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ART I.—*Die Kirchengeschichte des* 18 *und* 19 *Jahrhunderts, aus dem Standpunkte des evangelischen Protestantismus betrachtet, in einer Reihe von Vorlesungen, von Dr. K. R. Hagenbach.* Leipzig. 8vo. Vol. I. 1848. pp. 511. Vol. II. 1849. pp. 467.

OTHER works of Dr. Hagenbach have made him sufficiently known as a writer of comprehensive views and unusual sprightliness. This, rather than what the Germans love to call depth, is at the bottom of his popularity. Yet he is decidedly a German; looking on the world's history and the world's geography as finding their central region in central Europe; but with a kindly, liberal, and even all-embracing welcome to the rest of the earth. Without being a Hegelian, or even in all details a follower of Schleiermacher, he shows both in nomenclature and opinion the influence of the modern philosophy. Without being one of the churchly orthodox, or anything like a Puritan, he has a warm side towards pietism, and even goes to insular Great Britain, to seek and applaud what is good in Methodists. So far as sentiment, feeling and philanthropy are extant in evangelical religion, he gives it his hand, and is

clearly on ascending ground towards what we hold to be good and right. In his record of the decline of orthodoxy, he is unsparing in his censure, even where he characteristically throws in lenient judgments on the other side.

We have chosen to take up these volumes, because they so nearly resemble in manner the French and English treatment of such topics. Here are none of the needless and endless partitions into books, chapters, sections, subsections, paragraphs, and notes, by which German cooks and their American pupils make mince-meat of the viands. The lectures have all the air proper to oral delivery before a promiscuous assembly. They are diversified by anecdote and citation, and enlivened by a constantly recurring ebullition of pleasant humours. In the notices which follow, it is not our purpose to follow the lecturer into his sources of authority, nor to indicate every instance in which we employ his words. Still less do we mean to be accountable for the opinions which we recite. But the period of time which is here brought under view is too deeply momentous, in regard to the decadence of Protestant Christianity and its partial revival, and too instructive and admonitory as to the beginnings of similar ills at home, for us to pass it by. This we say, with full knowledge that there are those among us who regard the mention of a German name as symptomatic of neology; and who think safety consists in not knowing the dangers of those who have fallen, and in shutting the eyes hard at the first steps of downward tottering in our own land. Dangerous as it is to walk the wards of an hospital, it is nevertheless the only means of arriving at a sound pathology and a preventive regimen. And when, *quod avertat Deus*, the new hypotheses respecting Inspiration, Scripture myths, the Athanasian Creed, and the probative force of miracles, shall have crept a little more into light through our colleges and magazines into our young ministry, these doctrines will find their stoutest impugners and staunchest confuters, in those who shall have learnt their rise, growth, and decay in the older churches of Europe. Every age has its own race of objections; and though truth is one, sufficient, and triumphant, the aspects of truth, towards this or that error, are special, and therefore best defended by turning our re-

gards humbly and believingly towards specific forms of contemporary falsehood. The monstrous doctrines of Cousin, Emerson, Parker, and the like, have made least havoc among those who have examined their natural history, not in mutilated, disjointed articles, but in the living though fearful organisms from which these parts have been filched for importation, and which can be duly known only, as the naturalists say, *in situ*. Dr. Hagenbach looks on the eighteenth century as pre-eminently the *Age of Toleration*. Some remarkable exceptions, it is true, meet him at the very threshold, in the cases of the Camisards and the Salzburgers; but these are only trailing clouds of the preceding night. The influence of Voltaire in promoting toleration, in the famous affair of the Calas family, is brought boldly forward. We willingly pass from the speculations on this head to consider the progress of religious sentiment in the German States. For the understanding of this, the author thinks it necessary to delineate the portrait of the times, including those of the kings of Prussia, and there is uncommon life and entertainment in his picture.

Frederick William the First, the father of Frederick the Great, reigned from 1713 to 1739. He was like his great ancestor in this, that he opened a door for the persecuted Salzburgers. But he caused their leading men to be deeply probed upon their tenets, by two court divines, and found them happily orthodox. A number of these exiles came to America, in 1733-4, and are mentioned in all histories of South Carolina and Georgia. The case was remarkably like that of the Portugese who lately arrived from Madeira. Frederick William came of a religious stock. He was taught in childhood by a Huguenot lady, Madame de Montbeil, and was then consigned to the care of Count Dohna. The directions given, in 1695, to his governor, in regard to the prince's education, are still extant. "True fear of God," said the royal father, "must betimes be so imprinted on the young heart, as to take root and bring forth fruit during the whole life, even when direction and superintendence shall cease. Especially must the Electoral Prince be so well instructed as to the majesty and omnipotence of God, as to be always possessed with a holy

fear and veneration of God and his commands: for this is the only means by which sovereign power, exempt as it is from human laws and penalties, can be kept within the bounds of moderation: as other men are impelled to good and deterred from evil by rewards and punishments of the supreme magistracy, the same end must be attained by the fear of God, in the case of great princes, over whom no human power can hold out rewards and punishments." It is then ordained: "First, that the Electoral Prince with all his attendants shall pray to God on their knees, every morning and evening. Secondly, after prayer, a chapter of the Bible shall be read, and that not superficially, but, after the reading, the chief contents of the passage shall be briefly summed up; a few striking sentences, suitable to the prince's condition, shall be extracted, for the prince to repeat and get by heart, and the same shall be done with the most useful psalms, and short spiritual prayers. Thirdly, the Electoral Prince is to be well instructed in the articles of faith, principles, and leading topics, of the Christian, true, Reformed religion, by means of diligent catechizing. Fourthly, he shall be taken regularly to preaching in the church, and caused to retain somewhat there heard. Fifthly, no one shall have admittance to the Electoral Prince, who could lead him to cursing and swearing, or to unclean and vicious talk. . . . . So likewise if at any time the prince should curse or swear, or otherwise use bad language, the principal governor shall first solemnly admonish him, and if this prove ineffectual, shall bring him to us."

The mother of the Prince joined in the work of education, and among other things read Telemachus with him; but she was weakly indulgent. As the boy grew up he soon showed his German blood, and set himself doggedly against the French pomps, which were infecting the court and even the language. He served under Marlborough, before coming to the throne in 1713. We do not often get so near a glimpse of a genuine German Protestant monarch. He carried Spartan simplicity to the extreme. He turned the French fashions into ridicule by putting them on his court fools, a class of functionaries in whom, after old German precedent, he took great de-

light. Equally opposed was he to all the specious gallantry of the age of Louis the Fourteenth; living in perfect observance of the marriage tie, and exacting the same from others. On a certain occasion, the queen staid out too late at an evening party at Monbijou. Her stern lord, wrapt in a cloak, went at a late hour to the house of the Propst Reinbeck, one of his chaplains, and gave to the servant at the door a billet for the chaplain, requesting him to represent to the queen the indecorum of her proceeding.

The king began every day with prayers, then received his cabinet council; at ten o'clock the parade, and then inspection of the stables. At eleven the privy council, and dinner at noon. His table was simple, but he did not proscribe Rhenish. He loved cheerful talk, but would never allow a syllable that was loose. After dinner he walked or rode. On his promenades he often accosted those whom he met; and woe to him that was detected in any impropriety! Such were made to feel the weight of the king's stick, or sent to Spandau, to the house of correction. He required those who spoke to him to look him full in the eyes, for he persuaded himself he could thus read the character. This was naturally alarming, especially to women and children; but he insisted on the apprehension of any who ran away. A poor Jew, on one occasion, offended him by trying to get out of his sight. The king caused him to be pursued and brought to a parley. When he found that the poor fellow had fled for fear, the king was enraged, fell upon him with his stick, and left him with the injunction never to dare to be afraid of him again, but to love him as long as he lived. Early in the evening, in place of French refreshments, the king held what he called his *Tabakscollegium;* consisting of six or eight persons, general and staff-officers, and sometimes a distinguished foreigner. Each guest was furnished with a clay-pipe, which he must keep in his mouth, even if he did not smoke; and before each guest stood a white pitcher of beer and a glass, which about seven o'clock were exchanged for bread and butter. Only on rare occasions was the provision more sumptuous.

This royal humourist scoffed at literature, as idle and luxu-

rious; he knew nothing of science, and wrote his mother-tongue with a princely neglect of grammar and orthography. The scholar, he placed as an unproductive creature, on a level with the player, the ropedancer, and the merry-andrew. For ancient languages and history he avowed a sovereign contempt. Once he caught Frederick's governor explaining to him the Golden Bull, and gave him instantly the discipline of the stick, with a "Look out, scoundrel! I'll golden-bull thee!" *Warte, Schurcke! ich werde dich be*auream bullam*en!*

Under all this shell there beat a heart of some religious earnestness. The old king was no hypocrite. Wherever piety was oppressed, in the Palatinate, Poland or Austria, it found a sympathizing helper in Frederick William the First. His religion, if legal, was yet honest, and led him to endure correction. Frelinghausen, son-in-law of the excellent Francke, was once invited to the king's table, and in the spirit of old-time ministry, felt moved to rebuke the king for his stag-hunting, an amusement which suited his soldierly nature, as it did that of the British William the Third. The king listened with respect, and seemed affected, but still followed the hounds. That no evangelical softness reigned in his soul is plain from the proverbial severity of his punishments, and the imprisonment of many persons for life. His adherence to dead orthodoxy is fairly cited as a type of a temper prevalent in Germany, and not a little connected with the subsequent rise of rationalism. When the king was dying, his private chaplain Roloff thus addressed him, in the presence of the court: "I have often told your Majesty, that Christ is the ground of our salvation, only when we apprehend him by faith, and when moreover we conduct ourselves after his teaching and example and receive his spirit. While this change of heart is wanting, we cannot hope for salvation. Even if God should choose to save your Majesty *par miracle*, of which we have no example, you would, remaining as you now are, have little joy in heaven. Your army, your treasure, your domain stay here. You will be followed thither by no one of those servants, on whom to vent your passionate anger; and those who are in heaven must be heavenly-minded." Words savouring of a better period! The king was silent, and looked sadly upon

his attendants, as if seeking aid. On the retirement of the others, the dying man began to make particular confession of his sins; but Roloff, in the stern spirit of protestantism, declined to receive this, and insisted on the necessity of a change of heart, which the king could not admit. Roloff detected the lingering desire to be justified by works: and when a bystander interposed on the king's side, he charged upon his conscience the sin of oppression, the exaction of excessive feudal service in the way of building, and the severity of his capital punishments.

It was in such a guise that orthodox Christianity presented itself to the youthful mind of Frederick the Great; and the revulsion produced is matter of notoriety. The king ordered that the prince should be bred to strict religion as he had been himself. After laying down undeniable but frigid principles of religion, his written orders go on to say: "Every Sunday, my son Fritz shall rise at seven o'clock. As soon as he gets on his nether garments, he shall fall upon his knees by the bedside, and pray to God, aloud, so that all who are in the room may be able to hear. The prayer which he must learn by heart, shall be as follows." . . . "As soon as this is done, he shall quickly and nimbly dress and wash himself neatly, then comb and powder. The time allowed for the short prayer and dressing shall be a quarter of an hour, for it must be all through by a quarter before eight. He shall then break his fast in seven minutes. After this, all the domestics with Duhan (his governor) must come in, to hold the long prayers, on their knees. Upon which Duhan must read a chapter in the Bible, and sing one or two good hymns. The domestics shall then retire, and Duhan shall read with my son the Sunday's gospel, with a short exposition," etc.

The same regimental punctilio reigned in public worship; and it was enjoined on the clergy, that no sermon should exceed an hour, under penalty of two rix-dollars for each excess. The king looked sharply to the supply of pulpits and the training of candidates, and forbade all oratorical flourishes. Indeed he seems, like Cromwell, to have gathered the best preachers around him. Reinbeck and Roloff possessed much of his confidence: though it was known that Reinbeck leaned

towards the Wolfian philosophy, which Frederick William abhorred. When on one occasion the king said proudly, "I know what is right;" Reinbeck replied, "That servant which knew his Lord's will, and did it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." The king was nettled, but at length gave way to the voice of conscience.

