, and the mate and seven men in the jolly boat. We managed to get in about seven o'clock, and pushed off from the ship. She was then settling fast in the water, which was already nearly on a level with her decks. . . . A heavy rain fell almost constantly till mid-

night from which we could have no protection, and in a few minutes we were drenched with the rain and the spray. The boat, with so many persons in, was very deep in the water; and to add to our discomfort and apprehensions, leaked a good deal, so that one person was constantly employed in bailing her out. . . . On Monday we rigged a couple of masts, and with a royal studding-sail, and main-try-sail, which had been thrown into the boat, we mustered a very respectable fore-sail and main-sail, using our whole oar, and one of the broken oars for yards. . . . A man and a boy were taken in from the jolly boat, which made our whole number nineteen men and four boys; a large number for a boat only twenty-one feet long, and eight feet broad. The provisions were then examined, and we found there was bread enough to last a week or ten days, but that we had a very small quantity of water. There could not have been more than eight or ten gallons. This was a cause of no little anxiety, for by our calculations we could not be less than four hundred miles from Manilla (whither we now directed our course), and at that season of the year, calms, and even head winds, which would make our passage long, were not unlikely to occur. Accordingly all hands were put on an allowance of half a pint of water daily, and bread in moderation. . . . Tuesday was a terrible day. Not a cloud in the sky; scarcely a breath of wind, and the hot sun of the torrid zone beating down upon us. . . . On Wednesday the breeze became stronger, with a heavy sea. We went rapidly on, and in our lonely course found amusement in watching the large flocks of boobies that in some places nearly covered the sea. . . . Thursday morning commenced with rain which soon wet us to the skin; but we did not mind that, for we caught several buckets full of water, which, in the low ebb of our water-cask, gave us great joy; and we ate our breakfast in high spirits. About ten o'clock the wind rose, the sea ran very high, and frequent squalls of wind and rain darkened the heavens and drenched us to the skin. The captain sent the best helmsman to the tiller, and sat down himself by the compass, and for eight long hours he did not move from his seat. Conversation ceased; and scarcely a word was uttered in all that time, except the orders from the captain to the

helmsman, "Port! Port your helm, quick! Hard a-port! Starboard now! Mind your port helm," &c. Many a longing anxious look did we cast before us to see if there were any signs of land; but still more to the west, to see if the gale gave signs of abating. But no! Darker and darker grew the heavens over us; higher and higher rose the sea; louder and louder still roared the waves as they rushed past our little boat, and faster fell the rain. If a single one of those waves had come over the boat's side, it would have overwhelmed and swallowed up the boat, and every one on board; and it was only by the utmost care and skill that she was kept before them.

"Death never seemed so near before. An emotion of sorrow passed through my mind, as I thought of my friends at home who would, probably, be long in suspense in regard to my fate; and of regret, as I thought of the work for which I had come; but for myself, my mind was kept in peace. I knew in whom I had believed, and felt that he was able to save; and though solemn is the near prospect of eternity, I felt no fear, and had no regret that I had perilled my life in such a cause.

"Thus the day wore away, and night approached without any signs of more moderate weather. The wind was now so strong, and the sea so high, that it was with the utmost danger that we could hold on our course. Everything was wet, and we tried in vain to get a light for the compass; besides, by our calculations, we could not be more than thirty or forty miles from land; and at the rate we were going, should reach it about midnight; but to attempt to land in such a sea, in the dark, would be madness itself. What could we do? Backwards, or sideways, we could not go, on account of the sea; to go forward was to throw our lives away; to remain where we were, *even if it were possible*, seemed to be remaining in the very jaws of death. It was, however, our only hope, if hope it could be called, and accordingly preparations were made for heaving the boat to. The foresail was taken down, and securely fastened to the yard; the largest cord we could muster (about thirty fathoms) attached to this and to the boat. The mainsail was then lowered, and watching our opportunity, the foresail was thrown overboard, cord paid out, and the boat's

head turned to the wind. This last was a most perilous operation; for had a wave struck her while her broadside was exposed to it, all would have been over with us. The plan, however, succeeded admirably. The little foresail being between the wind and the boat, it served to break the force of the waves; and as it lay flat on the water, it was not acted on by the wind; and thus served also as an anchor to keep the boat's head to the wind. We then had the mainsail hoisted up in the form of a staysail, to keep the boat steady, and thus we were hove to.

"For a while, the result was very uncertain. The wind howled past us with a force which made every plank in the boat quiver; the rain fell in torrents, with the violence of small hailstones, nearly all the night; and we could hear the great waves as they formed and rose away ahead of us, and then rushed toward us, with a sound like the whizzing of an immense rocket. Sometimes they would strike us as if with a heavy hammer, causing the boat to jump bodily away; and then again, their white, foaming, phosphorescent crests would be piled up by our sides, as if, the next moment, they would dash in and overwhelm us in an instant. There we lay, packed together so closely that we could scarcely move; while every now and then, a dash of spray came over us, covering us with pale phosphoric sparks that shed a dim and fearful light for a few inches around. Oh, it was a dreadful night! There was distress and perplexity, the sea and the waves roaring, and men's hearts failing them for fear.

"Not one of our company, I will venture to say, had any expectation of seeing the light of another day. For myself, I thought deliberately of each and every member of our family, and breathed a silent farewell to each: of many of my friends by name, of former scenes and seasons: of various missionary fields, and offered prayers for each and all: of my own past life, and of the certainty, for so it then seemed to me, that in a few hours I should enter on the untried realities of which I had so often thought. I know not that my mind was ever in a calmer state, or that I could more deliberately reflect on what I wished to fix my thoughts upon: and though I could not feel those clear convictions of my safety I have sometimes

felt, yet my faith was fixed on the Rock of Ages, and death seemed to have but few terrors for me. In such a night, and with such expectations, it was wrong to sleep; and though benumbed with rain and cold, and almost exhausted for want of rest, I did not close my eyes during the whole time. Many precious Scripture truths passed through my mind; such as—"When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee," which I applied to myself in a spiritual manner; for, situated as we were, I could scarcely expect to have them literally fulfilled. I know not when I felt more strongly the delightful sublimity of the expression, "He holdeth the waters in the hollow of his hand," or the feeling of security even for the body, which for a moment it gave me.

"As you may suppose, there were few words spoken, and the only sound we heard, besides the wind and rain and the roaring sea, was that of the boys bailing out the water. Towards two or three o'clock in the morning, (by our conjectures, for we had no light to see with), the wind and sea seemed to abate, and finding we shipped very little water, we began to hope that our lives might yet be spared. The morning slowly dawned, but as it dawned the wind and sea increased. As soon as we could see, the foresail was hauled in and hoisted to the wind, and the mainsail spread, and we commenced again our perilous course. Soon the cry, "Land ho!" was raised, and when the morning had fairly dawned, we saw it stretching along right before us, about ten miles off. We must have been driven many miles during the night to be so near it. Soon our hopes were greatly excited, for the land had the appearance precisely of that about the entrance of Manilla Bay. We could see what we took to be Point Hornos, Mount Marivelcs, the island Corregidor, and the Lora Mountains; and we were filled with joy at the prospect of so soon ending our voyage.

"We steered directly for the land, meaning to get behind some projecting point, and wait till the sea became calm. Meanwhile, however, the wind and sea rose again; the heavens became black behind us, and there was a great rain. To our sorrow, also, we found that we had mistaken the land, for

none of us had ever seen it before. But it was too late to go back, the squall was upon us; and though the rain fell so fast that we could not see more than twenty yards, yet on we must go. There was a little island on the right, and the captain was on the point of steering the boat so as to get round under its lee, when we saw heavy breakers right ahead. We turned off to the left, though at an imminent risk, for this brought our broadside to the sea, and several light waves dashed over us. There were breakers on the left too, but we were directed in a channel between them, and rounding a projecting point of rocks, we saw a little cove sheltered from the wind, and as smooth as an inland lake. Soon our boat touched the bottom, only a few yards from the shore. We jumped overboard, secured her by ropes to two or three trees, and we were safe! It was a time of joy. With one consent, we gathered together under the trees, and offered up our thanksgiving and praises to God, with prayers for future assistance and protection. It was a scene worthy of a painter's skill,—our little boat fastened to the trees, our scanty baggage piled upon the shore, and ourselves under the custard-apple trees, standing with upturned faces, while the rain dropped upon our bare heads, as we lifted up our voices, and I trust our hearts also to that God who had held the winds in his fist, and the waters in the hollow of his hand, and had brought us through dangers which we never expected to survive. It was well we came in when we did, for it was then high tide, and a few hours later the channel through which we had passed, was itself one mass of breakers. Our boat would inevitably have been dashed to pieces there, and some, if not all of us, would have perished among the waves."

We have given this interesting narrative in some detail, for the escape is one of the most remarkable on record. The gale which was successfully weathered by an open boat loaded nearly to the water line, proved destructive to large ships; some dragging their anchors even in the harbour of Manilla; others driven on shore or foundering at sea. They landed on the island of Luban, September 30th; and on October 3d, reached Manilla in safety. He was received with great kindness and sympathy by Mr. and Mrs. Moore, and Mr. Edgar,

the brother of the latter, who gave him a free passage for Hong Kong; for which place he embarked October 10th, and arrived after a rough passage on the 17th of the same month, just four months after he had left Macao for Singapore.

From Hong Kong he proceeded to Macao, where he remained until August, 1843, engaged in studying the language, preaching regularly on the sabbath to the American and European residents, and waiting for the expected reinforcement of the mission from America. As it was important that some member of the mission should visit the northern ports of China, recently opened by the treaty with Great Britain to foreign commerce, Mr. Lowrie in the latter end of August left Macao for Amoy and Chusan, calling in his way at Hong Kong. This is a small, irregular-shaped island. Its entire circumference is about twenty-seven miles, and so hilly and rocky that it is only by cutting down hills and levelling the ground, that suitable building sites can be obtained. Its great recommendation is its position and its fine harbour. It was taken possession of by the English in January, 1841, and received as a dependency of the British crown in June, 1843. Its population in 1841 was about four thousand, but in 1843 it amounted to twenty thousand. During the voyage from Hong Kong to Amoy, he passed in sight of the three great opium depots along the coast, at these places. The opium dealers in Canton and Macao, have ships constantly stationed to supply the smaller vessels, which carry opium to different parts of the coast. The number of vessels employed in this traffic is very great. A single mercantile house in Canton and Macao has about fifty vessels, ships, barks, brigs and schooners, while another house has thirty or more. The laws of China which forbid the introduction of opium are a dead letter. The Chinese officers connive at the traffic. One of the greatest difficulties in the way of Christian missions in China, arises from the prevalence of the use of this intoxicating drug. When a man acquires a taste for opium, there is nothing he will not do to gratify it; and its use is most deleterious. It injures the health, stupefies the mind, and deadens the moral feelings. When it is once confirmed, it is almost impossible to abandon

it. The fondness of opium is one of the strongest chains in which Satan has bound this great people.

Mr. Lowrie arrived at Amoy September 5th. "Multitudes, multitudes," he says, was the impression fastened upon him in walking through the crowded streets, and looking over the close-built environs of the city. The suburbs are much larger than the city itself. Each street is closed at either end by gates every night; all are narrow and dirty. It is hardly possible for foreigners to live in the close filthy quarters generally occupied by the Chinese. The country around Amoy consists almost entirely of bleak, stony hills. Its population is generally estimated at two hundred thousand. The residence of the missionaries was on the island of Kulangsu, near the city. This island is about three miles long and not quite one mile broad, and is exceedingly beautiful. Full three hundred thousand souls are accessible from this spot, whom a missionary might reach without spending a night from home. The use of opium is very common. Mr. Lowrie says he was informed on good authority, that every man in Amoy who could afford to buy it, was more or less addicted to its use. Infanticide also prevails to a fearful extent throughout the province. It is supposed that one-fifth or one-sixth of the children in the district around Amoy perish by the hands of their parents.