Frederick William the First died in 1740. He gave minute directions about his funeral, even to the place and mounting of every battalion, and the volleys at the grave. He chose the text for his funeral sermon, "I have fought a good fight," and prescribed the hymn to be sung. "Of my life and conversation," he further ordered, "and of what concerns my deeds and personal history, not one word shall be said; but the people shall be informed that this I have expressly forbidden; with the addition, that I die as a great and poor sinner, seeking grace from God and the Redeemer."

In the first part of the eighteenth century, Dr. Hagenbach notes a three-fold conflict in German Christianity; between the Lutherans and the Reformed—between the Orthodox and the Pietists—and between the Pietists and the Wolfians. Of the rancour between the two confessions we can scarcely have a notion in our day of union. The feud was carried over from the preceding age. In that previous period there were cities where the Calvinistic assemblies had to struggle for their places of worship. At Hamburg, Götze, a famous Lutheran divine, called the doctrine of the Reformed a doctrine of devils. Half a century earlier, in 1720, Neumeister had used like expressions in the same place; attempting to prove that the Reformed believed no one of the twelve articles of the creed, nor one petition of the Lord's Prayer; that their doctrine violated every command of the decalogue; that they had no religion, that their creed was a beggar's cloak of scraps from all heresies; and adding that he would rather be an irrational beast or a wretched worm than the greatest Calvinistic theologian, inasmuch as the said theologian would infallibly go to hell. The only approach to this blistering of the tongue produced by Calvin's name, is to be found in the most vulgar specimens of rant from the unlearned class of Methodist preachers in attacking what they deem Calvinism.

The breach was wide between the confessions, and many attempts were made to heal it; in these the house of Brandenburg took an active part. But they were surpassed in success by certain prominent men among the theologians, who began to remit somewhat of their tenacity in regard to the points at issue. This is in every country a stage of theological development which needs to be studied with caution and represented with delicacy. The very same words which from the lips of a sound man are only the effusion of charity, become in the vocabulary of latitudinarians the watchwords of indifferentism. In 1705 the Friedrichsstadt church was founded under royal auspices at Berlin, and at its dedication, as a token of peace, the Lutheran and Heidelberg catechisms lay side by side on the altar. It was high time to separate the contending parties, and notwithstanding the reclamation of good old Lutherans like Loescher, the king was disposed to throw down his truncheon. It is very evident, even from Dr. Hagenbach's partial statement, that in many minds this tendency to sink differences arose from the loss of vital warmth in those who still subscribed the old symbols. That distinction began to be generally taken, between the theology of the schools and the theology of the pulpit, which has resulted in the actual dissociation of the two in Germany to a degree unknown among ourselves.

In the Reformed church there was a manifest drawing off from the ancient Dort tenets, especially in Switzerland. The names connected with this are familiar to our readers; those for example of John Alfonso Turrettin, Werenfels and Ostervald. To Turrettin we may ascribe the removing of the first stones out of the Genevan arch. When we compare him with his father, we are instantly reminded of those Boston preachers who mark the transition from the Cottons and Mathers to the Channings and Frothinghams. Turrettin was an elegant scholar, an incomparable latinist, a courtly preacher, a master of apologetic theology, and a devoted friend of union. His friend Samuel Werenfels went hand in hand with him, in promoting comprehension. Frederick Ostervald, whose books on preaching and the pastoral care are still reprinted among us, joined in the same freedom of speech respecting the venerable

standards of Calvinism. Here was the first distinct step in that series of which we seem to observe the lower degrees in the present state of theology in Switzerland; a step which has its startling analogy this moment in New England. "What is most necessary," said Ostervald, "is clearest: what is obscure in religion is not essential." Accordingly he was opposed to teaching children the Heidelberg catechism. German Switzerland could not but feel the influence of such men. Even Zurich, stiff in an orthodoxy of which Dr. Hagenbach speaks as sneeringly as our neighbours do of Puritanism, yielded slowly to the leaven. When Zimmerman, in 1737, became professor there, he was suspected, as of the new school, and almost denounced. The following remarks of Dr. Hagenbach are characteristic of a certain way of thinking in Germany, which begins to be common in America: "Let us however be just and forbearing about this, and judge every phenomenon with reference to its time. I have no belief that the Ostervaldian theology, which was a necessary and therefore a beneficent manifestation a hundred years ago, could satisfy the deeply searching spirit of our day; nay I believe if the inquiry be simply for a theology, that is for a system, or sharp, compacted structure, complete in itself, that the preference must be given for solidity and depth to those old scholastic theologians. Yet I own I linger willingly before the bright portraits of those men, that gaze on us out of their ancient drapery and their capacious bands and wigs, with such humanity, friendship and cheerfulness, rather than before the sombre wrinkled brows and bristly beards of inquisitors and heresy-hunters of an earlier time. Those cheerful faces greet us like the first beams of the vernal sun after a hard winter. True, it is not a tropical sun, calling forth by its heat a luxuriant vegetation, but rather the March sun of our colder region, a friendly sun nevertheless, cheering and warming as in the spring thaws. Yet the warm sunshine of noon was not wanting. Along with the mild moderate theology of recent illumination, there was a tendency of sentiment or feeling penetrating further into the depths of the soul and awakening strong impulses of the breast; a tendency which at that time so far fell in with the modern illumination, as to

agree in deprecating a religion of mere dogma and memory, on the other hand in giving prominence to practical necessities. This latter disposition we find stamped on what is called Pietism." By Pietism is here meant not merely that general direction of mind which in various countries has borne the name, but the particular form of awakened piety and devout zeal which had its principal seat in Halle, under Spener, Francke, and their coadjutors. The enemies of revived piety employed the same weapons against the Pietists, which not long after were used in England against the followers of Wesley and Whitefield. A fair match for Bishop Lavington's scandalous raillery against Methodism may be found in Loescher's "Harmless News;" in which he offered up the Halle people to unmingled scorn if not detestation. But now there arose a new controversy, on one side of which stood the Leibnitz-Wolfian philosophy.

It is not our intention to recite the interesting history of Wolf, and of the transformation which his labours wrought in the stiff nomenclature of old fashioned theology. The elegant chimaera of the Prestablished Harmony admitted of easy connexion with the sublimest doctrines of divine sovereignty. But it filled with alarm many pious Lutherans. Open war broke out on a festive occasion, July 16, 1721, between Wolf and the Pietists, in consequence of an eulogium of Wolf on the morals of Confucius. Then arose the question of professoral liberty in teaching, and pulpits resounded with the inflammatory topic. Most of the students were on the philosopher's side, and this tended still more to prejudice the educated youth of Prussia against the Pietists. The stout old king, who knew more of barracks than of schools, felt the argumentum ad hominem, when he was told that the Preestablished Harmony would demoralize his army. By an ordinance of November 8th, 1723, he expelled Wolf, not only from Halle, but from all his dominions.

Wolf found a refuge in Marburg, and it was not long before the king regretted his hasty act. The benevolent Reinbeck lent his aid, and many efforts were made to restore the philosopher to Prussia. He stood upon his dignity however, and did not accede to any of the earnest propositions till the suc-

ceeding reign, when in 1740 he re-entered Halle in triumph. Wolf was certainly no Pietist, but modern Germans would as certainly call him a Puritan: for the card is extant in which, replying to an invitation to a university feast, he writes that he is to partake of the Lord's Supper on that day, and adds that he must consult his clerical adviser as to the propriety of his attendance.

It is encouraging to observe how solid are the foundations laid by good men in whatever they do out of love to Christ, and how long the superstructure remains in strength. The visiter at Halle still sees the pile which reminds him of the persecuted but great Francke; but those edifices are little, compared with the preachers and authors who proceeded thence. In the first twenty-nine years of the university more than six thousand theologians were educated there, of whom a large number bore the peculiar impress of the school. Thousands of persons, in addition, went through the Orphan-house schools, with the same effects. The Canstein Bible Institute, of 1712, though much forgotten, was the real forerunner of all Bible Societies. But by no single means, not even by preaching, did the evangelical men of Halle so widely disseminate their peculiar views as by sacred poetry. We need scarcely name Schmolk, Frelinghausen, Tersteegen, and Woltersdorf, to any who have Knapp's collection. To those only who happen to be acquainted with the extent of German spiritual poetry will it be credible that Schmolk's hymns amount to more than a thousand. It was Frelinghausen, however, who by his hymns was the most exact type of the Halle pietism. At the age of forty-five he was married to Francke's only daughter, whose godfather he had been. Some of his best hymns were composed during fits of the toothache, so that his friends sometimes congratulated themselves on an access of his pain. Bogatzky, still known among us by his *Golden Treasury*, also wrote hymns, which are full of unction and love to Christ. But no sacred poet of the age was more genial or is more affectionately remembered than Father Tersteegen, as he used to be called: he died unmarried, in 1769, leaving behind him more than a hundred hymns. We tear

ourselves with some reluctance from a subject which we have seen nowhere else treated so fully.

While Dr. Hagenbach gives ample praise in certain places to the Pietists, there are others in which he bears with some rigour on the shades of the picture. Sometimes he gives a weight to a sort of testimony which we have learnt to think very unsafe, by the examples of our suffering forefathers. We know who they are that testify concerning Calvinistic Scotland and Massachusetts, as if nothing like a smile ever played upon the Presbyterian or Puritan countenance; while the quaintnesses of their "pun-divinity," as Lamb calls it, and every effervescence of Rutherford, Cotton Mather, Gurnall, and the Henrys, give the lie to such a supposition. Our author furnishes abundant proof of the comfort given by the pietistic religion. "In my boyhood," says an eminent preacher, "I have seen both in private and in the pulpit, some old men of this school, and to this day, the blessedness of a firm and confirming faith, the cheerful and calm friendship of a life indestructible and imperturbable by all the storms of time and all the sufferings and injuries of man, still floats before me as a lovely flower of memory." While these and many such things as these, are favourably reported by the author, he lends, we think, too ready an ear to persons who, for all that appears, may have been under a bias disqualifying them for judging of the true work of God on the soul. There are none who speak and write so bitterly against evangelical piety, as do apostate children; those who remember the wounds but not the balm, who were convinced but not converted. Such are many of the Boston Unitarians, children of Christian parents, who hate the name of Calvin or Edwards or the rumour of a revival, with a rancour that is nowhere laid down in their dove-like treatises on liberality and love. Such testimony as that of Semler is affecting however in no common degree. While we recognise a certain resemblance, such as is in every caricature, we shudder at the nearness of his approach to true grace, and can scarcely help speculating on the question how different might be the present condition of Germany if he had never lived, or if he had lived the life of his despised fathers.

In Semler's autobiography he recounts the prevalence of

high views respecting regeneration and conversion, which are no other than those entertained by ourselves. That law-work, which has never died out of the Presbyterian theology during three centuries, seems a strange and amusing thing to some Germans, and Hase has more than one sneering phrase to denote the anguish of a converted sinner. Semler's own brother, it appears, was thus concerned, so that one night he had to rise from his bed, and go into the adjacent library, where he was in prayer, kneeling and sometimes prostrate. The lamenting voice and sobs awoke Semler, who sought to comfort the anxious youth, repeating to him verses, sometimes in Greek and Hebrew. The brother embraced him passionately, but declared those promises were not for him. Semler then denounced as perverse and unworthy the kind of religion which could render a generous youth so miserable, and adds to the story some agreeable gossip about the moonlight devotions and hymns of the revivalists and the devoirs of the duke to comely pietists. It is not for us, as foreigners, to judge here. We know that nothing is more disgusting than the forms of revival, when the revival is gone. We prefer rubrics a thousand years old, to the stereotype rules of camp-meetings and anxious seats; and are ready to believe that under all these exaggerations there were some things ridiculous and some things insincere in individuals belonging to the second generation of Pietists. It is fully admitted, not only by Zinzendorf but by Tholuck. In another direction the revived religion of Germany shaded off into mystical exercises, such as we have seen as a back-ground to our own revivals. Into the history of these we shall not follow our guide.