Mr. L. left Amoy September 7th, for Chusan. From Hong Kong to Amoy, three hundred miles, the coast is rocky, bold, and mountainous; but after passing the former place, it is level, with gentle elevations and depressions, for about two hundred miles, when it again becomes rocky. When within one hundred and twenty miles of Chusan, the monsoon changed, and after vainly contending with it for some time, the vessel was obliged to return to Amoy, which they reached September 26th. Early in October, he and Mr. Abeel made a visit to the neighbouring city of Chang-Chow. He closes his journal, kept during his sojourn in the neighbourhood of Amoy, by remarking on the denseness of the population. "If," says he, "the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore were situated in a valley forty miles long and ten or fifteen broad, and the whole intervening country were so thickly covered with villages that a man should never be out

of sight of one or more of them, still the population of that valley would not be as great as is the population of that part of China of which the preceding pages speak. At seven o'clock in the morning we were at Amoy; by two o'clock P. M. we had passed Hacteng and Cho-bey, and were anchored at Chang-chow. Here were four cities, any one of which would be a city of the first size in the United States, and around these four cities there must be at least two hundred villages and towns; and this is not all, for within thirty miles of Amoy in another direction, is the city of Tung-an, said to be twice as large as Amoy, with I know not how many towns and villages in its neighbourhood. . . . I am astonished and confounded, and even after what I have seen, can scarcely believe the half of what must be true, respecting the multitudes who live in China, and the multitudes who are perfectly accessible to the efforts of the missionary. . . . Two years ago, the Protestant missionaries were confined to Canton and Macao, and in neither of those places were they allowed free access to the people, or those opportunities of social intercourse with them, that are indispensable to the full success of the missionary work. Now, how changed the scene! Here are four large cities with innumerable villages around them, where we have free access to the people, without encountering the prejudices which so long hindered us at Canton and Macao. . . . . It has been strongly impressed on my mind, from what I have lately seen, that to no country will the Saviour's words 'to the poor the gospel is preached,' be found so applicable as to China. . . . The great mass of the people are poor in the strictest sense of the term. . . . You see it in the coarse clothing they wear, the food they eat, the homes they inhabit, the furniture they use, and the wages they receive. You see it in the fact that their only coined money is so small that it requires twelve hundred to make a dollar; and happy is he who receives two hundred of these for his day's labour. Let the missionary who comes to China, bear this in mind. The highest talents are needed in preaching to the poor, but especially will he need the graces of humility and self-denial, of faith and of patience, in his intercourse with this people, and his efforts to instruct them."

On returning from Amoy to Hong-Kong, he was again in great danger. He had embarked in a little vessel of some thirty tons burden, manned by three Englishmen and four Chinese. The weather proved stormy, and the day after getting to sea the rudder broke, and rendered them perfectly helpless. Happily the wind and current drifted them on their course, and after several days they got the rudder so repaired as to control the motions of the vessel, just in time to prevent their being drifted out on the China Sea, where their only chance of safety would be to be picked up by some passing vessel. The gale in which the little Lordra broke her rudder, was very violent further south. The ship in which Dr. Hepburn and his wife had embarked from Hong Kong to Amoy was obliged to return with the loss of spars, sails &c., and that in which Mr. Medhurst and Mr. Milne were proceeding to Chusan, lost her top-mast, had her captain swept overboard and drowned, and was finally obliged to put into Manilla in distress.

Before the end of the month of October, Mr. Lowrie went from Hong-Kong to Macao, which for the present he considered his home. In a letter to his father, dated Macao, Oct. 26, 1843, he expresses at length his opinion of Dr. Morrison's translation of the Bible. He had previously characterised it as very imperfect and unintelligible to the Chinese. To account for this, he remarks that Dr. Morrison was the first protestant missionary who commenced the study of Chinese. He had to make his own grammar and his own dictionary. He could not be expected to master the most difficult of all languages in a few years, under such disadvantages. Being in the service of the East India Company, he was necessarily conversant chiefly with phrases and idioms of use in mercantile transactions, and his time was so much taken up in other duties, that he could not devote sufficient attention to so important a work as the translation of the Scriptures. Besides all this, his version was made when he was yet learning the language, and not in the maturity of his knowledge. He commenced it in less than five years after he began to study Chinese; finished the Acts in 1810, only three years after his arrival in China; prosecuted his translations, as he says him-

self, 'with many an aching head' from his duties as translator to the Company, and finished in 1819. His subsequent revision and corrections, were very, very slight indeed." The wonder is that under such circumstances so much was accomplished. A plan, he adds, was formed in a convention of the protestant missionaries, to make a new translation. "The plan is, to take the New Testament first; divide it into five portions, and assign one to each station where there are missionaries competent to the task. After each station has finished its portion, it is to send a copy to every other station. After they have all revised each other's work, one person is to be selected from each station; these are to meet together and revise and publish the whole." "In regard to the tracts, many of the same remarks made on the other translation of Morrison's Bible, are equally applicable to them. They have been made in the early stage of the missionaries' studies. One or two of Medhurst's are very good, and one or two of Milne's. The Two Friends, by the latter, is perhaps the best Chinese tract we have, and is generally understood. . . . There is no foreigner living perfectly acquainted with the language; and even those who speak it really very well, often make mistakes in writing it, and use phrases and idioms that a Chinese never uses and does not understand. A learned man among the Chinese may be able to pick some sense out of their writings; but a common man, and the mass of Chinese readers are and will be common men, are often at a loss to find the sense."

The year 1844 was spent by Mr. Lowrie in the laborious prosecution of his studies, and in attending to the general concerns of the mission. During this year a considerable accession was received to the Missionary corps; and after prayerful consultation it was decided that Mr. Happer and Mr. Cole, printer, should remain at Canton, with the press; that Mr. Lloyd and Dr. Hepburn should go to Amoy, to be joined by Mr. Hugh A. Brown, when he should arrive; Mr. Lowrie, Mr. Way, Mr. Culbertson, Mr. Loomis and Dr. McCartee were to go to Ningpo.

The printing press and the matrixes for Chinese type were received in February. Printing Chinese with movable metal

type was a new enterprise, of great difficulty. The type were to be cast, and four thousand different characters were to be arranged in cases for composition. Mr. Cole was experienced in English printing, but he had no knowledge of Chinese, and the entire arrangement of the Chinese characters devolved on Mr. Lowrie. After months of labour all difficulties were surmounted and the press went into operation in June. Besides this, much of his time was required on behalf of the other missionaries. As he was in a measure at home, and they in a strange land, their business affairs naturally fell to his share. These various duties, together with his correspondence with the Mission House, and the preparation of several important articles for the press, fully occupied his time.

On January 21st, 1845, he left Macao and turned his face towards the North. As few vessels sail for the northern parts of China during the North-East monsoon he was detained nearly a month at Hong-Kong. At length he obtained a berth on board the Rob Roy, a clipper bark, the captain and mates being English, and her crew a motley mixture of Bengalis, Malays, Manila-men, with one or two Arabs, two Chinese, and a Portuguese from Goa, the blackest man on board. They left Hong-Kong on the 16th of February, and in sixteen days were in the latitude of the Chusan Islands. The latter part of the voyage was not so speedy. Though they had less than two hundred miles to run, it was not until March 11th, they cast anchor at Woosung, about fourteen miles from Shanghai. The whole country around the latter city is perfectly level. The soil is rich. There are no stones, not even pebbles. Farm houses and villages dot the country in every direction, and clumps of bamboos, with orchards of peaches and plum trees, and willows by the water courses relieve the sameness of the ground. Two crops, one of wheat, and the other of cotton, are raised every year, and in some parts a third crop of rice is also procured. The city is of a circular form, surrounded by walls, about fifteen feet high, and nearly four miles in circumference. The population is about two hundred thousand. By the Woosung river it is connected with the city of Loochow, the capital of the province, and one of the most luxurious and wealthy in the

empire, and also with the Grand Canal which reaches Peking. Hence its situation is one of great importance, and its trade is immense. Every foreigner who has visited Shanghai gives the inhabitants a much higher character than those of Canton. They are rather taller, and of a more ruddy complexion, and much more civil and well disposed than their southern countrymen. In passing through the streets one is rarely insulted, and the opprobrious epithets so common in Canton and Macao are scarcely ever heard. The appearance of the city however, is not very prepossessing, and among the Chinese themselves it is pre-eminent among the dirty cities of the empire.

Tuesday, April 1st, he reached Chusan and was rejoiced to find his associates Messrs. Loomis and Culbertson had already arrived. Much of his baggage and his books were sent by the ship which brought his colleagues from Hong-Kong. On opening the boxes, they found his books sadly injured, some utterly ruined, three-fourths defaced or seriously damaged. This to a missionary far from libraries was a severe loss.

April 11th, he passed over to Ningpo which was to be the seat of his missionary labours. Ningpo lies in the centre of a large plain, surrounded on all sides by mountains, and intersected by innumerable canals, which serve the double purpose of irrigation and travelling. A covered boat and boatman can be had for a whole day for twenty-five cents. The plain is at least twenty miles in its narrowest part, and much wider in other places. The whole of this great amphitheatre is thickly studded over with villages and farm houses, and has two or three large cities besides Ningpo. The foreign trade of this port is not so great as it once was. When the treaty was formed in 1842 it was supposed that Ningpo would be the most important of the five ports. The vicinity of Shanghai to the city of Loochow and the great canal gives it great advantages.

Having devoted his attention while at Macao to the study of the Mandarin dialect, from which that of Ningpo is said to differ as much as French from Spanish, he was obliged to begin anew, so far as the spoken language was concerned. This with the necessary attention he was called upon to devote to

correcting the press, and other similar duties, somewhat retarded his progress in learning to speak, while he was only the more rapidly increasing in his knowledge of the written language. Under date of April 21st, 1846, he says to Mr. Lloyd at Amoy, speaking on this subject: "I find it a very serious drawback in my studies and acquirement of the language, that so much of the best part of my missionary life, was spent where the dialect I was studying was not spoken. Although I know more of books than any other here, yet McCartee speaks incomparably better than I do, and both Culbertson and Loomis will probably be preaching before me. What in the world should I do among the 'tones' of your delightful dialect." In the same letter, however, he says that he had already tried preaching, once or twice, though "like the man who tried to swim before he had been in the water," he did not succeed much to his satisfaction. By October of this year he had obtained sufficient command of the spoken language, to enable him to preach regularly. He says in his journal Oct. 4, 1846, "To-day commenced a Chinese service in my house. Put up a notice at the door, inviting *choo pang yew*, 'all the friends', to come and hear; prepared seats for about forty; and about the hour my servant went to the door and invited the passers-by to come in. . . . Some came in with their burdens; some looking half afraid; some ran right out again; some stood up; some sat down; some smoked their pipes; some said what is the use of staying, he is a foreigner, and we do not understand foreign talk. The attention was none of the best, for it required all my courage and presence of mind to keep going, and the people feeling quite free to talk and make remarks, I got along no better than I anticipated. I am not discouraged, though by no means flattered by the result of this day's experiment. There were some forty persons present." It must require almost a faith that can remove mountains, to enable a man to preach the gospel hopefully in such circumstances. He informs his father, under date of Dec. 31st, 1846, of his manner of preparing his sermons. "I write," he says, "a sermon in Chinese every week; about eight pages; not so large as a letter-paper sheet. This I look over several times, especially on Sunday; put up a notice on

my doors, that in the afternoon there will be preaching, and open my doors shortly after dinner—say half-past two. One of my servants, or my teacher, stands at the door and invites passers-by to come in. The great difficulty is to get an audience to begin with. . . . I commonly commence as soon as there are five or six persons present, and if the weather be at all fair, I am pretty sure in five or ten minutes to have from fifteen to forty persons." But as the people continue coming and going he often would preach the same sermon over again the same afternoon, to a new audience; and thus frequently had the opportunity of presenting the gospel to fifty or a hundred persons on a Sabbath.

Thus ended the year 1846. During the early months of 1847, the same course of labour was continued. Having been appointed one of the delegates for the revision of the translation of the Bible, he went to Shanghai in the early part of June. He expected the convention would not sit more than six or seven weeks, but it was soon found that a much longer time would be necessary. The other members of the convention were Drs. Medhurst, Boone, Bridgeman, and Mr. J. Stronach. They were soon arrested in their labours by the question; what is the proper word for God in Chinese? Morrison and Milne had adopted the word *Shin*, as meaning God, or Divinity in general. Mr. Medhurst for many years did the same, but afterwards, used the expression *Shang Te*, Supreme Ruler. Mr. Gutslaff did the same, and under the influence of these two gentlemen, the most experienced Chinese scholars in the field, most of the missionaries adopted the expression. Of late years much had been said on the subject. It was objected to the use of *Shange Te*, that it is a distinctive title of the national deity of China; and secondly, that it is not a generic term, and cannot be used in translating such passages as "Jehovah our God," "The unknown God him I declare unto you," and the like. Dr. Medhurst, and Mr. Stronach were decidedly in favour of the designation last mentioned; Dr. Bridgman, Bishop Boone, and Mr. Lowrie were as decided in their preference for the word *Shin*. The result of this discussion is not stated in this memoir.