We shall take the liberty of sometimes using the familiar English word *freethinking* in place of several German words which would need a glossary, such as *Aufklärung*. The history of English Deism is too well known to our readers, to make any German account needful. It is entertaining however to see, according to the modern philosophy of history in which everything is connected with everything, and every man a type of some age-spirit or age-tendency, how great a place can be suddenly given to some poor fellow whom one never thought of putting among the 'representative men.' In the German

method, no event or individual stands alone, or can be even left alone, till a day of more data; the individual must be brought into the series, and if there is no chain to connect the parts, it must be forged. This no doubt makes history very amusing, and leaves nothing unexplained. Dr. Hagenbach is one of the most moderate of Germans in this respect, approaching more nearly the French temper, and abounding in biographical pictures. We should not wonder indeed to hear that he has no philosophy at all. Yet now and then even he makes us smile at the earnestness with which he bustles about to work some unimportant separatist or madman into the process of development. Time is wanting to show how Bolingbroke begat Voltaire and Voltaire begat Strauss. The portraits of Voltaire and Rousseau are admirable, we wish it was in our power to give them here in English. But we are led by obvious associations to another name.

Frederick the Great, though not so often named by us as by our fathers, rises before us as a well-known portrait. In Germany, picture shops and pipes repeat three faces, to wit, Luther, Fritz, and Napoleon. How Frederick's father provided for his education, we have seen; he might have learnt in his stables that noble blood could not brook the perpetual curb. The metaphor of a German preacher is different, who said the ship was so full of religious ballast, that sink it must. It was not religion, but religious yokes and burdens in the absence of religion, that wrought the mischief. The old king's orders were supreme, and the mercurial boy was made to get hymns and catechism as a punishment. It is happily said that we look back on Frederick through the coloured cloud of his successes; the father saw in him only an effeminate flute-playing scholar, who preferred a concert or a sonnet to the hunting horn and the Tabakscollegium. How far he was right we say not, but he set the prince down as "a selfish, illconditioned knave, always counterworking his father, an effeminate fellow without the common inclinations of humanity." Frederick clung to Quantz, the musician, and to Lieutenant von Katte, whose tragic fate is known. At the age of twenty he was first made to witness the execution of his bosom friend and then cast into prison, where even pen

and ink were denied him. Such were his associations with German orthodoxy; no one need marvel at his infidelity and his Gallomania. The Lutheran chaplain Muller was sent to give him religious discourses in gaol. The morning and evening prayers were enforced as duly as the drill of a guard-house. When he obtained the mastery of his own household, the bow was unbent, and he surrounded himself with artists and litterateurs, studied the proscribed works of Wolf, and entered on his ill-starred commerce with Voltaire, the Mephistopheles of his tragedy. Frederick may well be named among the typical men of Germany, for in regard to the French philosophers he far anticipated the age in what is now known as genius-worship. To preachers he confessed it as a misfortune that he laboured under a sad debility of faith. If he admired Bossuet and Massillon, it was because they were eloquent and because they were French. It was natural for such a mind to further the cause of toleration. His father had violently endeavoured to brush away popish remnants from the Lutheran altars, such as the tapers and crucifix; Frederic gave absolute discretion to all the clergy, and full license even to Romanists. He allowed a Greek church at Breslau and relieved the Socinians in Livonia and East Friesland, as well as the followers of Zinzendorf and Schwenkfeld. In a cabinet-order, 1781, respecting the Berlin hymn-book, he said: "Every man may, for me, believe what he pleases, so he is only honest. As to the hymn books, any one is free to sing *Nun ruhen alle Wälder*,* or the like stupid and silly pieces. But the priests must not forget toleration, for persecution is not permitted to them." He contemptuously remitted the presentation of pastors; but took pains to withdraw education from the hands of the parsons, or as he called them, *Faffen*. His definition of a theologian was "an animal void of reason." It is characteristic, that his tolerance stopped short in regard to the Pietists, or *Mucker*, as his father had taught him to call them.

In 1745 Professor Francke attacked the stage. The king wrote as follows: "This comes of the ghostly Muckerpack.

* One of Paul Gerhardt's most beautiful productions, which was dear to the childhood of Schiller.

They *shall* play, and Herr Francke, or whatever the scoundrel's name is, shall be present, in order to make public amends to the students for his foolish representations; and the attestation of the comedians shall be returned to me, that he has attended." In another rescript: "The Halle parsons must be taken up short; they are evangelical Jesuits, and must in all circumstances be kept from having the least countenance." Had Deists been so treated, as Dr. Hagenbach adds, what exclamations would have ensued! In regard to a teacher named Hahn, he wrote thus: "The abbot is good for nothing, and must give place to another; no one will send children thither, because the fellow is an extravagant pietistic fool."

His well known rupture with Voltaire did not scatter the coterie of French infidels. Chief among them was la Mettrie, a physician, who reduced vice to a system. Of this man, the marquis d' Argent, himself one of the clique, said, that he preached the doctrines of vice with the shamelessness of a fool. As might have been expected, the foul stream flowed rapidly downward into the common plain, and there were many beyond the precinct of the court who re-echoed the blasphemous watch-word *d' écraser l' infame*. But that religion, which Voltaire in writing to Frederick likened to black bread, such as at best was only fit for a dog, still lives and is the nourishment of kings and sages: all are hungering for the bread of life, and many are returning with zest to this bread, after having blunted their wisdom-teeth on the stale white loaf doled out to them by Voltaire."

We do not regret the large space afforded to the critical and hermeneutical studies of Wettstein and Michaelis; but these are generally known. It is perhaps more needful to pause over one venerable name, of which the merits are in danger of being forgotten; we mean the Chancellor von Mosheim, "a man whose nobleness of character was as worthy of love as his learning was deep and comprehensive. Scarcely is there a department of theology in which his labours were not enlightening and suggestive. Mosheim is the father of modern Church History. In ethics, for a long period at least, he marks an epoch; and in the history of the German pulpit a new era dates from the eloquent Mosheim. He was called

the German Tillotson, and the German Bourdaloue. That exquisite sensibility and taste, which were wanting even in Michaelis, existed to an extraordinary degree in Mosheim, and gave a peculiar charm to his learned dissertations and narratives, as well as to his sermons. In his creed Mosheim was thoroughly orthodox, but mild and forbearing towards others; in this differing from the older orthodox. He was the first to assume that dignified impartial stand in Church History, which concedes the rights even of the erroneous and the dissentient, and which yields to their systems a complete investigation and illustration, subjecting them, as the physician does diseases, to a purely scientific treatment. In his theological way of thinking he has been justly compared with Melancthon."

Among many whom we must omit, in Dr. Hagenbach's lively portrait-gallery, we cannot leave Semler unnoticed, if for no other reason because he is continually referred to as noting a critical juncture and point of transition from the strict to the lax theology. Loose as Semler would have seemed to Flacius, he could not but be straitly antiquated to Paulus or Röhr. We do not indeed look at Semler with the eyes of Dr. Hagenbach, for two reasons; first, because our doctrinal position is what our author would regard as too Calvinistic or Dordrechtian, and next because we cannot take that optimistic view of history, which even among those who are not Hegelians, prevails in Germany, and which sees in every turn of the dogmatic wheel an almost needful item in the revolution.

Semler was the son of a clergyman and was born in 1725. The convictions of his boyhood are sacred in our eyes, nor do we regard them as he himself did. "There was not," says his autobiography, "a corner of the house, in which, for secrecy, I did not kneel, pouring out many tears, and crying to God for this great grace of conversion. But still I remained under the law. Moravian hymns did me no more good than many others known in Saalfeld and sung in the societies." At seventeen he went to Halle. Since Wolf's departure great changes had taken place. Lange, the head of the Pietists, died about this time. Baumgarten, a more moderate man, succeeded to his influence, and Semler became his favourite

pupil. He testifies to the affection of the Halle Christians, but says he could not follow their counsels by cutting off unnecessary studies. He regarded himself as unconverted. "Well do I remember," says he, "that one evening, walking all alone in the great square of the orphan house, in the deepest distress, I said to myself, O that I were that lump of ice, or that log!" Even then he began to distinguish between religion and theology, and to attempt the problem, since familiar at Harvard, how much error a man may have in his head, and yet be right in his heart. Still he was far from adopting Frederick's maxim, 'Let every man be saved, after his own *façon*.' But he could not detect in himself the Halle evidences. After this we find him at Coburg, then professor of History and Poetry at Altorf; but at length recalled to Halle to teach theology. He seems to have entered on these labours with great honesty; but as by degrees he felt his strength he deviated more and more from the teachings of that school, and was apparently in the condition which was passed through by Buckminster, and in which others, who have not declared themselves, are at this moment. For example he began to wish the Canticles out of the canon. He was ill at home in the Apocalypse. He descried Judaism in New Testament expressions, as concerning the devil and demoniacs. As he proceeded to remove one husky integument after another from the truth, he found the abiding kernel of Christianity to be the 'improvement of mankind.' His private life was beautiful and blameless; indeed these conditions seem indispensable to the success of the downward theology, by saving it from public repudiation, in this stage of its decline. He was as vehement against deism and rationalism as against orthodoxy and pietism: attacking Basedow, Bahrdt and the Wolfenbüttel Fragments. Even of the Pietists it was the theology which he rejected, while he applauded their piety. Semler died March 14th, 1791. Long before this date, he had seen his comparatively timid innovations seized and carried onward by the reckless extravagance of neology.

Lessing is too great a genius to be despatched in a few sentences, nor shall we attempt it. Like many an infidel of the age, he was brought up to pray and read the Bible, and his first poetic awakenings were caused by the hymns

which he learned. He was a prodigy at school, so as to be called "the admirable Lessing." His wilful nature soon broke out in youthful dissipations. To reconcile his parents to the theatre, he wrote a play in ridicule of freethinkers. At Berlin he felt the influence of Nicolai and Mendelssohn, who were on the deistical track, and who welcomed him to join them in their brilliant journalism. In Hamburg he became acquainted with Götze. already named by us as a doughty old Lutheran, who was quite disconcerted to find in the young man of the green-room an intimate acquaintance with all the questions of the Augsburg Confession. In 1770 Lessing was librarian of the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel, where in 1774 he became famous by the appearance of the antichristian Fragments. Nothing since that day has made a greater sensation till Strauss's Leben Jesu. The absurd impiety of these tracts is too well known to allow of repetition here. It is generally agreed that Lessing, though the editor, was not the writer of the Fragments: the author remains unknown. Lessing now found himself involved in a conflict with Mr. Götze, against whom he uttered a work entitled Anti-Götze. "The controversy between them," says Hagenbach, "touched in its extensive sweep one point in particular which enters deeply into the essence of Protestantism, namely the relation of the Bible to Christianity. While the Protestant Church, as against the Catholic, has set up the Bible as the only source of religion, Lessing attempted to show that Christianity is older than the writings of the New Testament, which had their very origin within the Christian church." Lessing had no theological system: his turn was critical and not constructive. His eloquence, wit, and imagination made him one of the most dangerous of the German infidels; and we slightly lose patience with our historian, when, in the exercise of his impartial liberality, he undertakes to show how much worse his infidelity might have been. It is the temper of our lukewarm age, even in America, to pardon any thing to genius. There were those in Germany, as these volumes tell us, who seriously maintained that such a mind as Goethe's is beyond the ordinary scope of moral rule. Something akin to this has lately come to our knowledge in the idle extravagance of a public

lecturer, who in speaking of licentious books absurdly and mischievously tried to show that when they proceed from great genius they can do no harm.