Mr. Lowrie had now been rather more than five years in

China. During this time he had accomplished a great deal notwithstanding the interruptions occasioned by his numerous voyages, and the attention he was obliged to give to the business concerns of the mission. In a letter to his father dated December 5th, 1845, he says, "After a good deal of thought, I am about settling down to the opinion, that I ought to aim at a pretty full knowledge of books and writings in Chinese. In a mission so large as ours, and where we have a press, there must be some one tolerably at home on some points. Now, I have been so circumstanced, as to be obliged to turn my thoughts much that way, somewhat to the disadvantage of my speaking fluently, and I am so still. I have laid such a foundation of acquaintance with the written language, as enables me to go on with some ease, and such as the other brethren can hardly be expected to do in some time. They are accordingly outstripping me in the colloquial, though I have the advantage in books, and can easily keep it up. My education and previous habits are also such as fit me more for this than mingling with men, unless actually obliged to do so. I propose therefore not to neglect the colloquial, but to lay out a good portion of my strength on reading and writing Chinese; keeping in view chiefly the translation of the Scriptures, and works explanatory of them, and perhaps the preparation of elementary books, and it may be a dictionary, a thing greatly needed. What do you think of this plan? You will not think I mean to neglect the great work of preaching, for I trust to be able next year to undertake regular services. I might do it now, if I had no accounts to keep, letters to write, and advice to give to others, especially in the printing office. That you may see how much I have been hindered one way and another, since coming to China, I may say that, though it is nearly four years since I left you, yet I have had a teacher, and by consequence, have been studying the language effectively, only twenty three months, and of those, three are hardly worth counting from the interruptions I met." There can hardly be a doubt that this purpose to devote his attention principally to the written language was wise. The principle of the division of labour is as important in the missionary work as elsewhere. There should always

be some men, who from their talents, habits and providential circumstances are led to cultivate learning. They are after all generally the most useful men; because the preparation of books and especially of translations of the Scriptures gives them a wider and a more permanent field of influence than can be occupied in any other way. Henry Martyn, Carey, Marshman, and others belonging to the class of learned missionaries, are those whose labours have been productive of the greatest results.

In the letter just quoted Mr. Lowrie informs his father, that his commentary on Luke, which with the text, he says, would make a handsome volume of a hundred pages, was ready for the press. He strenuously urges the necessity of explanations to attend the written word, because the doctrines, the historical allusions, geography, customs, &c. are all strange to the heathen. He says his teacher asked him twenty times during the preparation of the work, "How can you expect us to understand this book? I do not understand it, who have been reading books all my life, and how can less learned persons comprehend it?'

Another laborious work in which he was engaged was the translation of the Shorter Catechism. "I first write it," he says, "in as good Chinese as I can, and then copy it off, and correct it two or three times, till I am pretty sure it expresses the idea, and then talk it over with the teacher, and get him to correct obscurities and errors in style. . . . The Catechism is so condensed, that it is a very hard thing to translate, and it is also very hard to find equivalents for some of the terms." Speaking of this subject on another occasion, he says: "There are more terms in the written language than in the spoken, but they are of no more use to the common people than the Latin and Greek terms in theological and philosophical books are to the unlearned at home. I know of no term in the language to express precisely 'chief end.' For 'decree,' there is a good word, *ming*, in the written language, but not in the spoken. For 'covenant,' *yo* is a good word, but it is understood only by scholars, nor is there any good word for it in the colloquial. 'Providence,' 'fall,' 'redemption,' 'original sin,' 'effectual calling,' 'justification,' 'adoption,' 'sanctifica-

tion,' 'privilege,' 'holy,' are all very hard words to be put into intelligible Chinese. Most of them may be expressed, after a sort, in the written language, which is very copious, but when it comes to the spoken language one is at a loss, and a great deal of circumlocution is unavoidable."

In his Journal, under the date of April 18th, we find this entry: "Finished the first draught of the Shorter Catechism in Chinese, and May 11th finished revision of it with teacher."

A work of still greater difficulty, to which he early turned his attention, was the preparation of a dictionary. He first speaks of this subject in a letter to his father, dated September 15th, 1846. "I got my head full of a notion of preparing a dictionary of the Four Books the other day, and may perhaps try to make something out of it. There is no existing dictionary by which a Chinese student can read even the Four Books with satisfaction. Morrison's is the best. My plan would be to make a dictionary, 1st. Of all the words in the Four Books, about 2500: this would be the great body of characters used in the language—Dyer's list having only 3500. 2. To give all the meanings of each word that occurs in the Four Books, which, as they are the foundation of the literature of China, would be by much the greater part of the important definitions needed. 3d. To give pretty full biographical notices of all the persons, and notices also of the places mentioned in the Four Books: this would give nearly everything that is important in ancient Chinese history. The above is the better half of what I have cut out. To do it, without interfering with my more direct and more important missionary labours, would require between two and three years. Should this plan succeed, I might afterwards try my hand at a more important and ambitious effort, i. e., a dictionary of the language; but this is so vast an undertaking, that at present I have little idea of trying it. The dictionary of the Four Books I think I can manage, and it would be an important contribution towards a general dictionary." In a letter dated December 31st, 1846, he says: "I still keep at preparing a dictionary of the Four Books, spending two or three hours every day at it. It is a very pleasant recreation, and I find it one of the best modes for getting accurate ideas

of the sense of the characters, so that it will be time well spent, if never a line sees the light. I thought at first that there were about two thousand five hundred characters in the Four Books, but on countiug, as I have made out a list, I find there are about two thousand two hundred and fifty. I have already noted down one or more, sometimes eight or ten, significations to about one thousand two hundred of them. But this is not the half, nor the hardest part of the work. I think, however, if I go on as I have begun, that I may get all the significations noted down in four or five months more; and then eight months' moderate work would bring it into a state fit to see the light. Since writing to you at first, however, I have thought of extending it so as to include the Shoo-king and She-king, or Book of Records and Book of Odes. This would increase the number of characters to about three thousand five hundred. My plan would include pretty full biographical and historical notices of China, from the days of Yaou and Shun to those of Mencius, say from B. C. 2100 to B. C. 300, and would make a large quarto volume." In writing from Shanghai, June 3d, 1847, he says: "I have collected all the significations of all the words in the Four Books, and have concluded to go on with the work so as to include the Five Classics, though perhaps I may not include the *Le Ke*, a large and for the most part very trifling and useless work. In the Four books there are in all two thousand three hundred and forty-five different characters, and in the Four Books and Five Classics, the *Le Ke* excepted, there are rather more than four thousand and two hundred. I may perhaps send a list of them some day, from which you will see that the great body of the language is contained in them, i. e., the great body of the really useful characters. Now, my plan is to give each of these characters with its pronunciation in Mandarin, and in the dialect of each of the five ports now open to foreigners. Then to give the etymology of the word from native dictionaries, where I think such etymology worth notice. Then to give the different significations, whether as verbs, nouns, adjectives, &c., and at least one quotation to illustrate each signification, with reference to the page and line where found. This will be the body of the work: but my

plan includes a good deal more, for as the whole of the ancient history, geography, &c. of China is contained in these Four Books and Five Classics, I want my work to be a sort of "Classical Dictionary" on these points. Hence I propose short biographical, historical, geographical sketches under the appropriate characters, with references to such native and foreign authors as may give the student fuller details. You see this is a pretty extensive plan. As to time, I have no idea that I can do it in less than five years, without neglecting other works which I think are entitled to the first place." His master soon called him to a higher service.

It is evident from the whole drift of his letters and journals, that his estimate of the importance of China as a missionary field, was constantly increasing. On this subject we give a single extract from a letter to the Society of Inquiry, Princeton Theological Seminary, dated November 1st, 1845. "Your last question, 'The magnitude of the field and the prospects of the mission?' is one on which a volume might be written, but the space already consumed warns me to be brief, the more so as I may have an occasion hereafter to refer to it. I can only say this: Few have any idea of the extent of the ground that is opened and opening to our labours, and none know where the things will end, whose beginnings we have lived to witness. The opening of China to foreign intercourse, is an event which finds few parallels in the history of the world. This country is a world in itself; and the thought has often occurred to me, while traversing its beautiful plains and crowded streets, 'What a world has been revolving here of which Christendom knows nothing!' I have been led to make excursions of twenty or thirty miles into the interior, from each of the cities of Amoy, Shanghai, and Ningpo, and every where the country is like a vast beehive, swarming with inhabitants. It is the same about Canton, where I have also been, and doubtless the same about Foo-chow. I have not known what it is to be out of sight of a human habitation since I have been in China, and where there is one there is commonly ten. I have scarcely ever seen a little valley, or a hollow among the hills, where industry could cultivate a bed of rice, or a crop of greens, that was not occupied. It is scarcely an

exaggeration to say, that temples and monasteries are as common here as farm-houses in Pennsylvania, and I have seen the streets of Ningpo crowded with many ten thousands of people, to see an idolatrous procession in honour of 'all the gods.' Now all this vast and teeming population of idolaters must have the gospel, or perish. Books will not do the work. It is the living teacher who must speak unto them the words of life. Such is the field we cultivate. As to our prospects, you have them in the concluding verses of Psalm cxxvi.:

They that sow in tears,
With shoutings shall gather the harvest.
Going he shall go, even with weeping, burdened with the seed to be sown:
Coming he s..all come, and with shouting, burdened with his sheaves.

It is a great ground of encouragement that the climate of China, though of course very different in different parts of that vast empire, is on the whole healthful. On this subject Mr. Lowrie says of Ningpo, (Jan. 25th, 1847): "We have, on the whole, a delightful climate. A heavy fall of snow last night made every thing look homelike, but it all melted away during the day." At an earlier period of his mission, (November 4th, 1843), he said: "I think the climate of the parts of Ningpo and Shanghai most suitable for persons from the United States; that Canton and the Fuhkeen provinces are unfavourable to those disposed to bilious complaints, but well adapted to those who have a tendency to pulmonary affections." The lowest point reached by the thermometer during his three years' residence at Macao, was 45° of Fahrenheit. It generally ranged, during the cool season, between 50° and 60°. The long warm season, however, he found enervating. Amoy and Hong-Kong had been unhealthy, as he supposes, from temporary circumstances. He says he would not have the slightest fear in going to either of those places. In Shanghai and Ningpo the climate is different. "We have pleasant, cool and cold weather for nine months, and warm weather for three, July and August, and parts of June and September. Of the warm weather, six weeks are uncomfortably hot; worse, if any thing than Macao."

The peculiar obstacle to the missionary work in China, is the language; and that not merely on account of its difficulty,

but because of the multiplicity of its dialects, and the difference between the written and spoken language, and because of its poverty and cumbersomeness. It is almost inconceivable how such a language can ever be made the vehicle of life, and a means of regeneration to the people. The original roots of the language are not very numerous, but by combination and difference of accentuation and intonation, they are indefinitely multiplied. These tones or accents are commonly reckoned as five; others make eight, others as many as eleven or thirteen, each giving the word as spoken a different meaning. There are no declensions or conjugations; all the relations of words expressed in other languages by these grammatical changes, are in Chinese expressed by auxiliary words, or are left to be gathered from the connexion. The written characters were probably originally symbolical. They are now partly symbolical, partly phonetic, and partly ideographic. Their relation to the spoken language is still a matter of dispute, even among Chinese scholars. The idea that they are analogous to musical notes, or to arithmetical or algebraic signs, to be read with equal ease, by persons of all languages, who understand their import, is, we believe, generally abandoned. It is certain, however, that the written language is the common language of the country; and is understood by those who, in consequence of diversity of dialect, cannot understand each other when speaking. The student, therefore, has to learn two parallel languages; the one as written, the other as its interpretation in some particular dialect. The radical characters, or keys, as they are called, are said to be two hundred and fourteen, but the combinations are by some made to amount to twenty-five thousand, and by others to twice or even three times that number. The labour of impressing such a multitude of signs on the memory must be immense, but it is said that not more than eight or ten thousand are in ordinary use.

There is a good deal of information concerning the Chinese language, and much good advice as to the best method of studying it, scattered through this volume, which we should be glad to collect if our limits permitted. In writing to Mr. Lloyd, before the latter left America, he advises him to learn the radicals immediately, so as to be able to write the whole

of them off, and give the name and meaning of each, without once looking on the book. He also urges him to learn in speaking to use the abdominal and intercostal muscles, which he says would greatly facilitate the acquisition of the power to express the tones. In a letter to the students at Princeton, November 20th, 1843, he says: "I suppose the Chinese is the hardest language in the world, and perhaps no foreigner will ever acquire it perfectly; certainly no foreigner ever has acquired it perfectly. But I have seen some men who have been here much less than ten years, who do speak it with great fluency, and are quite intelligible not merely to the teacher, who has become accustomed to their pronunciation and modes of thought, but to the people in general, and that too in the most difficult of all the dialects. . . . If you come and sit down manfully to the task, determined from the outset to be satisfied with nothing less than an accurate acquaintance with the *tones*, and with the *sounds*, and with the *idioms*, you will find yourself in two years' time proceeding with profit and pleasure."

In writing to his father, May 30th, 1845, he says: "The *spoken* language of China (my remarks are about the Mandarin, but they are substantially true of all the dialects) is like all other languages in the world, polysyllabic. I am aware that some of our best scholars, with whom I would not pretend to compare myself, assert the contrary; but to me it seems as plain as that two and two make four, that if words have any meaning, the Chinese spoken language is polysyllabic. . . . . In consequence of this fact, that the spoken language is not monosyllabic, it would be perfectly easy to write it in Roman characters; and there would be no more danger of mistaking the meaning than there is in English. In consequence of this, also, I am inclined to think that we should learn to speak faster and better, by not attempting the Chinese characters at all, at first; and were my missionary life to be gone over I would do so. It is the way the Roman Catholic missionaries do. So much for the *spoken* language. Now in regard to the *written* language, the case is very different. There are a vast number of characters, and most, not all, of them are complete in themselves; the sound of many

of them is alike, but their shape and meaning are different. See them, and you know at once what they mean. Hear them, and the first Hanlin in the empire cannot tell you." The example given is the word *Foo*. There is Foo, a father; foo, a husband; foo, an officer; foo, a deputy governor. Each of these has its separate character, and is therefore known by the eye; but as heard, they are all the same, unless the syllable foo be pronounced in connexion with the word which decides its particular meaning. Thus foo-tsin, is a father; chang-foo, a husband; kwan-foo, an officer. In writing there is no necessity to give both characters, but one reading aloud that others may understand, supplies the additional syllable as he goes along. Here is the radical difference between the written and spoken language. The classical style abbreviates as much as possible, using only one syllable, whenever that one will convey the meaning to the eye. When a boy goes to school, the first thing he does is to learn the names of the characters, but not their meaning. Five years are spent at this, and at the end of that time, he can perhaps repeat the whole of the Four Books, without knowing the meaning of a solitary character. Then the characters are explained to him.

The difference between the written and spoken dialects is the radical difficulty. There are, however, he adds, others not less perplexing. The greatest is the pedantry of the Chinese, which leads them to adopt high-flown expressions, laboriously concise, for common-place thoughts. The first sentence, for example, of the Sayings of Confucius, is, "The philosopher says, To learn, and times to practise it, not also gratifying, eh?"

Writing to James Lenox Esq., December 9, 1846, he says, "This language, I mean as written, is one of the greatest possible barriers to the spread of the gospel here. I may be mistaken, but to me it seems irresistible, that till a change as great as that which came over the languages of Europe at the reformation, comes over this language, it will be unfit for the extensive dissemination of truth among the mass of the people. I mean of course the written language. We can now preach the gospel in the spoken language; but the spoken language is not a written language; and thus, as far as the mass of the

people are concerned, we have no means of reaching them, but the living teacher, or such of their educated people as may feel interest enough in our books to explain them to the people."

There is great difference as to the use of the tones in the different dialects. Much use is made of them in the dialect spoken at Amoy and in the Fuhkeen provinces, but in that spoken at Ningpo, they are of less importance. In reference to the latter Mr. Lowrie says, "Generally speaking, if you get the idiomatic expressions, you need not bother your head about the tones; and none of us pay any theoretical attention whatever to their acquisition." Great as the difficulty arising from this peculiar language undoubted is, it is not enough to discourage missionary effort. The fact that so many missionaries succeed in a few years to make them intelligible both in speaking and writing, is proof that ordinary talent and perseverance are all that are necessary, to surmount this apparently formidable obstacle.

We have sometimes heard the trials of a foreign missionary made light of in comparison with the various privations which our brethren in the far west, are called on to endure. Such comparisons perhaps ought not to be instituted; both classes have trials sufficiently severe to render them objects of reverence to those who dwell in ceiled houses. But the judgment above alluded to, assumes mere physical comfort as the standard. It is true that the foreign missionary has often less difficulty in finding food and raiment than some of his brethren at home, but even this advantage is in most instances more than balanced, by the debilitating and depressing influence of a foreign climate. But those outward trials are not the real burden, the missionary has to bear. Besides the surrender of home, country, christian intercourse and christian privileges, a sacrifice in many cases far greater than the missionary himself contemplated, there are other sources of depression still more severe. Some of these are enumerated by Mr. Lowrie is a very affecting paper found, after his death, among his manuscripts. The first of these is the disheartening effect produced by finding oneself surrounded by thousands of immortal beings, whose language is unintelligible, and whom

therefore, one cannot address. When this is in a measure removed, then comes the trial of preaching to careless, fluctuating, disorderly audiences, scarcely more attentive, or, to all appearance, more susceptible than irrational animals. Years often pass without the slightest apparent fruit from all these labours. The heart has to be sustained under all these discouragements, and made to hope against hope. Then there is that sense of loneliness. "Our congregations," says Mr. Lowrie, "are dead, we have no christian families to visit. It is not pleasant to go through the crowded burial grounds here, or to look out over the plains. Death reigns. An idol temple deforms every scene. The air is loaded with the smoke of incense offered to devils. The breezes waft sounds of idolatrous worship to our ears. We look over a region where there are thousands and myriads of people, and we feel that we are alone here. Oh, the loneliness, the utter desolation of soul, I have sometimes felt in walking through these crowded streets, the very dogs barking at me for a foreigner, and not one among all these thousands to whom I could utter the name of Jesus with any hope of response. Dry bones! very dry! we are walking among decaying skeletons, and grinning skulls, and death reigns. This is loneliness." To all this is to be added the depressing, polluting, as Mr. Lowrie calls it, influence of the abominations by which the missionary is surrounded. "We have to look on idolatry and vice as common things, and to accustom ourselves to see with comparatively little concern things that would deprive you of your rest." Piety must be sustained under all these depressing influences and without the abundant means of grace enjoyed in a Christian land. Let those who think of going to the foreign field consider these things; and let those who send them bear in mind the peculiar difficulties with which the missionary among the heathen has daily to contend.

It is these peculiar trials of the foreign missionary; his being cut off from all the usual supports of domestic and Christian society, that furnish one of the strongest reasons why, as a general rule, he ought to be a married man. Mr. Lowrie was never married, yet his remarks on this subject, written as early as the second year of his missionary life, contain more

wisdom and truth than we have seen in like compass anywhere else. We have no room to quote them, but commend them to the serious attention of the reader. They are found on pp. 256-258 of this Memoirs.

While at Shanghai in attendance on the convention for reviewing the translation of the Scriptures, he was sent for to return to Ningpo to attend to some pressing concerns of that mission. He left Shanghai, August 16th, by the canal Chapoo, with his servant and another Chinaman in the service of the mission. They arrived at Chapoo on the 18th, and embarked early on the morning of the 19th for Ningpo. They had sailed about twelve miles, when suddenly a vessel was seen bearing down upon them very rapidly. This proved to be filled with pirates. They boarded the boat in which Mr. Lowrie was sailing, and began to beat and wound all in their way. Him they did not strike. Before they had done plundering, the idea seems to have occurred to them, that when he reached Shanghai, he might be the means of their punishment. They therefore determined to throw him into the sea. As they were in the act of casting him overboard, he turned himself partially round and threw his Bible upon the deck. That sacred relic has been preserved. He soon sank to rise no more until the sea is commanded to give up her dead.

While in college he was much impressed by a discourse delivered by an agent of the American Board. The preacher, in speaking of Messrs. Lyman and Munson who fell as martyrs in Borneo, remarked, that had they "lived to fill up their three score years and ten, and toiled, and laboured, wrote and translated, and been as successful as any of our present missionaries, thay would not, in all human probability, have been as useful by one half, as they have been just by their death." Such was his hope in their case; it may be our's in his. At any rate, we are assured that he is not lost to the service. He is only removed to a higher sphere. In the mean time, his memoir perpetuates his life on earth; and will doubtless be the means of creating and extending a more intelligent interest in the missionary work, and of moulding the purposes and character of those whom God may call to take his place.

ART. V.—*The Doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race, examined on the Principles of Science.* By John Bachman, D. D., Professor of Natural History, College of Charleston, S. C. Charleston: C. Canning, 29 Pinkney street. 1850. 12mo. pp. 312.

We regard this volume as one of uncommon interest and value. It reveals, on the part of the author, a learned, minute, and practical acquaintance with the sciences embraced in the argument. He is a practical cultivator of natural history; and has, we think vindicated a high rank for himself among naturalists, by laborious, ingenious, and, in the applications which raise natural history into the range of true science, fruitful, researches and discoveries. We admit, therefore, the competence of the author; and in the handling of his subject, he displays a vigorous and comprehensive grasp of intellect, which ought not to be impaired in the judgment of the reader, by the evidences of carelessness or want of culture in regard to the graces of style, or the absence of a clear logical order in presenting the ample and conclusive materials of his argument.

The doctrine of the unity of the human race, as it is essential to the whole religious system of the Bible, as well as taught in express terms, so it has been the common faith of Christendom. In modern times, however, a question has been raised, whether the extreme diversity existing among the several varieties of the race, especially between the Caucasian and African, does not require a distinct parentage to be assigned to the latter. Men of science, with few and questionable exceptions, were found on the side of the scriptures. The ground mainly relied upon by the scientific advocates of the unity of the race, besides the essential agreement of the several varieties in their structure and functions, was the indiscriminate mixture of blood, and the indefinite fertility of their offspring, against the established law of nature, which either prevents the mixture of different species of animals, or renders their hybrid product incapable of permanent self-propagation. To this a feeble resistance was first attempted,

on the allegation that the offspring of the different races of mankind, have shown a tendency to degenerate and die out, in accordance with the law of reproduction, as applied to different species. But as this assumption became clearly untenable, as a matter of fact, another ground of argument was taken up, and the attempt was made to show that hybrids are not necessarily sterile. About three years ago Dr. Morton, of Philadelphia, published in Silliman's Journal, a very elaborate collection of cases, which were supposed to show that new species of animals were permanently established by the mixture of contiguous species. Dr. M. did not, however, push his conclusion to the extent of denying the doctrine of the unity of the human race; but as his conclusions manifestly favoured the views of those who did, Dr. Bachman has felt himself called upon to re-examine this scientific problem; and in so doing, has scattered to the winds the proof gathered by Dr. M. in favour of the doctrine he had sought to establish. Meanwhile, the distinguished naturalist, Professor Agassiz, at the late meeting of the American Association for the Promotion of Science at Charleston, S. C., has startled us by expressing a very significant doubt, as to the question whether the various races of men are all sprung from the same parentage. While he expressly admits, that in the higher sense of the doctrine, as held by its advocates, he fully believes that all the varieties of men possess essentially the same physical, intellectual and moral constitution, and are subject to the same laws, entitled to the same privileges, and animated with the same hopes, he yet supposes them to have sprung from different centres of population. He also avows his belief, that the scriptures were addressed wholly to one race, and contemplate the destiny of that race alone, in all their statements; while they imply, in repeated instances, the existence of other races, having a distinct origin and a distinct history.

We have no intention of entering at present into the merits of the question discussed by the author. All that we have space to do, is to state the posture of the parties to this controversy, and the relation which it holds towards the scriptures. On this last point we think the learned gentlemen who have

conducted the scientific argument, on both sides, have fallen into a serious mistake. Dr. Bachman himself plants his heavy and well managed battery on wrong ground. And while the selection of his position may evince entire confidence in the weight of his metal, and the success of his cause, yet it exposes him to unnecessary annoyance and some damage, and prolongs needlessly the issue of the contest. He has cleared away with his own hands the breast work of defence, to whose protection he was legitimately entitled.

In the first place, these gentlemen must bear in mind that this is not purely a question of science; at least not of natural science. It is partly a historical question; and in a still higher and more commanding sense it is a religious question. It is not, therefore, like the questions touching revelation which grew out of the early inductions and generalizations of astronomy, geology, and antiquarian research. It is not simply a question of interpretation. It enters into the heart of the very object for which the scriptures were given. The injudicious intermeddling of some friends of revelation was ruled out, in the other cases, on the ground that the scriptures were not given to man for the purpose of teaching science. In this instance, the same objection cannot be allowed. The very object of the Bible was to clear up the history of the fall of man, to explain the condition in which he is found, and to reveal a plan for his recovery. The question under debate involves, therefore, not only the anatomical and physiological structure and functions of the several races or varieties of men; but still more vitally their moral character and condition. They have all not only the same number of bones, muscles and organs, as the naturalists have demonstrated, but they are all sinners. This is the important point to which the scriptures speak. How came this to pass? Clearly not by creation. How then? Natural science is silent, and the Bible answers, by the transgression of the natural head of the race, in consequence of which death entered into the world; and the result has been that all their descendants have inherited from their progenitors a corrupt and dying nature. Of course this solution reaches no farther than to their natural offspring. The question is, does it include all varieties

of men? All need a solution; for all are in the same moral condition, and require the same provision for the future. Does the solution of the Bible include all? This is obviously another form for the question, was the Bible intended for all classes of men, and is it true of all? The progress of human culture and civilization make it certain, that the scriptures are to be the common property of all, from the Caucasian down to the African. Now if the great absorbing fact in their condition, their sinful nature and consequent need of salvation, is not to be referred to their derivation from one source, or as the scriptures express it, to their being "made of one blood," then it is clearly wrong to give them the scriptures at all. We have no warrant for offering the salvation of the Bible to any but the race of whom it is the genuine history. If its statements are to be limited as Agassiz intimates, to the race to whom it was given, while there are other races of men, proceeding from other centres of population, how can we determine to whom its privileges of right appertain? If it be answered that the New Testament authorizes the offer of the gospel to every creature, we reply that this is no more general than the statement, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." The very rule of interpretation set up by these gentlemen, is, that the universality of the terms, is to be restricted to the race contemplated by the revelation in question. Where then is our warrant for offering salvation to the African? If they do not belong to our race, that is, are not descended from our first parents, they are not, in the sense declared by the scriptures, either partakers of our guilt or of our remedy. How then came they to be sinners? and how are they to be saved? The doctrine of Agassiz utterly breaks down here. And as the savans have warned theologians not to tread on their ground, while they are settling questions of pure science; so now we are entitled to warn them to respect ours, in questions of religion. For if any question is a question of religion and revelation, this is one. It involves not only the history of the fall, but the plan for the redemption of the race; or in other words, both the relation to Adam and the relation to Christ. Both are on the same footing. Both stand and fall together.