The 'Illumination Period' in Germany, or Age of Reason, as Englishmen might say, was marked by the same pretensions to philanthropy which appeared in England under Godwin, and which re-appear in America under the re-organizers of society, and violators of property and marriage. They were too sagacious to overlook the common schools, and some of the most audacious strokes were aimed by innovating educators. These lectures represent the collusion between the new *Paedagogik* and the new philosophy, against the time-honoured institutions of the church. "The old building, with its Gothic towers and windows, its gloomy cloisters and tombs, was no longer a fit place for the free, merry plays of the young or the neutral philosophy of the aged. The church must be turned into a cheerful school-room, the carved pulpit, with its winding stairs of stone, into a trim desk of wood, and the mighty navis of the church, into a broad convenient ferry-boat, plying safely between the flat banks." The first great name in the school-reform is that of Basedow. He was the son of a wig-maker, and was born at Hamburg, in 1723. After an erratic youth, renowning in various universities, and even acting as professor and author, he left theology and pursued his remarkable bent for teaching. Inspired by Rousseau's Emile, he set about his great work of education, with such popularity that it brought him in fifteen thousand dollars in five years. His system, like the favourite ones among ourselves, was so comprehensive as to offend neither Jew nor Gentile. "The spirit of the age was on his side." His normal school, the *Philanthropin*, was founded in 1774. His plan was remarkable for its superficial easiness, its liberality, its vacillation in religion and morals, its educing of precocious ratiocination, in a word for its extreme and degenerated Protestantism.

In harmony with these endeavours were the editorial advances of Nicolai, and the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, and of the profane neologist Bahrdt. This daring zealot for wild irreligious interpretation overshot his mark, became a laugh-

ing-stock, and lost his character. Even the liberal poets made him their butt. "It is characteristic," says Hagenbach, "that Goethe, who called himself a decided non-christian (*einen decidirten Nichtchristen*) derided the three so-called rational Christians, Basedow, Nicolai, and Bahrdt, while he made companions of Jung Stilling and Lavater." Bahrdt's position is described by a single sentence; "I regard Moses and Jesus, as I do Confucius, Socrates, Luther, Semler, and—myself, as instruments of providence, by which good is wrought in mankind, according to its good pleasure." He ended his wretched and at length abandoned life, at Halle, in 1792.

Much might be extracted from the vivacious lectures, on the defenders of Evangelical religion, and the semi-rationalists. or tame and moderate links between orthodoxy and neology, such as Spalding, and Zollikofer. The latter were very like the gentle preachers of Boston and Cambridge who preceded open Unitarianism, and not unlike the Presbyterian Moderates of the school of Robertson. Of these calm, polished, and learned men, the book has many good things to say. Looking back, we can perceive the declivity on which they were gently sliding. It is more delightful to accompany the author into the warmer climate of Southern Germany, and to renew our acquaintance with the blessed Bengel, the "patriarch of Suabian Pietism." His memoir by Burk has been translated into English, and his Gnomon and other Latin works are familiar to scholars; but we may still refresh the heart with glimpses of so remarkable a form.

Bengel was born in 1687, near Stuttgart. His life was spent in the double work of preaching and teaching, in both which he showed the warm, gushing, and affectionate piety, which is the same in all times and countries. His biography takes us back to the Finleys and Livingstons of our own land. In biblical labours his efforts were parallel with those of Wettstein, but they were full of the flavour of grace. In the pulpit he was more the catechist than the orator. Though he rose high as a dignitary, he maintained an apostolical simplicity. Ripe in erudition and worn down with authorship, he died in a good old age. His death-bed was without scenic pomp, though as he once said, a "child of God will not sail away in-

cognito." He partook of the Lord's Supper with his family, but made little ado even with his wife and children, saying that he should be awhile forgotten, but that he should again come to remembrance: a true prophecy. His pupil Oetinger carried out his views; a man called the Magus of the South, as Hamann the Magus of the North. Another eminently useful disciple of Bengel's was Philip Matthew Hahn. Among them must be named also the great hymn writer, Hiller, whose volume of sacred poems was more common in Wurtemburg than any book but the Bible.

Of course we shall entertain our readers with nothing about Whitefield and Wesley. Of Zinzendorf, notwithstanding his blemishes, affection would lead us to say more, but his career lies somewhat aside from the great course of German opinion and progress. Our author gives an importance to Baron Swedenborg, which, however beneath the deification of his moon-struck disciples, is more than we can comprehend. Then we alight upon the twin names of Stilling and Lavater. To readers of English books Lavater presents the image of an amiable physiognomist: he was a philosopher, a poet, and a Christian. Of his specific tenets in theology, we are not competent to report, but if inward grace can be inferred from blameless living, enthusiastic benevolence, and a devotion to Christ that wells out in streams of the clearest sacred song, then was Lavater an eminent child of God. One of his sayings reveals his gentle longings: "Blessed are the homesick, for they shall reach home." Complementary to this are these words: "Joy, nothing but joy, is the intention of the Guide of mankind; joy, nothing but endless joy, the sole end of all the suffering laid on us. Jesus and Author of joy are perfectly equivalent expressions. To him who deems Jesus other than the author of joy, the Gospel is other than glad tidings; and he who regards affliction as any thing but a fountain of joy, knows not God, nor Christ, nor the Gospel." The Godhead of Christ, says the historian, as the all-sovereign power in heaven and earth, in all possible relations, was his one theme, which he taught and amplified in words and writings. Like Zinzendorf he might have said, "One passion only I have—it is HE, only HE!" And it was not an ideal but a historical Christ, that

he loved and worshipped. With all this Lavater was liberal in his estimate of errorists, to a degree which may be explained by the melting charity of his heart, but which we regard as both unsafe and unwise. Hence we find him in the most extraordinary connexions with heretics and even Deists. Something is perhaps due to the physiognomic whimsey, which urged him to study every aspect of humanity. Dr. Hagenbach distinctly separates his place from Pietism, Methodism, and Puritanism. His sermons were not essays, but burning, streaming gushes from the heart, and so fitted to the moment, that each one might be called an occasional sermon. The following account of his preaching is from the hand of Steffens.

"It now happened that Lavater made a visit to his distinguished Christian friends in Holstein, and from thence came to Copenhagen. As might be supposed, he was not unknown to us. We were acquainted with some of his writings, had turned over his Physiognomy, had been interested in his essay to christianize Mendelssohn, and had observed the warmth with which he was received by some and attacked by others. It was the first striking *notabilité* that had come to Denmark from the spiritual vortex of Germany, and we were all impatience till he arrived. He preached in the Reformed Church, where I saw and heard him. His appearance, now before me, was highly interesting. A long spare man, a little stooping, with a most spiritual physiognomy, the sharp lines of which told of an eventful past and inward conflicts, and an eye of surprising brightness, fire, and penetration. If I remember aright he seemed older than he was, for I find he was then about fifty-two. The Reformed Church, which was not large, was packed full, and a solemn stillness pervaded the assembly. We were prepared for a rough pronunciation, for some of our German physicians had given us imitations of the Swiss dialect; the contrast with the prevalent mode was the more striking, as the weak sounds of the Danish were flatter still. But on hearing the sharp voice clinging to the gums, and the hollow, piercing tones of the celebrated man, I was so impressed as almost to lose the prayer. The greatest attention was required to understand. I was wonderfully seized and moved by the discourse: I seemed to hear a voice that I had

longed for. The subject was Prayer. The dialect, which at first seemed so repulsive, began to sound finer, clearer, even lovely, and so blended with what he was saying that any other had been out of place. Having described a soul in utter hopelessness, he paused for a little, and then cried with a loud voice *Bättet!* (Pray!) The E was almost a dipthong, and the hard redoubled T gave the word a fearful emphasis. The loud cry reached and shook my inmost soul, and I have never in all my life, been able to recall it without something of the deep impression by which I was then agitated."

The two men of the age, in Dr. Hagenbach's estimate, were Herder and Schleiermacher; and if amount of influence on theology is concerned, few will dissent from his opinion. Lavater and Herder, in very different ways, conduct us into the new domain of modern German religion. Herder's brilliancy in the literary heavens has often kept foreigners from estimating him as a theologian and a preacher. He was born in 1744. He often made mention of his godly mother, and of the evening hymns which, more in Germany than any where else, are means of grace; and in later life, he would sometimes at dead of night go to an instrument and accompany himself as he sang the old chorals. Arndt's True Christianity was among the household books. In Koenigsberg he felt the power of two unlike men, Hamann and Kant. Hamann was, to use Herder's own idiom, "a good handful of years" older than he; it was Herder who named him the Magus of the North. Herder's relations to Goethe are abundantly known to English readers; but at Weimar he was ultimately connected also with Wieland, Schiller, and Richter. Part of his work on Hebrew poetry appeared in the Biblical Repertory twenty-four years ago, in a version by Mr. Marsh, afterwards President Marsh, of Vermont. This and his treatise on the Study of Theology did much to lead back German youth of genius from the seat of the scorner. He travelled over large parts of Europe, and brought the spoils of all his culture into the service of religion. Herder was what his countrymen love to call a many-sided character. To use Jean Paul's figure, "he was not a star, either of the first or second magnitude, but a group of stars, out of which every one might figure

his favourite constellation." Or, to repeat Hagenbach, those who look only at eminence in a single branch will prefer in poetry Goethe and Schiller, in philosophy Fichte and Schelling, in theological learning Mosheim, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Planck, or others. Yet take him for all in all, his power on the German mind was without parallel. Though less universal than Goethe, he had what Goethe lacked, the religious element. William von Humboldt, naming him with Goethe and Schiller, says that Herder surpassed them both in a certain blending of spirit and fancy, such as constitutes religious genius. Herder threw out fewer great results of biblical erudition than Michaelis; but he electrified his young countrymen with enthusiasm for the Old Testament; which no Michaelis could have done. On his works in poetry and the philosophy of history we cannot dwell. Neither can we pretend to abstract the points of his creed, which, as our author admits, was too lax for one side and too strict for the other. He was a poetic theologian and a theological poet, yet he repudiated the hypothesis that the Bible is all poetical. "Rather," says he, "would I abjure all poesy, and prefer to it the nakedest, driest annals." He was a powerful champion for the historic verity of the Old Testament. Amidst much that we now look back upon as leading the way to the prevalent unbelief of our day, there was much that showed a heart not unaffected by the inward tendencies of grace. The gospel of John had become the banner of a party of mystics which flat Rationalism despised; yet Herder was so far from undervaluing this part of scripture that he says: "That small book is a deep tranquil ocean, in which we see heaven mirrored with its sun and stars; and if there are for man such things as eternal truths, (and such there are) they subsist in John."

Cultus, or Christian worship, was prominent in Herder's system of religion. Himself a noted pulpit orator, and a devoted classic, he nevertheless denounced the method of erecting the ancient Gentile discourses as models, and would probably have disallowed the recent labours of Theremin. As a religious poet he deserves to be heard in regard to hymnology; indeed we wish our American collectors of sacred song could

be rebuked by his stern, true and unanswerable words, for their sacrilegious mutilation of ancient hymns, which has reached such an extent that many a venerable author would scarcely recognise his own verses after the pretended emendations of book-makers and music-masters. In preparing the Weimar Hymn Book in 1778, Herder showed a more excellent way, the exact reverse of what prevails among ourselves. Wherever it was possible he retained the original text of hymns.

"An effusion of truth and of the heart," says he, "such as all Luther's hymns were, is no longer the same, when foreign hands alter it at pleasure, any more than our countenance would be the same, if every passer-by should cut and hack and disfigure it, according to his notions. Whoever knows the origin of these songs, and the history of our church, knows without my suggestion that they are genuine signatures of our growth and our doctrinal purity; and no right-minded and worthy descendant will trade away the heirloom seal and scutcheon of his race for a street picture, however finely painted. The church of God is infinitely more concerned in doctrine and testimony, in the power of her origin and the early healthful blossom of her growth, than in corrected rhyme or smooth equability of metre. No Christian assembly comes together to exercise itself in poetry, but to worship God, to admonish one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, making melody in their hearts unto the Lord. For these ends the old hymns are clearly more adapted than the newly altered, or than many of the new; as I call all sound hearts and consciences to witness. In the hymns of Luther and his contemporaries and successors (so long as the object was to make genuine church-songs and not fine verses) how much heart and soul! Sprung from the heart they go to the heart, which they lift, comfort, teach and edify, so that we feel ourselves constantly in the domain of truth believed, of God's church, of open liberty, and remote from our every-day thinking and busy nothingness. Is it not a grievance when men alter such hymns; that is, amputate living members from the thought and soul of so many good men? It pains us to see even worldly books, read by us of old, with which we have grown up, so changed in new editions; because we feel cheated.

as if a thing were first given us and then snatched away: much more pained are we, when these changes rob us of our first childlike impressions of religion. Good remains always good; gold always gold. If simple exalted nature will not brook the officious hand of art, how much less the highest noblest nature, the religion of God! Such hymns are the reflections of our fairest years, the comrades of our life, the joy of our home, the trusted consolers of our distresses; it is the hand of an enemy which despoils us of these, or which, with the verse that once blessed us and now is missing, deals us the blow of a scourge. These very persons make little account of the hymns, even when altered, as of hymns in general. They sing them with inward disregard or coldness, because the world they live in is a different world; and is it for such people, that we cheat the children of their bread? I hold that country or province for blessed, where they retain their ancient service and ancient hymn-book, and where whole assemblies are not every day or every Sunday put to the rack by alterations. The hymns of our church bear with them the witness of their worth, in the great impression which they make, and the excellent effects which they produce. . . . . But the best thanks we can give, is to bring back the old times and the old spirit into houses and churches; times when all clung to these hymns with reverence and with the whole heart; when the father passed no day which he did not begin and end in the lovely vocal circle of his household. If Luther calls the Old Testament a sorrowful mute testament, we may well call the New, beginning as it does with loud praises, a joyful testament, under which we ought to be much in singing and praising. Of a truth we are now plainly going back from this new joyous dispensation to that of the Old Testament; for the voice of spiritual song becomes every year more indifferent, and tends more and more to silence. GOD GRANT US ONCE MORE THE DAYS OF HEARTY, JOYFUL, CONGREGATIONAL PSALMODY!" To which we respond, Amen and Amen!

Too much space would be occupied by these remarks if we should follow Dr. Hagenbach into his account of the German philosophers, who occupy a large place, as was to be expected. Even in regard to Schiller and Goethe, the confessed giants of

German poetry, we can only gather here and there certain matters which may be suggestive of observation. It is almost comic when our author sets about vindicating Schiller from the charge, that he never composed a religious hymn. The very issue joined is characteristic of the German mind in its present condition. The attempt to descry, under strong magnifiers, any filaments of Christianity in this great poet's writings is ingeniously made by his admirers. These lectures contain a justly indignant protest against those who love to degrade Schiller in order to the apotheosis of Goethe. While we cannot go all the length of De Quincey in regard to the later productions of Goethe, we feel no disposition to cast ourselves into the retinue who burn incense to the philosophic phantoms of the Faust.

We have seldom laid down a couple of volumes with more satisfaction or entertainment. In a travelling companion we are apt to look not so much for a man of definitions, ratiocinations and profundities, as for a full, ready, clear-headed, affable and vivacious scholar and gentleman; and such is Dr. Hagenbach. We were never more satisfied with our Anglo-American type of theology and religion, than after spending these agreeable hours before a panorama of the German churches and schools from a German pencil. We were never more confirmed in the belief, that the boasted progress of opinion in philosophical theology is imaginary; and that the brightest hopes of modern Germany are to be elicited from those things in which she is going back (alas, how slowly and interruptedly) to the truths of the reformation. The most valuable lesson which we have to learn from the fearful defections and apostasies of German Protestants is one which regards our own American prospects. *Mutatis mutandis*, we are doing over the same things which the Germans did before us. The path which the latitudinary reformers of the eighteenth century pursued is opening before the Young America of our theology. Our first steps were taken under their guidance. Part of our theological writers and instructers have not yet advanced beyond the first milestones of the journey. For all that we know, there may survive in villages about Boston antiquated ministers, who have not yet banished to the chan-

dler and trunk-maker that opprobrium of all learning and all honesty, the "Improved Version," and who halt along on the broken crutch and under the frowzy peruke of Paulus. More certain are we that sober, diligent, microscopic, exegetical compilers are still compounding the mixtures of rationalistic hermeneutics after the formulas of Rosenmüller, Kuinoel and the like. But their own neighbours are ashamed of them, and their younger followers grow weary of so scrupulous a coldness and so bloodless a learning, which belong to a former generation. A more recent corps of young scholars, from institutions chiefly in New England, have advanced much further than their fathers, and are following on in the direction of what is vaguely called Transcendentalism. They join us in smiling at the stolid earnestness with which some of their seniors are just beginning to catch a notion of Kant and Fichte, but the instructive fact is, that those most advanced in the recent theology of New England are only one stage beyond their forerunners, in a career of which we see the later and perhaps inevitable stages in Germany. For those who are wise, it is a providential blessing that the curve of which we have but a few actual elements at home has been completed abroad. Already we are becoming familiar with expressions about the Athanasian Creed, the teleiological argument in Natural Theology, Final Causes, Miracles, Plenary Inspiration, Subjective Atonement, the Nature of Sin, and Eternal Punishment, which a few years ago would have branded a man as a Unitarian if not a Deist. Now we hold it to be useful to our rising theologians, who have this battle to fight, that they should see how it has been fought on the Continent of Europe. This, and not the matter of the doctrines taught in German schools, is the fruit to be obtained by the study of this subject; and for this study, we scarcely know a more valuable book, or one more level to the capacity of ordinary, unsophisticated men of sense, than the one which we here lay down.

ART. II.—1. *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the sixteenth century.* By Thomas McCrie, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

2. *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the year* 1807 *to the year* 1814. By Col. W. F. P. Napier. The fourth edition. 3 vols. Brussels.

A notice of Col. Napier's work in this Review may not seem out of place, when the Peninsular War is viewed in connection with the conduct of Spain at the Reformation. As a narrative of military operations, these volumes could have no claim on our attention; as a chapter in the history of God's righteous retribution on the persecutors of his saints, this record deserves the consideration of every pious reader. We yield to none in our abhorrence of war. We look with disrelish on its honours, and we feel their perfect antagonism to the honours coming from God. But with these feelings however strong, no man is more ready than the liberal and consistent Christian to hold in proper reverence the defender of his country and the patriotic dead. The sentiment of Pericles over his countrymen fallen in the first year of the Peloponnesian War touches the feelings of every generous heart. "It is a debt of justice to pay superior honours to men who have devoted their lives in fighting for their country though inferior to others in every virtue but that of valour." There is inlaid deep in the nature of man, a principle which awakens in us peculiar emotions towards those who have made sacrifices of life or exposed themselves to peril for asserting the rights of man, or defending the public from danger. This principle is the incentive to some of the most glorious deeds of the men of this world; these emotions are among the noblest of our fallen nature. Implanted in the heart by divine wisdom and like every other impulses, good when properly controlled, this endowment becomes a source of evil when under the direction of a mind clouded by the ignorance of sin and fired with phrensy from absence of the fear of God. This feeling it is,

which when raised, refined and fortified by the Holy Spirit, leads to the most exalted appreciation of the character of Jesus Christ as the captain of our salvation,—as one who in loving his church and giving himself for their redemption, has shown a magnanimity below which the best instances of human patriotism fall as far as the littleness of man falls below the infinity of the Godhead. Aware of the value of this sentiment and willing to leave it in full operation when held in check by heavenly grace, we feel the good sense of the Duke of Wellington's language that a victory is a calamity which can be equalled only by a defeat. War is the greatest of calamities; a field of battle shows the highest development of depravity. The thirst of mankind for military glory springs from the perversion of a noble principle of our nature and is one of the strongest delusions connected with sin.

He "who sees a God employed in all the good and ill that checker life," views history as something more than a series of facts for interesting the imagination or instructing the captains and governors of the world. The most mighty and fearful revolutions among men may seem to the ungodly to spring only from political causes and to issue in nothing more than political results; but to the better instructed and more penetrating mind of the believer, these changes are like the wheels in the prophetic vision, which though dreadful, yet had the spirit of life in the wheels and whither the spirit was to go they went without turning when they went. The spirit within the intricate and sweeping wheels of human revolutions, is the spirit of the Most High who ruleth in the kingdom of men and giveth it to whomsoever he will. "There is a principle of movement emanating from God himself in all the changes among nations." To pious, thoughtful minds the world's history instead of offering as to the ignorant crowd, a confused chaos, appears a majestic temple, which the invisible hand of God erects and which rises to his glory above the rock of humanity. Shall we not acknowledge the hand of God in those mighty nations which arise and give a new destiny to human affairs? Shall we not acknowledge his hand in those heroes who spring up among men at appointed times; who display activity and energy

beyond the ordinary limits of human strength; and around whom individuals and nations gather, as if to a superior and mysterious power?"* Viewing God as the animating spirit of history and his purpose of love to our race, through Jesus Christ as its leading principle, the believer studies it for the exhibition there had of the character of sin and the illustration there given of redeeming love. The holy angels might have reasonably desired to know more concerning the nature of sin, as they gazed on those morning stars falling from heaven into the blackness of darkness. In the progress of events on earth, they have seen one page after another unfolded in the annals of guilt, and by these bitter results from a single act of disobedience, have felt the goodness of divine justice in such prompt punishment of transgression. They desire to look into the mysteries of redemption, into the nature of the curse from which there is deliverance, as well as into the mode of escape and the glory to which we are thereby exalted. The history of the church is the line of light running through the whole history of human affairs; the design of God is the golden thread by which alone we can find our way through this perplexing and inextricable labyrinth. The Bible is the Rosetta stone which gives the key to the mysterious records of past ages, and without which their full import would be as unintelligible as were formerly the hieroglyphics of Egypt. One of the ends answered by prophecy, running as it does from the fall to the final triumph of redemption, is a standing assurance of the presence of God in earthly things and of the fulfilment of his designs in all their revolutions.

The scriptures furnish the only trustworthy knowledge of antiquity down to the Old Testament narrative. Profane history does run back beyond this period, but what remains when we subtract the gross amount of fable? While admiring the classic simplicity of the father of history, and fascinated with his narrative, we feel his stories are worth little more as history than the stories of any good old man, until he reaches the period when his authority was virtually personal observation. We have always been willing to pay great

* Merle D'Aubigné.

regard to the veracity of Herodotus, receiving with allowance the materials drawn from tradition in a barbarous age, and taking as reliable the records of his own immediate knowledge. The tradition of the elders is at best a delusive guide. And so thought this honest chronicler. But when he reaches the events of his own age, the burning of Sardis, the campaigns of Marathon and Platea, we feel ourselves receiving facts from an honest man who had the best means for gratifying his wish to record the truth for the instruction of coming ages. About the time when profane history becomes worthy of credit, the history of the scriptures closes. At the foundation of all history do thus lie these divine records, one object of which was to teach unbelieving man the doctrine of a providence in earthly things—of God as the animating soul of history. He who begins the study of history aright by beginning with the scriptures, must receive this fundamental truth; and carrying with him the thread of prophecy, as advancing in his researches, he can never overlook this principle in any subsequent investigations.

As contributions to the general fund of history, works may be valuable in which the facts cannot be relied on, though the portrait of human nature is true. Besides their excellence as the finest creations of genius, the works of Homer and Shakspeare merit study for their faithful picture of the character of sinning man. For this end the Iliad and Odyssey are invaluable, even though the incidents therein embodied are imaginary. They may not be a history of facts, but they are a history of human nature; they teach not so much what men did, as what men were, in that early, barbarous age. All the writings of Pagan antiquity have an interest for the Christian, beyond their literary value. Their mythology, their philosophy, their dramatic literature, no less than their historical annals, are prized by the pious mind which while threading out the providence of God, is eager to know what were the peculiar phases of human depravity, in different circumstances, under different influences, and under different dealings of the King of Kings. While therefore a history like this of Col. Napier may deserve attention as a literary production, the Christian will read it with interest as a chapter in the history

of sin. The shield of Achilles though made for defence on the field of battle and useful more directly for the soldier, exhibited in the combination of the metals, in the sculpture, and in the scenes thereon portrayed, interesting themes for the student of ancient customs and for every refined imagination. Achilles might have admired the shield as a splendid piece of armour; its classic beauty and picture of ancient times are the cause of our admiration. And this history, though the narrative of a bloody contest and intended as a treatise on the art of war, may be valuable to the military man for its military knowledge, while others may prize it as a literary work of real genius, as a graphic delineation of the righteous retribution of God on a nation drunk with the blood of his saints, as a casket containing some of the most beautiful gems in the literature of England.