And it is needless to say that these constitute the very marrow of the scriptures.

We repeat that the inspired History cannot be ruled out, in the settlement of this question, except on principles that involve blank deism. And why should it? We have said before, that next to the religious bearings of the point in dispute, the question is a historical one rather than a question in science. And for antiquity and authenticity, it is hardly necessary to add, that there is no historical authority comparable with the Bible.

But it may be impatiently demanded whether science has nothing to do with the question? Whether we are to accept the teaching of the scriptures, on a point involving the natural history of man, even if the human structure, examined in the light of science, should contradict that teaching. This suggests the second leading remark, in regard to the state of this question; viz: the true relation which science holds to this controversy.

It should be remembered, then, that the doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race, has been universally received, on the evidence of the inspired history of the Bible, the only positive authority we have upon the subject. Recently, however, a question has been raised—by whom or for what purpose, it might seem invidious to specify—whether the doctrine is compatible with the differences observed in the anatomical and physiological characteristics of the several races, or varieties of men. Now it is evident that the sole question for the naturalist to determine, is that of this alleged incompatibility. It is not whether, in the absence of all knowledge on the subject, we might not suppose the different varieties of the race, to constitute different original species; or whether that would not be, on the whole, and in the absence of such knowledge, the most satisfactory hypothesis—but whether it is impossible that the doctrine of the Bible, which alleges a common parentage, should be true. Is it so clearly impossible on scientific grounds, that we are compelled to reject the scriptures as false, because they affirm it? It is not as Dr. Backman intimates, a curious point in natural history, about which we are to examine patiently the probabilities, and so determine whe-

ther a given variety is a separate species or not; just as we would undertake to decide whether the China and the common Goose, belong to the same or to separate species, merely on the ground of a slight anatomical difference in the structure of the larynx. But supposing we had a clear, unquestioned and continuous history, established by an indefinite amount of evidence, of the origin of these different varieties from a single stock, the question is, whether the anatomical difference is such, as to compel us to set aside that history as false, on the ground that it cannot be true.

With this state of the question let any one look into the uncertainty, under which naturalists labour, in determining the question of distinct species, and the obscurity and difficulty which hang over the origin of different and permanent varieties, springing from the same species; and the notion of overthrowing the foundations of divine Revelation, by any such methods, would resemble that of forcing a walled and well armed fortress, to surrender, by levelling against it a child's popgun.

We own that there are few things which more provoke, we can hardly say our disapprobation, but our absolute contempt, than most of the reasonings we have seen upon the negative of this question. It is notorious that vastly greater diversities, in every particular, are found among animals that are known to be derived from a single original source. In proof of this we have only to cite the difference in form, size, colour, covering, conformation and size of the cranium, disposition and habits exemplified in the case of the Arabian courser, the Shetland poney, and the massive draught-horse, all of which are known to be varieties of the same species (*Equus Caballus.*) Similar differences are exhibited in almost every species of domesticated animals,—the cow, the sheep, the swine, the cat, the dog. Every one is familiar with the contrast presented, for example, between the St. Bernard and the lap-dog,—the New-foundland web-footed water dog, and the Italian grey-hound,—the bull-dog and the terrier or setter. In view of such diversities as are springing up and becoming permanent varieties under our very eyes, to concede, as the facts require, that the anatomical structure in all the

varieties of the Human race is the same, bone for bone, muscle for muscle, nerve for nerve, organ for organ and function for function, and then attempt to degrade a portion of the race to a level with the brute, and to set aside the Bible, freighted with the happiness and hopes of the race, and supported by a multiplicity and amount of evidence, that produces not only conviction but certainty, because, forsooth, the heel, (os calcis) of the African, happens to average a line or two more in length than that of the Caucasian, or because there are a few more fibres in the muscles of his lips, accompanied in general by a feebler degree of cerebral developement and a deposit of a different hue, in the *rete mucosum* of the skin, is to move our scorn, to a degree that few human follies are capable of doing.

Dr. Bachman, following almost the entire corps of scientific naturalists, maintains that if there were no certain knowledge on the subject, the unity of the race would unquestionably result, from the mere application of the acknowledged principles of science. And we think he establishes the point by overwhelming evidence, drawn from a vast variety of sources. But whether he does or not, surely the bare fact that such an argument can be constructed by such men, is evidence that the hypothesis which it assumes, is not so clearly absurd and contradictory, that the Christian must cast away his Bible, because it teaches that hypothesis. Let the naturalists remember that the Bible solves this question historically; and let them accept its solution, unless it is manifestly impossible.

We should be exceedingly glad to present to our readers an analysis of the able, cumulative argument of Dr. Bachman, together with some thoughts of our own, suggested by the masterly works of Prichard, Balbi, Adelung, and the concurrent testimony of the later comparative anatomists—especially Mr. Owen, of the British Museum; but our crowded space forbids. We heartily recommend the work before us, as a thorough and candid examination of the scientific questions involved in the controversy. We believe few ordinary readers can rise from its perusal, without perfect satisfaction, as to

the only point, about which the Christian feels satisfaction to be needed.

We may say in a word, that the author demonstrates from a very large, laborious, in great part original and careful induction of facts, that the law of propagation in the organic world, excludes the origination of new species, by the mixture of existing species; and hence the capability of permanent reproduction, is the characteristic test of a species. The fact, therefore, that all the varieties of men reproduce indefinitely, and permanently, proves that they all belong to one species. To this law there is no known exception, in the entire kingdom of nature, either animal or vegetable.

The author next undertakes to show that the hypothesis of different human species, even if it were possible, is wholly unnecessary and unphilosophical; because changes fully equal and even much greater, extending to important anatomical and physiological differences, are known to have originated, and often become permanent as varieties, as the result of accident, association or culture; and that this is especially true among domesticated animals, or in other words among those which are most closely allied with man. The truth of this conclusion, of course, excludes the scientific argument, so far as it impeaches the express teaching of the Bible. If all those diversities from which a separate origin of the races of men is argued on scientific grounds, are paralleled, and even surpassed, in every particular, in ascertained cases of common origin, then the argument is answered, and the revealed historic record stands untouched.

In the Second Part of his work, Dr. B. goes into a scientific exposition of the various causes tending to produce the several varieties of the human species, in their relations and correspondencies with inferior, and especially domesticated, animals: thus concluding his proof that they are mere varieties, springing from a common source, and not separate species, by pointing out the causes, and the mode and progressive action of the causes, which have resulted in the change in question. The argument is thus comprehensive and complete; and while we are not prepared to endorse the analysis and inferences of the author, in all the numerous cases submitted to examina-

tion, we are prepared to express our full conviction that he has made good all the important points of his argument.

ART. VI.—*The Rise, Progress and Structure of the English Language.* By the Rev. Matthew Harrison, A. M., Rector of Church Oakley, Hants; and late Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. Philadelphia: E. C. & J. Biddle, No. 6, South Fifth St. 1850. 12 mo. pp. 393.

We have often wondered that the field of research and discussion covered in this volume has been left so long unoccupied; and had at last begun to hope, that an American scholar, who is understood to be devoting considerable attention to the Anglo Saxon and its relations to our tongue, would have the honour of supplying the desideratum in Literature, which the author of this treatise has essayed to furnish. Although this is an essay in the right direction, there is still scope enough for other labourers in the same wide and rich field of authorship.

We have in the first place a very compact history of the origin and formation of the English Language, and the changes it has undergone; in which the several sources contributing both to its vocabulary and its grammatical forms, are brought into view, as well as the nature and extent of the contribution from each. In this there is very little that is new to any one conversant with the learned labours of Bosworth, Thorpe, Turner, Prichard, Kemble and Percy. The summary, however, is well done, and adequate acknowledgments are made in general, to his predecessors in the historical department; except in the case of Bishop Percy, whose classification of the Celtic and Gothic affiliated tongues, is too important a contribution to the literature of a difficult and previously very confused subject, to be adopted entire, without some special acknowledgment.

The second part of the work is Philological, consisting of a dissertation on the principles of the formation of Languages,

the genius and character of the English tongue and the sources of its corruption. Although this portion of the book is instructive, and in the main satisfactory and true, we must enter our protest against the hypothesis adopted, conditionally at least, in the opening sections, which accounts for the structure of language as if it were purely a human invention, springing out of the social wants of men, casually meeting each other as they roamed the forest, in a state of the lowest savagism. We are well aware that the adoption of this hypothesis is no avowal of hostility to the revealed history of man, and we are aware that it underlies the philological speculations of some able authors on language, who are firm believers in Revelation. We find it even in the judicious, moderate, and matter-of-fact reasonings of Dr. Blair. In the lips of those who, like Horace, regard the human race as originally a "mutum et turpe pecus," assuming by slow degrees, the divine perfection of form and intellect, reached by man, this language would be at least consistent. But how men who regard the scriptural account of the creation as true, can treat us to such hypothetical reasonings about the formation of language, has always seemed to us surprising. If it be meant as a conditional hypothesis, intended to explain the philosophy of language calculated backwards,—that is, on the supposition that such would have been the natural process in the formation of language, provided it had been a human invention,—still we must take leave to except strongly to the mode of statement, as savouring of a hostile dialect; and also, to say the least, of very questionable utility. This is evinced by the endless conflicts and contradictions in which these philosophical architects of language are involved with each other. The same mode of reasoning has been applied, as is well known, to all the great social institutions of the race, even to the origin of government itself. Nothing could be more untrue both to history and to human nature. Man began his career, both individual and social, not as a savage or an oyster, but in possession of the highest powers and in the highest state of perfection the human race has ever known. It is useless to inquire what we can gain, even hypothetically, by representing men as casually meeting in

the forest or the plain, and interchanging human sentiments and affections by inarticulate cries, or broken fragments of natural sounds, gradually articulated into the philosophical structure of a perfect language. Of course there is no indication of such a process within the period of history; but the reverse. The whole tendency has been to simplify, instead of rendering speech complex. The oldest historic languages, and even the languages of barbarous and savage nations, like those of the American Indians, are far more complex in their forms, than those which embody the highest philosophical culture, the race has yet reached.

And besides, it is obvious that man needs language—perfect as far as it goes—for the purposes of thought, to meet his fundamental wants as a human being in his individual capacity, just as much as to gratify his social nature. To suppose Adam without the divine endowment of language, is to suppose him an irrational and irresponsible being. It is to throw into confusion the whole history of man's creation, fall and recovery. It is a rational and moral heresy, as well as a historic untruth. The only hypothesis consistent with the facts of the case is that of Humboldt and others, which supposes that man was endowed by the creative act, with a perfect language, just as he was with a perfect reason; both of which were available instantaneously for every necessary rational and moral purpose.

We are sorry to see the author, in his discussion of the sources of corruption of the English Language, quoting from the intentional mock-vulgar style, of some American authors, such words as *wide-awakety*, *betweenity*, *go-awayness*, &c., &c., as if they were veritable Americanisms, and received by us outside barbarians, as English terms; against which it was necessary to put the empire of English letters on their guard. He might just as well cite the mock-vulgar spelling of Sam Slick, as evidence that we were corrupting the orthography of the King's English. We do not mean by this remark to plead not guilty to the indictment which the author is establishing. We only wish it were in our power to do so. But we object to evidence from such witnesses. We are bad enough, but we are not so bad as Mr. Harrison would make us appear, if such

specimens were allowed to pass unchallenged, as American English.

The third and much the largest part of the work is on the present structure of the English Language, and treats of the fundamental nature, the construction and relation of the several parts of speech. It is really, what is greatly wanted in these days of grammatical empiricism, an attempt at a philosophical grammar. Without expressing any opinion at present about the various points brought out, or to pronounce upon the views of the author, where he comes into conflict with such men as Harris, and Horne Tooke, we venture to assure our readers that few among them, who have studied the subject in the ordinary way, can read the work, without finding their horizon of knowledge greatly enlarged, and light shed upon some of the difficulties and anomalies of our difficult and anomalous tongue. It is, we repeat, an essay in the right direction, for which we are grateful; though it may leave much room for further research and discussion, both in the way of correction and improvement. We have no hesitation in affirming that there are many grammatical forms in the language, which can be made clear in no other light than that of their history. Modern usage is often unsatisfactory and even contradictory. The author quotes example after example from the classics of the language, showing clear mistakes in the usage of some even of the less difficult forms and idioms, which disfigure almost every page of inferior writers. These forms may be intelligible, but they are not explicable, and still less susceptible of right usage under new circumstances, without a knowledge of their true original form and use. Grammarians must learn, as well as others, that the only method of comprehending any complex historical subject, is to study it historically.

ART. VII.—*A Modern History, from the Time of Luther to the Fall of Napoleon.* By John Lord, A. M., Lecturer on History. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwaite & Co.

The scholarship of our country is gradually availing

of the principle of division of labour; and in proportion as it does so, our native scholars are taking rank in the various departments of literary and scientific distinction. We have already produced standard works on most of the leading branches of science, and also several historical monographs of established reputation, chiefly on topics relating to American history. Mr. Lord may be classed among the first successful and elaborate cultivators in that department of historical literature, which was founded by the learned and ingenious Italian, Vico, under the title of Nova Scientia,* but which is more familiar to most English students, in the works of the Schlegels and of Guizo, under the name of The Philosophy of History. Its object is indicated correctly enough by this title. It assumes that human history is not a casual and unmeaning collection of facts, like the natural history of the earth, nor yet an attempt to refer such facts to their origin in the springs of human action; but that it involves a moral element as the higher and governing element of all. Its aim is not to record mechanically the flow of human events like a self-registering instrument; this is the business of the mere annalist, nor to uncover the hidden motives which have guided the leading actors therein, which is the work of the skillful historian; but like the true philosopher of nature, to penetrate to the law which explains the course of the facts in question, and to reveal the true solution of the world of human action.

In attempting to do this, some authors regard the hypothesis of history purely from the human side; and thus bring into the discussion the various questions implicated in the history of the progress of the race, or in other words what they call the development of human civilization. In their view, the religious element of the individual and social state of man is regarded, if regarded at all, as the result of a law of progress inherent in man, and as one of the products of human culture and refinement. This hypothesis was a great favourite with the French authors of the close of last century

* A highly able and interesting work, though not free from religious error, better known to us in the French translation, La Science Nouvelle, Par Vico: traduite par L'anteur de L'Essai sur la formation du Dogme Catholique. Paris, 1845.

and the beginning of the present; and received from its several supporters a moral and religious tinge, depending upon their peculiar tenets. We have every latitude of religious belief represented among its promoters, from Turgot and Condorcet through Madame de Stael, down to Guizot.

Others approach the study of the subject from the opposite side; and preoccupied with the faith of the scriptures, seek for the true solution of the great problem of human progress and human destiny, in the revelation, which God has made of his plan and purpose with reference to man. They attempt, not indeed to create, but to explore and explain the history of the race, with the torch of revelation in their hands. That this is a legitimate application of revelation, need not be argued to one who believes in revelation at all. And if it is legitimate, that it is the surest and safest guide, is self-evident. If the great purpose of man on earth, as indicated by any complete analysis of his constitution, has a constant and controlling reference to his relations to the divine and the future, how can any attempt to generalize the laws which govern his course and drift, and to evolve the true theory of historic progress, be either true or complete, which does not comprehend religion, as revealing both the final and the efficient cause of the main central movement of the race. The great objection to the European, and especially the French and German authors on the subject, is that their religious stand-point is wrong; and no wonder, therefore, that their projection of the chart of human history is distorted and false. The fundamental truths derived from revelation alone, touching the original state of man, in the image of God in knowledge and holiness; and not as the philosophers assume, in the condition of an infant and a savage—touching his fall from that state and his progressive depravity,—touching the only agency provided for his renovation and sanctification, viz: the spirit of God, and the instrument of that renovation and sanctification, viz: the truths of religion as revealed in the word of God, and touching the great organic provision made for the efficiency of both, in the Church of Christ;—who does not see that these are not only essential, but the main elements in any true theory of human progress and human

civilization. And yet these are either left out of view by most, especially of the continental authors on the subject, or else emptied of their divine contents, their power and glory; and then placed in a false position, on the same level with human science, literature and art, as mere instruments of mental and esthetic culture.

We have been led into this train of remark, not because Mr. Lord enters into the discussion of these points formally in the volume before us; but because much of the distinction which he has justly acquired on both sides of the Atlantic as a lecturer on history, we believe, has been derived from his clear philosophical exposition of the true hypothesis of the various historical epochs; and because an attentive consideration of the current of his narrative, shows that enlightened and just views on the subject really underlie and pervade his work. Wherever we choose to sink a shaft to a sufficient depth, we strike upon them, and where the circumstances furnish an adequate occasion, they crop out upon the surface.

Although we regard this as a main merit in the historical labours of the author, yet in order to prevent misapprehension on the part of such of our readers as may not have seen the book before us, we ought to say, that it is a continuous narrative, embracing all the most essential topics in the period of which it treats, that of the history of modern Europe, after the revived Christianity of the Reformation began to quicken the dead institutions of the middle ages with the spirit of genuine liberty.

It was one object of Mr. Lord to furnish, in somewhat moderate compass, for the use of students and young persons generally, a substitute for those wretched, lifeless skeletons, with which publishers and paid book makers are flooding us, under the name of abridgements, or histories for the use of schools. We have lately had the opportunity of hearing the young members of a family, enjoying the advantage of the most popular schools in an adjoining city, preparing their recitations on history. The process was just such as might have been anticipated from the character of the books they were "studying." The sentences were cut up into clauses, containing half an idea, or no idea at all, and sometimes even

the most palpable falsehood, and all memorized, with the same unthinking, parrot-like repetitions; until by the law of physical association, the utterance of one word drew after it the utterance of the next, and so the sentence and paragraph were finally completed. Of course history cannot be learned in any such way; nor indeed any thing else of the kind, (for we found children trying to learn astronomy, natural philosophy, chemistry, natural history, and we know not how much more, in the same way;) and for the purposes of education, the effect of the process seemed to us to solve the problem of developing the minimum of intellect, and supplying the minimum of useful and wholesome knowledge. We do not believe any one could practice this method upon the volume before us. It has too much vitality, to be cut up into inch pieces, for the purpose of study. The most conspicuous characteristic of Mr. Lord as a historian, is enthusiasm in his favorite subject. And like all genuine enthusiasm, it imparts itself to his reader.

It was no part of our intention in this brief notice, to bring into discussion any of the points which appeared to us to be presented in an unsatisfactory, inadequate or erroneous way. We have no hesitation in expressing on the whole, a highly favourable opinion of the book, for the purpose intended to be answered by it.

SHORT NOTICES.

Art. VIII.—*The Kingdom of God.* A Discourse, preached before the Synod of New Jersey, October 17th, 1849. By Charles K. Imbrie, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Rahway, N. J. Published at the request of several members of the Synod and others. New York: Franklin Knight. 1850.

Americans are often accused of considering their country the whole world. We fear that American theologians will lay themselves open to the accusation of thinking their church, the church universal, and their theology the whole field of divinity. Mr. Imbrie throughout this discourse contrasts two

theories about the millennium. The one he calls the church doctrine; the other, which he advocates, is that of the personal reign of Christ for a thousand years, before the consummation. He speaks of the former, as the common doctrine of Christians. He regards it as part of the general faith of Christendom, and looks upon it as one point as to which the church has lapsed from the teachings of the Apostles. Now the truth is it is no church doctrine at all. It is a modern theory, of very limited extent; almost peculiar in fact, to a certain portion of the churches in America. His whole discourse is constructed on a false hypothesis. He assumes that there is no other view of the subject of which he treats, than the two theories which he here contrasts. He therefore supposes, if he has demolished the one, the other must of necessity be admitted. This is a mistake. He may successfully disprove the doctrine at present popular in this country, as to the millennium, and yet the whole doctrine of the church as to "The Last Things" be left untouched.

There are three views on this subject. The first is the Jewish doctrine; and by Jewish, we mean that actually held by the Jews. They taught, 1. That the Messiah was to appear and reign in person gloriously in Jerusalem. 2. That all the Jews were to be gathered in the Holy Land. 3. That the pious dead were to be raised to share the blessings of the Messiah's reign. 4. That the Messiah and his people were to reign over all nations for a thousand years. 5. That at the end of that period, Satan was to be loosed, and a great conflict ensue, after which were to come the general resurrection and final judgment. This theory was by many Christians, during the second and third centuries, adopted bodily. The only difference was that what the Jews expected to occur at the first coming, these Christians anticipated at the second advent of the Messiah. This doctrine has been revived at different periods during the history of the church; and after making a great noise for a while, has gradually died out. In our day it has experienced a new resurrection, and if we may judge from the past, is destined to a long sleep after a short and turbulent life.

Another modern and more spiritual view of the millennium,

has gained general prevalence of late years in this country. It rejects the doctrine of the return of the Jews to their own land; of the personal appearance and reigning of Christ for a thousand years, but retains the idea of a millennium. That is, according to this view, the gospel is gradually to spread over the earth; the power of the truth is to be greatly increased, nations are to be born in a day, and a state of universal and exalted purity and piety is to be introduced and to continue for a thousand years. After that, a great defection is to occur, in the midst of which Christ is to come a second time, and the consummation of all things is immediately to follow.

The third general doctrine on this subject is, that the present order of things, called the dispensation of the Spirit, is to continue to the end of the world. The church, on the whole, is to advance, sometimes more and sometimes less pure and prosperous. But there is to be no such millennium as is assumed by the advocates of the other theories to be predicted. The glowing passages which are referred by some to the period of Christ's personal reign, and by others to the spiritual millennium, are according to this view, to be understood, of the state of things after the final consummation. They relate to the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness; to that glorious liberty of the sons of God into which the whole creation is to be introduced at the day of final redemption. According to this view there is to be a second personal, visible advent of Christ; when he shall appear to be admired in all them that believe, and to take vengeance on them that obey not the gospel. The kingdom of Christ is then to be established, not for a thousand years, but forever. It is not to be an earthly, but a heavenly kingdom. It is to consist not of Jews mainly, but of all the redeemed; not of men in their earthly bodies, but of the saints in their spiritual bodies. Its seat is not to be the Jerusalem that now is, but the heavenly Jerusalem, which is the mother of us all.

How far the gospel is to prevail over the earth before the final consummation, and what is to be the fate of the church in the meanwhile, is not clearly revealed. It is the common opinion that it is to prevail very extensively, if not universally,

that the Jews as a people, or the great body of them, are to be converted, but it is not assumed that there is to be any millennium strictly speaking.

This third view is substantially the church doctrine; that is, it was the doctrine maintained against the millennarians of the second and third centuries, and which became prevalent through the eastern and western churches, and was defended by every branch of the Protestant church, at the time of the Reformation, against the Ana-baptists. This is the doctrine which our author ought to have assailed, instead of opposing one form of millennarianism to another. This doctrine supposes that the church is to advance until all the elect are gathered in; that then, and not before, Christ is to appear the second time, without sin unto salvation; that then all the dead are to rise; the final judgment is to be held; the world and all that is therein is to be burnt up, and the everlasting kingdom of the Messiah to be established in glory.