To this work the author brought the best qualifications. A captain of five year's standing at the beginning of the Peninsular war and serving to its close in his regiment or on the staff, related to distinguished officers and enjoying access to the papers of eminent French generals, as well as gathering information from Wellington himself, he has been able to reach the truth as near as possible, and give his descriptions the faithfulness attainable by an eye witness only. In all that relates to the movement of armies and description of battles, he stands unrivalled. In these things he is not surpassed by Thucydides. In these volumes there are many details and many disquisitions on military operations, which may not be interesting to the general reader. The state of Spain was such a chaos, that the narrative of the doings of the Spanish armies can hardly be understood without effort; and cannot be made interesting with the touches of even this writer's genius. But in following the operations of the English army from its first advance under Sir John Moore and under Wellington, to its last conflict under the walls of Toulouse, we feel unflagging interest in the combinations of the commanders and are delighted with the masterly pictures of the historian. Southey's history of the Peninsular war was a failure. No person would wish to read it after acquaintance with the pages of Col. Napier. A summary of the events here recorded may be

found in Alison's history of the French Revolution. In that revolution, the war in Spain was an episode. One defect of Alison's work arises from its being written not without research, but without sufficient study and before time enough had passed for getting at the whole truth. No man, whatever his genius, could write an impartial history of such a momentous period so soon after its close. It has been well said that truth lies at the bottom of a well, and never is more time required for lugging it out than after a great battle or a great revolution. Able men have spent years in making a record of portions of that great conflict; which occupy a small space in the volumes of Alison. Had Siborne's history been published before the completion of Alison's work, his account of the Waterloo campaign would probably have been different in some essential particulars. In many places he has adopted, perhaps unintentionally, the glowing sentences of Napier. In his forty-ninth chapter, he has however given a better account of the causes leading to the war. Napier's descriptions have the richest coloring and a perfect finish. The language may sometimes strike us as odd and as verging towards the grotesque, yet we are never able to say that anything should be withdrawn, that anything can be added. With the simplicity and faithfulness of reality, some of his pictures remind us of the strange but magnificent coloring of a landscape viewed through a prism. No finer descriptions can be found than the retreat of Sir John Moore, the storming of Oporto by Soult, the passage of the Duero, the battle of Talavera, the charge of the fusilier brigade at Albuera, the rout of Vittoria, the siege of Saragossa, the storming of Badajoz and of St. Sebastian. The chapter describing the manœuvres preceding the battle of Salamanca together with that great overthrow, is the master piece of the whole work and unsurpassed if not unequalled by any historian.

There is a remarkable impartiality in the pages of Col. Napier. In this he has set an example worthy of all imitation and all praise. While a deadly animosity existed between the French and Spaniards, the English who did not behold at every step the slavery of their country and destruction of their homes, felt no such exasperation. They went to

the strife as to a combat of honour for measuring their strength with the invincible conquerors of Europe. Throughout this history, the same feeling is seen in the author, which led the English and French soldiers to meet like friends at the streamlet running between the hostile armies, during the cessation in the battle of Talavera, and the soldiers of the two hostile camps to mingle in friendly intercourse on the banks of the Duero. A relief is felt in reading an author whose impartiality can be trusted; to whom we can listen, not as to a special pleader but as to a candid judge. A compliment has been paid him in the charge of the Tory party in England, that he has written by far the best French account of the war. He fulfills the words of Cicero: "Quis nescit, primam esse historiæ legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde ne quid veri non audeat? ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo? ne qua simultatis? Hæc scilicet fundamenta nota sunt omnibus.*" By how few are they practised. With the best intentions, how difficult for human nature warped by prejudice and beset with the blinding influence of error, to reach the whole truth in history and set it forth with candour. This magnamimity towards France does not however prevent Col. Napier from giving utterance to rancorous and unworthy feeling towards some other countries, especially the United States. These expressions uncalled for, few in number, and perfectly isolated, should be struck from the work as blemishes. Had we the space, we have not the will to enter into controversy with him when he speaks of Washington as "not comparable to either Cromwell or Bonaparte," and gives as proof of his having less real love of liberty the fact of "bequeathing his black slaves to his widow." Men's moral perceptions and feelings have no less to do than the intellect, in determining their judgments. The man who can speak thus of Washington, shows a defect in his moral constitution, which disables him from appreciating that noblest excellence in which moral worth is the leading element. We leave our author to settle this dispute, with the philosopher of France,† who says, "Washington did the two greatest things which in politics

* De Oratore, ii. 15. † Guizot.

man can have the privilege of attempting;"—with those of his own countrymen who feel that "Modern history has not so spotless a character to commemorate—that, it is the highest glory of England to have given birth, even amid transatlantic wilds, to such a man,"* that "He is the greatest man of our own or of any age, and until time shall be no more will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and in virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington."†

We might reply that in judging of ability we seek answers to three simple questions: What has the man done? With what means? At what expense? With a few battalions of unpaid, unclothed, undisciplined militia, held together at the most discouraging times only by personal affection for himself, Washington wrought out the independence of a great nation; organized a form of government entirely new; established on a firm basis a mighty and flourishing empire; left his impress, not on his country and his age alone, but on his race; and bequeathed to posterity the legacy of an example of perhaps greater value than his republican institutions. No commander ever achieved so much for mankind, with such slender means, and at so small an amount of human suffering. His military operations, though on so limited a scale, compared with the campaigns of the old world, show nevertheless very great ability. The remarks of this historian on Wellington's intended march to Torres Vedras after the battle of Vimiero, apply to Washington; "The statue of Hercules, cast by Lysippus, though only a foot high, expressed the muscles and bones of the hero more grandly than the colossal figures of other artists."

In these volumes Col. Napier has raised a monument to the genius of Wellington, which shall stand when Westminster Abbey with its memorials is in the dust. The time has passed for disparaging the abilities of this great English commander. The publication of Col. Gurwood together with this work and Captain Siborne's history, has laid open his character and conduct in a way without a parallel among public men, and shown

* Alison. † Brougham.

that ignorance only or unpardonable prejudice can deny him the possession of great abilities. Any efforts hereafter made to disparage his talents, can only discredit the authors.

If the Duke of Wellington's career does not establish the claim to greatness, no series of public acts can entitle any man to such claim. Without mentioning his distinguished conduct in India and his success as a diplomatist, we find him commanding in person at sixteen pitched battles in Europe, against the ablest lieutenants of Napoleon, finally against the emperor himself,—and in every case triumphant. No enemy ever took from him a piece of cannon and found himself able to keep it. Good fortune may help a weak man to a single victory; nothing but science and a masterly intellect could carry a man onward as conqueror through such overwhelming difficulties during a period of years. By the readers of this history, the character of this great leader of the armies of Protestant England will be fully appreciated,—his powerful abilities, his piercing sagacity, his exalted moral courage, his wonderful endurance under provocation, his magnanimous contempt of party vilification, his unbending firmness in carrying out well matured plans, his tact in blending and persevering in union the most jarring political materials, his talents as a statesman, his genius in the field, his eagle glance in detecting the error of an enemy and promptitude in improving it with energy, his courage tempered with judgment, his enterprise with caution, his seeming rashness with far-reaching forethought, his obstinacy with daring, his gigantic vigour in sustaining the weakness of three inefficient cabinets while leading the Anglo-Portuguese army in triumph through the Pyrenees. They will find his success was not the accidental gift of fortune, that he triumphed in other battles besides the overthrow at Waterloo. A strong illustration of the vastness of Napoleon's genius appears in the contrast presented by his marshals when viewed in comparison with the Emperor. By his side they seem ordinary men; yet they were equal to the greatest then existing in Europe, hardly inferior to the greatest celebrated in history. They seem below their true stature because standing around the Colossus. Yet these marshals were decidedly inferior to Wellington. One by one did their

master send them to try their skill in arms against the champion of England; one by one were their lances shivered and themselves laid prostrate and helpless at his feet. Of all the great intellects produced in that age of giants he alone is worthy to stand by the side of Napoleon; and if indeed he is second to Napoleon, the second place is held by Wellington alone.

For the evils suffered during those wars, there must have been a reason. The curse causeless shall not come. Judgments are not inflicted without cause by the Judge of all the earth. During the commotions of the French Revolution, no countries suffered more than France and Spain; no country suffered less than England. The revolutions of that period were connected more or less directly with the Reformation. The American Revolution was but the winding up of the conflict which had brought Charles I. to the scaffold. The battle was for civil and religious liberty; it was fought not for England and America alone, but for the benefit of mankind. No cause ever had such advocates and leaders. It is the glory of liberty as here established, that to such a man as John Milton was allotted by Providence the intellectual and literary part of the conflict; and that Washington the counterpart of Hampden, ended so gloriously what Cromwell had so well begun. No political movement in the annals of our race ever furnished four men of such purity and grandeur of character. Milton pleaded the cause in the presence of posterity no less than of Europe, and in unrivalled prose which yet leads captive the reason, fires the imagination, and stirs the depths of the soul; Hampden was the great parliamentary leader of this movement; its soldiers were Cromwell and Washington. While the principles of the Reformation thus triumphed in England, and more perfectly among the sons of England on American soil, far otherwise was it in France and Spain.

The true cause of the Reformation lies deeper than the revival of learning, the discovery of printing, or the sale of indulgences. It was the resurrection of the soul from the torpor of the dark ages, by the power of religion through the Spirit of Him who is the resurrection and the life. We are no be-

lievers in the doctrine that truth alone regenerates the impenitent heart, or that any measures, any combinations however secret, can arouse mankind and make their condition permanently better without an energy from on high. The human mind was quickened into activity by the power which rouses the slumbering energies of nature at the return of spring. The Reformation had breathed into it a living soul; the living principle of that soul was the Spirit of God; the truth by which it was to live was religion, the word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. That great movement was caused by the influence of the same Spirit who on another occasion, when darkness was upon the face of the deep, moved upon the face of the waters. In both instances, while the Holy Spirit was the moving power, the word of God was necessary for bringing forth light and all the subsequent development. All mental activity and wisdom come from Him who put wisdom and understanding into the heart of Aholiab and Bezaleel. Ex. xxxvi. 1. He is the Father of lights, of all varieties of knowledge, every good gift intellectual as well as religious among men cometh down from Him. And one of the humiliating things impenitent men will have at last to acknowledge, is that with all their pride of intellect, their boasted talent was entrusted to them by God. It is important for God to show that every thing, all wisdom and all triumphs of religion, is owing to the Holy Spirit; to make mankind no less than Christians, feel that all their springs are in Him. The expression "the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church," is often used as though martyrdom carries within itself some efficacious power for religion. The history of the church during the early persecutions, so far from proving this, shows in the strongest manner, there must have been some divine influence for sustaining successive generations of believers amid such agonies. The fate of the Reformed religion in France and Spain shows that without the Holy Ghost martyrdom will only destroy the church. By withdrawing the Spirit to a degree, after the triumphs of Christianity in the fourth century, and allowing things to sink down as in the dark ages, a demonstration was given that the success of the Christian religion over Paganism and Imperial Rome was

owing not to the inherent excellence of its doctrines but to the divine power which first gave those doctrines success on the day of Pentecost; and that when the power was withdrawn, even those truths so pure and heavenly, will be ineffective for the regeneration of man and set aside for the corrupting adulterations of error.