There are certain points connected with this subject which appear to us abundantly plain. 1. That the scriptures speak of but two personal and visible manifestations of the Son of God. The one to establish his kingdom by his ministry and death, the other for its consummation. 2. That the Old Testament prophecies do not chronologically discriminate these two advents, but speak only in general of what was to take place when the Messiah came; part of what they said having reference to the first and part to the second coming. As these descriptions and predictions are not discriminated in the Old Testament; they can be distinguished only by the event. How much therefore of the prosperity of the church which is foretold by the prophets, is to be realized before the second advent, and how much shall find its accomplishment only in the church as consummated, is more than any one, as we believe, is able to tell. 3. The Jews made a twofold mistake in the interpretation of their prophetic writings. First, they understood them in a literal or carnal sense, as predicting an earthly kingdom; and second, they referred them all to the period of Christ's first coming. The whole school to which our author belongs, fall into, as we conceive, precisely analogous errors. First, in assuming a literal interpretation of the

Messianic prophecies: a principle which they are perfectly capricious and arbitrary in carrying out. And secondly, in assuming the pre-millennial advent of Christ and the establishment of an earthly kingdom. Now as the scriptures expressly connect the final judgment with the appearance of Christ coming in the clouds of heaven, this theory requires there should be three advents; the one already past; another before the millennium, and a third when the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father, and with his angels, to reward every man according to his works. 4. A fourth point, which seems to us to be plain beyond contradiction, is that the kingdom which Christ is to establish at his second coming is a heavenly, as distinguished from an earthly kingdom. That is, it is a kingdom which supposes the regeneration, or restoration of all things so different from the present, that flesh and blood cannot inherit that kingdom. 1 Cor. xv. 50. It is a state for which the people of God must be prepared by having their bodies fashioned like unto the glorious body of the Son of God. This preparation is to be effected in reference to the dead in Christ, by raising in incorruption what was sown in corruption; by changing the natural into a spiritual body; and in reference to believers who shall then be alive, by a sudden transformation of the mortal into the immortal. 5, The scriptures accordingly everywhere teach that they who are Christ's, not some, but all his people, are to rise in the manner above described, at his coming, and that those who are alive are to be caught up to meet the Lord in the air. With this resurrection and change of all believers the scriptures associate the resurrection of the wicked, for some are to come forth unto life, and others unto shame and everlasting contempt. With this general resurrection is also associated the general judgment and the end of the world. For when Christ comes the heavens and earth are to flee away from his presence, and all nations are to be gathered before his judgment seat, and he will divide the righteous from the wicked, as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats.

The premillennial theory conflicts with these as well as with many other well established doctrines of the word of God, and is in its whole character Judaic, and in its whole tendency, as we conceive, injurious.

A Hand-Book of Modern European Literature. For the use of Schools, and Private Families. By Mrs. Foster. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1850. 12 mo. pp. 354.

This comparatively small volume contains a vast collection of the names of authors, and in part the titles or subjects of their works, in all the countries of Europe. Its pages are so crowded with these bald details, as to give it more the character of a bibliographic, than a literary work. The authoress displays astonishing research in accumulating her materials, but it is not in the compass of human power to make a work embracing so wide a scope, complete. To any thing like discriminating literary criticism, although the title-page and preface make some pretensions in that direction, it is hardly necessary to say, that the book can have but a very questionable title. As we are unwilling to do even scanty justice, to a well-meant effort in a very important department, we open the work at random, and quote the whole of what is said about two names of considerable prominence in German authorship. "*Fichte* wrote, On the Destination of Man; The Internal Self and on The Nature of the Scholar and its Manifestations. *Hegel* was a brother philosopher of the same age, whose system was only the historical sequel of anterior schemes, and is conveyed in very learned and abstruse language."

The authoress has attempted too much; and in heaping together names and titles, instead of selecting and displaying the salient and formative authors of each controling literary school in Europe, she has made her work almost as unreadable as a table of logarithms, and certainly far less inviting for consecutive perusal, than the pages of Johnson's or Webster's Quarto Dictionaries.

A Brief Treatise on the Canon and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. For the special use of Junior Theological Students: but intended also for private Christians in general. By Alexander McClelland, Professor of Biblical Literature in the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick. Second Edition enlarged. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway. 1850. pp. 236.

The First Part of this work treats of the genuineness and canonical authority of the Scriptures. Part Second contains the principles and rules of interpretation. "There are scarcely three pages in the whole volume, so exclusively addressed to theological students, that the unlearned reader can derive no advantage from them. It is hoped, therefore, that private Christians will not find their money thrown away in purchasing it." This work appears in a new dress, as well as in a much enlarged form. If we mistake not, the whole of that part which relates to the canon of Scripture, has been added since the publication of the first edition. A good deal of the residue of the book is simply a reprint. The remarks, therefore, which we made in reference to the work on its first appearance, are applicable to it in its present form. It covers ground, especially that portion which relates to interpretation, which is not much cultivated by English writers, and on which students need elementary instruction. Its maxims are unquestionably, in the main, sound. They are presented with clearness and illustrated with vivacity. Where we disposed to object, it is on the score of taste and feeling; about which, according to the proverb, it is useless to dispute. What we object to, is what the author doubtless is far from thinking a fault. We must, however, express our regret that the whole work was not written in the same tone as the Introduction; which is serious without being dull. In many other parts of the book, however, moderation and propriety are sacrificed to vivacity. This we regard as the great blemish of the work.

Ollendorff's New Method of learning to read, write, and speak the French Language: with lessons divided into sections of a proper length for daily tasks, and numerous additions and improvements, suitable to this country. By V. Value. To which are added Value's system of French pronunciation, his grammatical Synopsis, a new index, and short models of commercial correspondence. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chestnut St. 1850. pp. 576.

Companion to Ollendorff's New Method of learning to read,

write, and speak the French Language; or Dialogues and Vocabulary. By Geo. W. Greene, Instructor in Modern Languages in Brown's University. New York: D. Appleton, 164 Chestnut. 1850. pp. 273.

Expository Lectures on the Epistle to the Ephesians. By the Rev. Robert J. McGhee, A. M., M. R. I. A., late minister of Harold's Cross Church, Dublin; Rector of Holywell cum Needingworth, Hants. New York. Carter & Brothers. 1849. 8vo. pp. 640.

Extempore preaching is so far from being obsolete among the evangelical clergy of England and Ireland, that we here have a large volume of lectures delivered without notes and preserved by a reporter. They are Calvinistic and spiritual, and elucidative of an epistle eminently fitted to be discussed in expository lectures. Our favourable judgment of this pious work is founded on an examination of a part only; but it is confirmed by the admiration of competent readers.

Reasons for Public Thanksgiving. A Discourse before the Legislature of Georgia. By the Rev. Samuel K. Talmage, D. D., President of Oglethorpe University. 1849.

This Christian and patriotic discourse is by the able President of a young Presbyterian college, named after a soldier and philanthropist, whose life was like a romance of knight-erranty. Under such a head as Dr. Talmage, whom we have known and loved for many years, we may safely allow our wishes to predict for us, in regard to a seminary which is fast rising from temporary difficulties.

Addresses at the Inauguration of Mr. Charles King, as President of Columbia College, New York, Nov. 28, 1849.

The record of an interesting day in the history of a college which maintains its high position, and which was never better manned than at this moment. Everything from the practised pen of Mr. King shows the gentleman and the scholar. The address is easy rather than elaborate, and full of agreeable allusions. President King takes occasion in passing to show

that Columbia College is not an exclusive Episcopal institution, and that it never can become such. The tribute to the name of the Rev. Dr. Miller, who at the time of the inauguration had not yet left us, is as just as it is cordial.

Review of Ellwood Fisher's Lecture on the North and the South. Louisville, 1850.

Mr. Fisher, of whom we know nothing else, is represented by his reviewer to be a Quaker champion for those extreme opinions on slavery which many northern people injuriously treat as the doctrine of the south. His hypothesis is here demolished at a blow, by a hand which we recognise by its cunning and its strength, and which finds only an amusement in managing such a controversy.

John Howard, and the Prison-World of Europe. From original and authentic documents. By Hepworth Dixon. With an introductory essay by Richard W. Dickinson, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1850. 12mo.

As Dr. Dickinson justly says in his introduction, "There is a peculiarity in his life, and an originality in his labours of love and mercy, which elicit sympathy, win affection, and command our reverence." The work is fraught with instruction to the philanthropic, and Dr. Dickinson's observations are appropriate and striking. We point to John Howard, the rigid Calvinist, when we are told that Calvinism represses benevolence or cripples activity.

Daily Bible Illustrations: being readings for a year, on subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology. Especially designed for the family circle. By John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A. Antediluvians and Patriarchs. New York. Carters. 1850. pp. 408. 12mo.

The first of a series of four volumes. We are not particularly struck with this method of parcelling a book into weeks and days, yet it seems to be agreeable to many readers. The sabbath-portions are on devotional or doctrinal topics. Like all Dr. Kitto's works, this is full of entertaining matter, derived from the latest research, and all throwing light on

scripture. The reader would err greatly who should lay this book aside as superficial or merely popular; it really contains some of the highest results of modern research in antiquities and ethnology, so far as the period embraced is concerned. We could not but be struck with the number of American authors quoted by this learned British writer.

A Memoir of Lady Colquhoun. By James Hamilton, D. D. New York. Carters. 1850. 12mo. pp. 306.

Of this publication we have heard but one opinion, namely, that it is one of the most charming and useful biographies of the age. If any thing could be needed to give additional currency to a work of Dr. Hamilton, it would be found in the rare union of humble piety after the Presbyterian model with high rank and all the appliances of wealth.

Creation; or the Bible and Geology consistent; together with the Moral Design of the Mosaic History. By Rev. James Murphy, D. D. New York. Carters. 1850. 12mo. pp. 254.

In our ignorance of whatever relates to the origin of this treatise, we take it up with impartiality, if not rather with a prepossession for the subject, a popular discussion of which is a desideratum. Notwithstanding much interesting matter, and many just opinions, we think the work fails of rising to the greatness of the subject. The paragraph on pp. 45–46 is a specimen of singularly injudicious eulogy, where discriminating praise is really deserved. Extraordinary prominence is given to the phenomena of certain localities on the Hudson. The anecdote of the arithmetical Ulster fox, p. 197, needs confirmation.

A Pastor's Tribute to one of his Flock. The Memoirs of the late Hannah L. Murray. By Gardiner Spring, Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1848. 8vo. pp. 312.

Miss Murray died in 1836, in the fifty-ninth year of her age. This very handsome volume contains a memoir from the

pen of her friend and pastor. In literary and religious attainments this estimable lady appears to have been remarkable, and the tribute here given is full and instructive.

The Annals of the English Bible. By Christopher Anderson. Abridged and continued by Samuel Irenaeus Prime, Secretary of the American Bible Society. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1849. 8vo. pp. 549.

During the Rev. Mr. Prime's connexion with the Society, he prepared for the press this work, of which the title is a description, and in which all who speak English have a common interest. The history of versions, from Wiclif onwards, and especially of our authorized version, ought to be known to every Christian. It is properly followed by the history of Bible societies and Bible distribution; and the work is closed by a most important chronological list of English Bibles and New Testaments, from the year 1825, with valuable bibliographical remarks.

The English Pulpit; a collection of sermons by the most eminent living divines of England. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1849. 8vo. pp. 400.

Among the preachers are Cumming, Hamilton, Melvill, Bunting, Sherman, Raffles, Jay, James, Wolff, and Bishop Blomfield (not Bloomfield, as twice here printed.) Certain of the names are of much less note, but some of the sermons are fine specimens; and it affords to many readers their only introduction to men of whom they are often hearing.

Miscellanies. By William R. Williams. New York: Edward H. Fletcher. 1850. 8vo.

Slowly but surely Dr. Williams has risen to be an acknowledged leader of theological authorship in the church to which he belongs. This place has been attained without gifts of elocution, paroxysms of fine writing, or forward pushing into public notice; but by a rare union of extraordinary learning, exquisite taste, common sense, practical judgment and evangelical religion. Of these qualities we have a sufficient testimony in the miscellany now published. Its chief portions

have appeared separately. No occasional discourse has acquired more reputation than the one on the Conservative Principle of our Literature. The note, more properly the monograph, upon the ancient Latin hymn, *Dies Irae*, is a gem of critical dexterity and lettered tact. We wish the learned author would enlarge his collections, on this head, with reference to the remarks of Daniel, especially in his appendix. The articles in this volume are unequal; but the least striking of them shows the hand of the scholar and the Christian in every page. These judgments of ours are not expressed with any the less pleasure, because our opinions differ on some important points from those of the excellent author.

On the Common Maxims of Infidelity. By Henry A. Rowland. New York. R. Carter & Brothers. 1850. 12mo. pp. 306.

Infidelity presents itself almost always in the way of objections: we therefore most directly aid the common mind by taking these up. Books on the objections of infidels are most seasonable. The author makes a selection of very important ones. As, for example, that man is not responsible for his belief—that the light of nature is a sufficient guide—that we cannot err if we follow conscience—that if the life be right it makes no difference what one believes—that religion is the creature of education. These and the like objections are taken up and treated at length, the history of infidel opposition is also touched. In our opinion the author has chosen a branch of apologetical theology, which has been much neglected, and has treated it in a judicious manner. We take this occasion to express our belief that if ever there was a time when Christians ought to be well acquainted with their own defences, it is the present. There is every appearance of a new assault, not as formerly from avowed infidels, but from professed Christians. Let attention, for example, be turned to the lax opinions on Inspiration, which are gaining ground, through such authors as Morell, even among New England latitudinarians. Most emphatically would we protest also against a modern view of Miracles, borrowed from European philosophy, which degrades this form of evidence, as savouring of a bar-

barous age, and which undervalues external evidence in general. Every minister of Christ would do well to study afresh the subject of miracles, as against the insidious preparations of Germanizing divines to spring a mine beneath our walls.