Thus quickening the human mind into activity the King of nations furnished all the means for the incitement of that activity and for its use. Such was the invention of printing, the revival of learning, and the other great disclosures of that time. The Reformation came at last to furnish the religious principle necessary for leading and directing the mighty movement. In countries where the Reformation has triumphed, there has been a great energy observable in the human mind; in nations where its progress was checked, the public mind is seen lacking this enterprise and vigour. Thus invigorated, the soul could not be content to lie still. It began to make efforts for bursting the grave-clothes of spiritual and political despotism with which it was bound hand and foot. Religion was intended to act on human liberty by beginning in the heart as a grain of mustard seed, and by moulding men's views and desires, to prepare them for using their free will in political things. There may be a setting free of the mind, while political servitude continues. The plan directed by wisdom is to liberate the mind first, and put it under the guidance of religion. Pure religion is the pillar of fire and of cloud that must go before the mind, whether of single persons or of masses, in its march from the house of bondage, through the wilderness of revolution into the promised land of the free. At the foundation of the whole, lies the doctrine of justification by faith alone, by the free act of the soul without dependance on the power of another or subjection to the rule of an ecclesiastical noble. This doctrine did at once shake the mind loose from slavery to priestly power. It gave man the right to act for himself in the business of his salvation, without subjection to any one but God. The intervention of the church, the vicarious action of the priesthood, with penances and the whole train of superstitions, were at once seen to be so many means for keeping the mind in chains.

The Reformed faith took deep root in France, and exhibited a pleasing apostolic aspect unsurpassed in any other country. Notwithstanding violent opposition, the atrocities of St. Bartholomew's, and the oppressive policy of Richelieu, the Reformation enjoyed a legal existence in France till the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The habits of mind formed during the period of one hundred and fifty years, by their religious disputes, and the struggle of the Protestants against tyranny, were favourable to independence of thinking and to the gradual advancement of liberty. When the Reformation was at last suppressed, in 1685, the public mind, habituated to so much freedom and disputation, was cut off from the sanctuary of the Reformed religion, and disdaining to take again the old chains of papal domination, fled for refuge to the only alternative, philosophical and atheistical speculation. The nation retained the energy and mental liberty of the Reformation without the conservative moral influence of its religious doctrines. The effect was like that which might follow from tearing up by the roots the moral sense in a man of powerful frame and vigorous mind. And how could any country afford to lose what France then lost? Without considering those who were murdered, nearly a million of the best blood of the country sought safety in exile; property to the value of one hundred millions of dollars was taken to foreign lands; and the exiles gave a most important impulse to the manufacturing and commercial interests of great Britain. The injury to France from this one act of persecution, was as great as would have resulted from several civil wars.

In Spain the Reformed doctrines spread at first with great rapidity. In no country did they number among their adherents more persons of high ranks in society. According to one of the papal historians, "Had not the Inquisition taken care in time to put a stop to these preachers, the Protestant religion would have run through Spain like wild-fire; people of all ranks and of both sexes having been wonderfully disposed to receive it." The terrible evils endured by the Spanish Protestants have become history. With such energy did the Inquisition guard its domains, that during the thirty-six years preceding the conflict of Luther with Tetzel, nearly two

hundred thousand persons were condemned, thirteen thousand to the flames; and during the eleven years Cardinal Ximenes was at the head of the tribunal, more than fifty thousand persons were condemned, and more than two thousand five hundred were burnt alive. There the auto-da-fé was legalized; and the emperor present on one of those occasions of blood, pledged himself by oath to its support. The same Philip II. declared that there was no safety in Spain for any one who harboured a thought at variance with the Romish faith, or who was not prepared to yield the most implicit and absolute obedience to the dictates of the Inquisition. Louis XIV. attempted to establish absolute power in France by suppressing religious liberty, while favouring mental activity in philosophy and science; Philip II. established despotism in Spain by stifling every kind of activity and improvement. Nor was it enough for the governments of France and Spain to root out the faith from their own soil. They determined to crush it throughout Europe. For this end they formed, with the countenance of the Pope, the famous Catholic League against Protestantism. With vengeance not glutted by the atrocities inflicted on those caught before escaping from their country, these tyrants were at great trouble and expense in employing spies, and in using other means, for arresting them in their retreats among foreign nations. Many were thus seized from time to time on the continent and handed over to the Inquisition. Afraid to make such attempts on the free soil of England, the Spanish rulers demanded that their Protestant exiles should be delivered up as criminals escaped from justice. To the honour of England, this deceit was seen through and those demands were refused. England had offered a refuge to Protestants of all countries who fled from persecution at the Reformation. Great offence was given to the Pope and the king of Spain by her so doing. This was one of the reasons given in the papal bull for excommunicating Elizabeth. With chagrin thus deepened by disappointed vengeance, and in fulfillment of the vow devoting his life entirely to the extirpation of heresy, Philip II. determined to subdue England; and for this purpose prepared the great Armada. The Protestants of Europe, no less than the Spanish monarch and the papists,

viewed this mighty effort with the keenest anxiety, as the event on the result of which depended the fate of the Reformed religion. Its defeat established England as the bulwark of the Protestant cause, gave liberty to the Low Countries, reassured the Huguenots in France, and broke for ever the power of Spain in Europe. Thereafter, history writes only her decline and fall.

The justice of God never appears to us more terrible and adorable, his wisdom more profound, than when nations and persons lying under guilt are made to punish themselves, and do this with a hearty good-will in pursuing their favourite sinful gratifications. France and Spain had leagued together for destroying the people of God; they were made to grapple with each other in deadly strife, as a retribution for their crimes. Had they come from the lips of a prophet, the words of John Knox could not have more perfectly foreboded the truth, when on hearing of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, shortly before his death, in a sermon from the pulpit of the Tolbooth Church, he desired the French ambassador to tell his master that sentence was pronounced against him, that the divine vengeance would never depart from his house, but his name would remain an execration to posterity, and none proceeding from his loins should enjoy his kingdom in peace, unless repentance prevented the divine judgments. The calamities which clouded the latter years of Louis XIV. his humiliation by the victories of Marlborough, seem to have resulted chiefly by the reaction caused by his papal severities. Those severities made France what she was at the Revolution, and prepared the nation for scourging themselves, while acting as the scourge of their guilty companions in crime. "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." The king of France and the royal family received in the revolution only what the king of France and the royal family had in foregoing generations inflicted on the people of God. The procedure of the persecutors on St. Bartholomew's, and at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the domiciliary visits, the various modes of murder, are so much like the measures adopted in the Revolution, that a history of the one furnishes a portrait of the other. The agonies of France during the

reign of terror are a small part of what she endured. The suffering inflicted in that righteous retribution continued down to the end of the empire. Till the peace of Tilsit, the wars of France were chiefly defensive, yet were they not the less calamitous and exhausting to the people. The sanguinary scenes perpetrated by the mob in Paris and Lyons were less horrid than the many, many battle-fields on which rests such a blaze of glory. Not more than eight thousand persons perished in the massacres of September: the setting sun of Austerlitz alone saw twelve thousand French in their gore. In what respect was the amount of suffering less under the empire, than under the rule preceding the consulate? Were the privations of the conscripts less than the privations of the inmates of the Abbaye? Did more die in those dungeons before coming to the scaffold, than died from privations in the bivouac and on the march? When the French army, on the march to Moscow, was reviewed at Wilna, within a week after entering the Russian territory, the troops were scarcely able to endure the sickening stench brought by the west wind from the innumerable carcasses of men and horses lying unburied along their line of advance. Were the lingering agonies of the wounded in battle, often under winter's frost, or summer's sun, less than the agonies of those who fell in the place Louis XV? Under the empire the able bodied men of France perished in her wars at the rate of more than two hundred thousand a year. The destruction of her youth during the twenty-five years of her revolutionary war, has so deteriorated the physical stature of the population, that at the present time, a large part of the recruits for the army are rejected as dwarfish or unsound, although the infantry standard has been lowered nearly four inches since the enlistment in 1789; and if the standard height of the French army were the same now as before the Revolution, half the men under arms must be discharged. Like a nation of old, their iniquity was full. As in the case of the Canaanites their judgments were none the less a retribution from God because inflicted in war by the hands of men, and when they too, like the Canaanites, supposed they were only defending their country.

The dawn of day never lighted up a more glorious and

powerful empire than that of Spain at the accession of Philip II. On his dominions the sun never set. Besides possessions in the western world and in the Indies, he had for a time greater power in Europe than was ever held by Napoleon. His Spanish infantry was the terror of the continental armies; his fleets had control of the seas. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, this empire whose monarch had been pledged to the destruction of Protestantism, had fallen from the first rank among nations, and had the mortification of seeing the power once so abused, transferred to Protestant England. Many evils had been already suffered in the war of the Succession and other conflicts; a heavier retribution was soon to be received from an old confederate against true religion, by the armies of revolutionary France. On no countries overrun by them in Europe, did those armies inflict greater misery than on Spain. In Austria and Prussia, in Italy and Germany, subjected for years to the power of France, the fate of the government was decided generally by a battle or a campaign; and a kind of quietude was then enjoyed, though under an oppressive and exacting dominion. But in Spain, active hostilities were continued without cessation for seven years. The war had all the vindictiveness of a private quarrel. Her finest towns were subjected to the miseries attending a siege, and to the horrors of places taken by storm. The peasantry were murdered; the country was ravaged by fire and sword. In Catalonia, "Augereau endeavouring to frighten the people into submission, erected gibbets along the high roads, upon which every man taken in arms was hung up without remorse, which cruelty produced precisely the effect that might be expected. The Catalans more animated by their successes than daunted by this barbarous severity, became incredibly savage in their revenge; and thus all human feeling lost, both parties were alike steeped in blood and crimes." Speaking of Massena's retreat from Santarem, Col. Napier says, "Every horror that could make war hideous attended this dreadful march! Distress, conflagrations, death in all modes! from wounds, from fatigue, from water, from the flames, from starvation! On every side, unlimited violence, unlimited vengeance! I myself saw a peasant hounding on

his dog to devour the dead and dying." At the storming of Saragossa, "Upon the defenceless inhabitants, the storm of the victor's fury fell with unexampled severity. Armed and unarmed, men and women, grey hairs and infant innocence, attractive youth and wrinkled age, were alike butchered by the infuriated troops, whose passions were, not like the English soldiers, those of plunder or drunkenness, but the infernal, unrelenting spirit of vengeance. Above six thousand human beings, almost all defenceless, were massacred on that dreadful night which will be remembered in Spain as long as the human race endures. When the magistrates of the surrounding country were on the following morning brought into the town by Soult's orders, and marched through the streets to see what fate awaited those who resisted the French arms, the blood of the Spaniards, to use the expression of the French journalist of the siege, inundated the streets and houses." Such scenes as these were the ordinary occurrences of the contest. The misery of the war fell on all classes of the country; they were aggravated by continuance for so many years, and by the French system of warfare under the empire. "The mode in which they supply their armies is this: they plunder every thing they find in the country; they force from the inhabitants, under pain of death, all that they have in their houses for the consumption of the year, without payment, and are indifferent respecting the consequences to the unfortunate people. Every article, whether of food or raiment, and every animal and vehicle of every description, is considered to belong of right and without payment, to the French army."* In these miseries, the angel sent to pour out the vials on France and Spain might say to them in the words of Jesus Christ to Jerusalem, "Upon you is coming all the righteous blood shed upon your soil." Matt. xxiv. 25. On them fell these plagues, death and mourning and famine and fire, for "in them was found the blood of prophets and of saints." And strong is the Lord God who judgeth them, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at their hand.