The Complete Works of Henry Kirke White; with an account of his Life. By Robert Southey, LL. D. 1849. 8vo. pp. 420. Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia. By Dr. Johnson. 1850. 12mo. pp. 208.

To name these convenient reprints is to say all that is necessary. 'Dear Kirke White!' bursts from many lips, on the very mention of his name, sight of his likeness, or sound of his Christian verse. Both books are good for our youth.

The Sermons of the Right Reverend Jeremy Taylor, D. D. New York. Robert Carter and Brothers. 1849. 8vo. pp. 505.

No library of sermons is complete without those of Jeremy Taylor, the Shakspeare of the Pulpit; they are here very cheaply given in one volume. The theology of Bishop Taylor is loose to an extraordinary degree, sometimes going almost the length of Pelagianism. On points not debated between us and the Arminians, he is often great, and always eloquent. Beyond all English writers he is rich and luxuriant, and should be perused for the poetic elevation of his thought and the incomparable flow of his language.

1. *Evenings in the South of France.* From the French of Madame Guizot. 18mo. pp. 181. 2. The Two Sufferers Contrasted; or Fear and Anguish and Joy and Peace. A Record of Facts from the Chamber of Sickness and Death. pp. 132. 3. Mary Grey; or the Faithful Nurse. By the author of Ellen Hart. pp. 174. 4. Old Herbert and Little Alice. pp. 68. 5. Stories for Schoolboys. pp. 150. 6. Macdonald; or the Great Mistake; a story of real life. pp. 54. 7. The Turning Point; a book for Thinking boys and girls. pp. 52. 8. The Bar of Iron, or the Danger of Unsanctified Affliction. pp. 68. A. S. S. Union.

Notes on the Miracles of our Lord. By Richard Chenevix Trench, M. A., Professor of Divinity, Kings' College, Lon-

don ; author of Notes on the Parables of our Lord, etc., etc. Reprinted entire from the last London Edition. New York. D. Appleton. 1850. pp. 375.

This is an excellent work on the same general plan with the exposition of the Parables, which is already familiar to many of our readers.

1. *An Address*, delivered July 24, 1849, before the United Library Societies of Hamilton College. By Wm. B. Sprague, D. D. 2. A Discourse Commemorative of the Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D. By the same. Albany pp. 51.

From every side we hear encomiums on this discourse, in which the preacher has excelled most of his occasional efforts. The tone of the whole funeral sermon is felicitous. It is affectionate, comprehensive, harmonious and above all true. The appended list of Dr. Miller's works, though not absolutely complete, is useful, being such none are better fitted than Dr. Sprague to furnish. Most sincerely do we rejoice in the aid of a pen so ready, even to profusion, but which so far as we know has never sent to the public a line of error or extravagance.

A Discourse, Commemorative of the Life and Services of the Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D. etc., etc. By the Rev. Henry A. Boardman, D. D. Philadelphia. William S. Martien.

Much of what we have just said might be repeated concerning this discourse, which came next to our hands. It is the respectful tribute of another eminent pupil, well qualified to speak on the subject. The text, from 1 Samuel xxv, 1, is well chosen, and the parallel is striking, especially in what regards the name, the education, and the teaching office of the prophet. We owe Dr. Boardman our thanks for his short but significant vindication of theological seminaries. A brief memoir of Dr. Miller, and an account of his published labours give these pages a permanent value. Great prominence is given to a reflection which is as delightful as it is true, viz. "that it is quite impossible for any one to frame an adequate estimate of the results of such a life as Dr. Miller's." Concerning both these discourses, we may repeat the saying of Dr. Chalmers: *The true heraldry of colleges is their Sons.*

Egypt and the Books of Moses, or the Books of Moses illustrated by monuments of Egypt: with an Appeal by Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg, Professor of Theology at Berlin. From the German by R. D. C. Robbins, Abbot Resident, Theological Seminary, Andover. R. Carter & Brothers. New York, 1850. 12mo. pp. 300.

We need only refer to our notice of translation, in our number for January 1844. The author's name is attractive of readers and admirers, and the subject is treated at length, in the preceding pages.

A Historical Geography of the Bible. By Rev. Lyman Coleman. Illustrated by maps from the latest and most authentic sources, of various countries mentioned in the Scriptures. New Edition, with additions. Philadelphia. E. H. Butler. 1850. 12mo. pp. 519.

We are glad to see a third edition of this praiseworthy volume, which we noticed at the time of its original appearance. In this edition the references have been verified, and the whole carefully revised. There is also an additional map from Kiepert's Bibel-Atlas, and two of the others have been partly re-improved. The chart of nations is from Von Raumer. The Chronological Table, from the Babylonish Captivity, where that of the Ordo Seculorum substantially ends, is continued from the last edition of Winer's Realwörterbuch.

The works of Leonard Woods, D. D. Lately Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Andover. In Five volumes. Vol. II. Andover: Printed by John D. Flagg. 1850. pp. 587.

In our last number we expressed our opinion of the importance of the work which Dr. Woods is engaged in passing through the press. We trust he may be spared to superintend the publication to the end. The subjects embraced in this volume are Providence, Moral Agency, Atonement and Regeneration. The work will undoubtedly constitute one of the most valuable contributions to theological literature ever made by an American.

The Early Conflicts of Christianity. By the Rev. Wm. Ingraham Kip, D.D., author of "Christmas Holidays in Rome," &c., &c. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton. 1850. pp. 288.

This volume treats of the conflict of Christianity with Judaism, Grecian Philosophy, the Licentious Spirit of the Age, Barbarism, and the Pagan Mythology.

The New Republic. Written for the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. Boston: 1850. pp. 252.

An interesting little work on the rising republic of Liberia. Every thing which tends to awaken and diffuse interest in the welfare of African colonization, we hail with pleasure, and desire to see effective.

We have received several works recently printed by our Board of Publication. Among them are following:

Cardiphonia, or the utterance of the Heart in the course of a real Correspondence. By the Rev. John Newton, Rector of St. Mary, Woolnoth, London. With an Introductory Essay. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. pp. 494.

The Christian's Daily Walk, in Holy Security and Peace. By Henry Scudder, Late Minister of Collingborn Ducis, in Wiltshire. Recommended by Dr. Owen and Dr. Baxter. Philadelphia. pp. 342.

These are standard works, which need no commendation.

The following are smaller volumes, most of them designed for the young:

The Bedfordshire Tinker, or the History of John Bunyan. Written for young children. By G. E. Sargent.

The African Preacher. An Authentic Narrative. By the Rev. William S. White, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Lexington, Virginia.

Conversations of a Father with his Children. In two volumes.

Plain Thoughts about great and good Things. For little Boys and Girls. By Rev. William S. Plumer, D.D.

Converse with God in Desertion and Solitude. By Rev. Richard Baxter. Revised for the Presbyterian Board of Publication.

The following are still smaller works, handsomely bound in stiff paper.

The Pilgrim Boy of Monghyr, The Child bitten by a mad Dog. The Orphan Girl. And Who is it?

Heathen Scriptures. The Hindoo Girl. And Little George.

Scripture Lessons in Verse. By the Rev. Philip Doddridge, D.D. Revised by the Committee of Publication.

Jajana, Congo's Kraal, and the Little Missionary.

The Terror by Night. I want a Hymn Book. The Missionary Rabbits; and the Little Girl and the Rain.

The Little Jewess. The Ransomed Child, and Time to Seek the Lord.

Africaner, or Missionary Trials.

Mr. Moffat and the Bechuanas, and the Little Hindoo Baby.

History of Mary and Lucy Gutzlaff, and Blind Cecilia.

Scenes in the New Hebrides, and Shesh Achurjya.

The Saint and the Sinner. By Rev. Wm. S. Plumer, D.D.

The Bechuana Girl, Lessons from Heathen Lands, and Christ our Intercessor.

The Story of the Samaritans. Written for the Board of Publication.

The Moravian Missionaries, Old Jessie, and Sin found out.

All these works are got up in a very attractive form, and furnish abundant evidence that our Board is efficiently engaged in furnishing suitable books for all classes of readers.

A Pattern of Mercy and Holiness, exhibited in the Conversion and subsequent character of Col. William Yeadon, Ruling Elder in the Second Presbyterian Church, Charleston, S. C. A Discourse, by the Rev. Thomas Smith, D.D.

A Discourse on the Practical Tendencies of Calvinism. Delivered before the Synod of Wheeling, in Steubenville, October 18th, 1849. By the Rev. Wm. Eaton. Published by order of the Synod.

The Christian Minister's Great Work: The Sermon at the Consecration of the Right Rev. George Upfold, D.D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Indiana. By Charles Petit McIlvaine, Bishop of the Diocese of Ohio.

Ungodly Nations Doomed. A Discourse preached on the occasion of the General Thanksgiving, November 29th, 1849, recommended by the Governor of Lousiana. By R. L. Stanton, Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of New Orleans.

Denominational Education in Parochial Schools and Religious Colleges enforced on every Church by Divine Authority. By Rev. Thomas Smyth, D.D.

The Church; Its Position and Relations. A Sermon delivered by appointment, before the Synod of Pitsburgh, October 18th, 1819. By Rev. John V. Reynolds. Published by request.

Deutsches Gesangbuch für die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten. Herausgegeben mit kirchlicher Genehmigung. Philadelphia: 1849. L. A. Wollenweber. pp. 524.

We cannot look with indifference upon an authorized Hymn

Book, proceeding from a body of Christians so truly respectable as the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. This new digest of the incomparable German hymnology bears the names of the Rev. Drs. and Messrs. Miller, Demme, Reichert, Ulrich, Becker, Stohlmann, Schmucker, Albert, and Deininger. By the condensed method which prevails in German collections, these pages contain no less than seven hundred and ten hymns; though many of these have twice as many stanzas as the average of English hymns. They are arranged under convenient rubrics, with some reference, by no means obtrusive, to the church-year. Great predominance is given to direct addresses to God, and tender effusions of personal love to Christ. It is an advantage possessed by the Germans, that some of their favourite hymns are more than three hundred years old; and proper space is given to these venerable relics. Here we find the master-pieces of Luther, Gerhardt, Schmolk, Hiller, Tersteegen, Lavater, Gellert, Klopstock, and Spitta. Each hymn is followed by the author's name, and the date of his birth and death. Each hymn has the ancient tune noted; and our German brethren are too musical to change these without cause. The selection is in good taste, and sufficiently diversified. Above all, it breathes the spirit of piety, and is faithful to the orthodox, evangelical tenets of the Reformation. Without minute and searching scrutiny, we declare, after edifying perusal, our unfeigned respect for the work and its compilers.

CONTENTS OF NO. II.

ART. I.—The Life of Robert Blair, Minister of St. Andrews, containing his Autobiography from 1593 to 1636, with a Supplement to his Life, and Continuation of the History of the Times to 1680. By his son-in-law, Mr. William Row, Minister of Ceres. Edited for the Wodrow Society; from the original Manuscripts, by Thomas McCrie, D. D. Edinburgh, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

ART. II.—Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical. By the Rev. William Henry Foote, D. D., Pastor of Presbyterian Church, Romney, Virginia. Philadelphia, - - - - - 208

ART. III.—A History of the Hebrew Monarchy from the Administration of Samuel to the Babylonish captivity. By Francis Newman, D. D., Oxon. London, - - - - - - - - 234

ART. IV.—1. Ancient Egypt, her testimony to the truth of the Bible. Being an interpretation of the inscriptions and pictures which remain upon her tombs and temples; illustrated by very numerous engravings and coloured plates. By William Osborn, Junior, Member of the Council of the Royal Society of Literature. London.

2. The Monuments of Egypt; or Egypt a Witness for the Bible. By Francis L. Hawks, D. D., LL. D. With Notes of a Voyage up the Nile; by an American. New York.

3. Egypt and the Books of Moses; or, The Books of Moses illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt; with an Appendix. By Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg, Professor of Theol. at Berlin. From the German, by R. D. B. Robbins, Abbot Resident, Theol. Sem., Andover. New York.

4. Nineveh and its remains; with an account of a visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or Devil worshippers; and an inquiry into the manners and arts of the ancient Assyrians. By Austen Henry Layard, Esq., D. C. L. New York, - - - - - - - - - - 260

ART. V.—Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, Missionary to China. Written by his Father. New York, - - - - 280

ART. VI.—The Doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race, examined on the Principles of Science. By John Bachman, D. D., Professor of Natural History, College of Charleston, S. C., 313

ART. VII.—The Rise, Progress and Structure of the English Language. By the Rev. Matthew Harrison, A. M., Rector of Church Oakley, Hants; and late Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. Philadelphia, - - - - - - - - - 321

ART. VIII.—A Modern History, from the Time of Luther to the Fall of Napoleon. By John Lord, A. M. Lecturer on History. 324

ART. IX.—Short Notices, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 328