In the hour of her distress, Spain was glad to seek assist-

* Wellington's Dispatches.

ance from England. Her miseries were inflicted by her old ally in persecution; to the retribution of that ally, she was made to minister. "It was that unhappy war in Spain which ruined me," said Napoleon: "the unfortunate war in Spain proved a real wound, the first cause of the misfortunes of France." Proud and contemptuous Spain was made to receive, to ask aid from a power whose strength was owing to the principles the inquisition had exiled. To the nation which had been the refuge of the persecuted protestants and the bulwark of their faith, was fulfilled the promise, "The sons of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee, and all they that despise thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet." Isa. lx. 14. The remarkable conquests of France, caused by the doings of popery and taking vengeance on popery in return, were first arrested on land as well as sea by Protestant England. Her money, her men, her forces were the salvation of the Peninsula. Without the battalions of England, the war could not have continued in the Peninsula for a year; without the supplies of England, the guerilla warfare of Spain could not have been sustained. Some idea may be had of the extent of her assistance, from the fact that "England expended more than one hundred millions sterling in her own operations, she subsidized Spain and Portugal besides, and with her supplies of clothing, arms and amunition, maintained the armies of both, even to the guerillas. From thirty to seventy thousand British troops were employed by her constantly, and while her naval squadrons continually harassed the French with descents upon the coasts, her land forces fought and won nineteen pitched battles and innumerable combats, they made or sustained ten sieges, took four great fortresses, twice expelled the French from Portugal, preserved Alicante, Carthagena, Cadiz, Lisbon; they killed, wounded and took about two hundred thousand enemies, and the bones of forty thousand British soldiers lie scattered on the plains and mountains of the Peninsula." The career of England through the whole of those commotions was remarkable. The navies of France and Spain were annihilated by the fleets of England, at Aboukir and Trafalgar. The only country in Europe on which the armies of revolutionary

France did not set foot was England; the only important capital they did not enter was London. Egypt was taken from them by capitulation to the English. The first fortresses wrested from the empire of Napoleon, were Ciudad, Rodrigo and Badajoz, stormed by the English. The first rout of the imperial armies in a fair field, was by Wellington at Salamanca. The soil of that France which had been the terror of Europe, was first invaded by Wellington advancing from the Pyrenees. The army which put an end to that war of five and twenty years, by crushing the power of Napoleon, was the English army at Waterloo. These facts cannot be denied. There was not a single great overthrow inflicted on Great Britain during the whole course of the conflict.

Whence this triumphant success? It was conferred by the God of nations not on England but on the Protestant cause. The Jews were often prospered in peace and in war, when the word of Jehovah assured them the blessings were conferred not on them as a nation, but on them as embracing God's chosen people, the church. To us these triumphs of England have always been interesting, as the triumphs of Protestantism over its ancient persecuting foes. Nor is it a fact less worthy of notice, that France and Spain were ahead of England in laying the foundation of empire in Canada, Florida, Louisiana, Mexico, the islands of the Gulf, and in India; but of all these possessions they have been deprived by a race inheriting the blood of Britain and carry with them her Protestant religion and her better laws. By England, we do not understand the aristocracy alone; by the Protestants of England, we do not means exclusively the established church. The aristocracy do not constitute the people of the United Kingdom, nor their ecclesiastical nobility the church. The policy of Great Britain had not been unexceptionable, she has national sins; but these things demonstrate that this success was given by Jehovah to this nation, as his blessings are bestowed on individuals, not because they are blameless, but because he has promised that even in the midst of human infirmity, a cup of cold water given to his disciples shall not lose its reward. The glory of England is her protestantism; this is her strength; this the foundation of her greatness.

This is the living soul which in her offspring the American nation, is developing so vigorous a youth and giving such promise of future grandeur and good to mankind. Those colonies only in America have been prospered which were founded as an asylum for persecuted protestantism: and they can hope for the continuance of prosperity no longer than while this palladium of the reformed faith is guarded with pious care. "And if that enthusiasm for the gospel; if that opposition to popery, those two distinctive characteristics of his mind, which Cromwell has imprinted on the people of Great Britain, should ever cease in England; if a fatal fall should ever interrupt the Christian course of that nation; and if Rome which has already ruined so many kingdoms should receive the homage of Old England;—then shall her glory become extinct and her power humbled to the dust."*

ART. III.—*Memoirs of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock DD.* Founder and President of Dartmouth College, and Moor's Charity School. By David McClure, D.D. and Elijah Parish, D.D.

This memoir of Doctor Wheelock was published in 1811, but has been circulated within very narrow limits; yet from the character and services of the person to whom it relates, it deserves to be more general known. It has been remarked, that events of the age immediately preceding our own are commonly less familiar to reading men, than those of a remoter period; because their history is not commonly so soon written. On this account, it is probable, that the subject of this memoir is little known, except in New England. Many, who speak on the subject of foreign missions, seem to suppose, that these were scarcely thought of in the last century; and such will be surprised to learn, that a most important work was accomplished in reference to the conversion of

* Merle D' Aubigné.

the Indians, by the person of whose memoir we now propose to give an abstract.

We doubt whether the man can be named, who in the nineteenth century has manifested an enterprise, energy, and perseverance equal to that of Dr. Wheelock: his noble and benevolent efforts should not be lost sight of by posterity. Not only did he form a grand enterprise and prosecute it with indefatigable industry, but his efforts were crowned with remarkable success; and Dartmouth College is a monument, to show what may be achieved by the exertions of an individual.

Eleazar Wheelock was born in Windham, Connecticut, in April, 1711, and being an only son, and of a lively genius, was placed by his father under the best teachers whom the country afforded. His grandfather, after whom he was named, left him a handsome legacy to defray the expenses of a public education. About the age of sixteen his mind was impressed with a serious concern for his salvation, which resulted in a full purpose to devote his life to the service of God, in the work of the ministry. He received his collegiate education at Yale, then under the presidentship of the Honourable Mr. Williams, whose character was high for wisdom, learning, and piety. His proficiency in learning, and his correct behaviour recommended him to the special regard of the Rector, and the esteem of his fellow students. He and Mr. Pomroy, afterwards his brother-in-law, were the first who received the reward provided by the legacy of Bishop Berkeley, to be given to the best classical scholars of the senior class. His graduation took place in the year 1733.

Soon after leaving college, young Wheelock entered the ministry, and accepted a call given by the Second Society of Hebron, Connecticut. Not long after his settlement the great revival began, the blessed influence of which spread through many of the New England churches. Of this divine visitation his own people partook largely, to the great joy of their pastor. From the experience of grace in his own heart, and his knowledge of its effects on others, he became an excellent casuist, and skilful guide of souls. The duties of the pulpit were to him delightful. During this remarkable revival he was animated with an extraordinary zeal, which led him to

the performance of uncommon labours. He preached almost daily, either at home or abroad, to numerous, attentive and solemn audiences. Distant towns called for his assistance, in compliance with which he itinerated through the country, preaching, wherever invited. The word dispensed by him was mighty to awaken and convince the ignorant and secure, to conduct inquiring souls to Christ, to detect the erroneous, and to establish believers in their holy faith. Many pious and zealous ministers united with him in carrying on that great work, and God abundantly blessed their labours. He was warmly attached to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, and was fired with a kindred zeal for God and the salvation of men. When, towards the close of the revival, the Separatists arose, Mr. Wheelock firmly opposed their enthusiastic and divisive measures, and was the means of reclaiming many who for a season had deserted their duty.

When the labours called forth by the revival were no longer required, his zeal led him to think of some field of usefulness, more extensive than his small congregation; and his attention was turned to the neglected tribes of Indians, who still remained in New England, and on our northern frontiers. He felt that, as a Christian community, we had shamefully and criminally neglected proper endeavours, to reclaim them from ignorance and vice, and to lead them to a knowledge of God and his Messiah.

About this time an incident occurred which had much influence in determining Mr. Wheelock to contrive some means of benefiting the savages of our country. A young Indian, whose name was Samson Occum, applied to him for instruction. This young man, who seemed to be deeply serious, entertained a lively feeling of the wretched condition of his countrymen, and was exceedingly desirous to qualify himself to become an instructer of the Indians. Mr. Wheelock gladly received him into his house, and under his tuition. Indeed, he had already received a few of the children of the Indians into his family; and he now determined to institute a school for their instruction. Occum remained with him three years, and afterward spent one year with Mr. Pomroy, in the study of the Latin and Greek languages; he also acquired some

knowledge of the Hebrew. It was intended to give him a college education, but this was prevented by a weakness of the eyes. The expenses of his training were borne by the Commissioners in Boston, of the Hon. London Board. For some time he was useful as a schoolmaster, and continued his own studies as diligently as the state of his eyes would permit. Occum was of the Mohegan tribe; but he went into Long Island, and lived for some time among the Montauks; to whom he was very useful, by bringing them off from the wild notions which had been infused into them by certain fanatical teachers. After an examination, Occum was licensed to preach by the Windham Association; and sometime afterwards was ordained by the Suffolk Presbytery, to go on a mission to the Mohawk and Oneida Indians.

Mr. Wheelock's success in the education of this man afforded him much encouragement to proceed in his benevolent enterprise for the benefit of the Indians. He declared, that in this undertaking he was impelled by the Saviour's command, "Go teach all nations," and "Preach the gospel to every creature." He believed that on account of the neglect of New England to perform their duty to those children of the forest, the Almighty, in his righteous displeasure, had permitted them to become a scourge to the country. He was of opinion, that the only method of making them peaceable neighbours, was to instruct them in the doctrines and duties of the Christian religion. It was also an object of the settlement in the country, expressed in all their charters, to convert the aborigines to Christianity. "But," said he, "that which should powerfully excite and persuade us thereto, is the many commands, strong motives, precious promises and tremendous threatenings, which fill so great a part of the sacred pages, and are so perfectly calculated to awaken all our powers, to spread the knowledge of the true God and Saviour, and to make it as extensive and common as possible."

The best method of evangelizing the heathen was a subject which occupied many of Mr. Wheelock's thoughts. He had observed, that most former attempts had proved unsuccessful with the aborigines of this country: he therefore resolved to make experiment of a method entirely new; which was, to

persuade the Indian parents to send their children to him, and thus to separate them entirely from all connexion with their countrymen; and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion, at that period of their lives, when impressions are most lasting; and at the same time to teach them the arts of civilized life. He hoped, that by keeping them a number of years under these advantages, he should be able to form them to such habits, that there would be little danger of their returning to barbarous manners. He also hoped, that by the education received in his school, they might be qualified to be teachers of their own people. His object was, to make them equal to English youth in every useful and virtuous accomplishment, and to enkindle in their minds a laudable emulation to excel. His plan was not confined to the education of the male sex; he proposed to place female children in pious families, or under the care of a skilful governess, to be instructed in domestic affairs, and in other things suited to their age; so that when they returned they might exercise a powerful and happy influence on their own people, in bringing them to adopt the same habits of life. It also entered into Mr. Wheelock's plan, to educate a number of English youth, in the same school with the Indians, who might devote themselves to the service of God, by acting as missionaries or schoolmasters among the heathen. Having matured his plan, he first sought council from the Fountain of all wisdom, and became fully satisfied in his own mind, that the plan and purpose which he had formed was agreeable to the will of God. He then consulted with some of his brethren, and explained to them his views; but from all but a few he received no encouragement; they admitted that the object was good, but most considered it impracticable.

Mr. Wheelock's congregation was neither rich nor large, and the salary which they could afford was not adequate to the wants of an increasing family; so that he was under the necessity of deriving a part of their subsistence from his own patrimony. On this account he considered it equitable to appropriate a portion of his time and efforts to other objects than their instruction; and that object, in particular, to which his attention was intensely directed, was the evangelization of

the Indians. "Placing confidence in God," say his biographers, "in whose hands are the hearts of all men, that he would raise up generous benefactors to assist him in this work, he used to say, there are always pious and liberal persons, blessed by God with ability, who are waiting for opportunities of distributing their wealth, in the manner best adapted to promote the glory of God in the salvation of men; and he doubted not that the charitable institution he was about to organize, would excite the liberality of many."

The school now received an accession of two young men, John Pumpshire and Jacob Woolley, sent by the Rev. John Brainerd, at the request of Mr. Wheelock. The Scotch Commissioners, in Boston, having heard of the benevolent undertaking, sent twenty pounds to aid in its support; and requested Mr. Wheelock to send Samson Occum and Fowler to the Oneidas, to procure, if practicable, three boys from that tribe, to be put into the school. By their endeavours, three promising boys were added to the school. Things began now to wear a favourable aspect. Twenty-five pastors of churches, in Connecticut, united in a recommendation of the undertaking; and the General Court of the province of Massachusetts were so persuaded of the wisdom of the plan, and the integrity of Mr. Wheelock, that they authorized him to obtain six scholars from among the Indians, to be educated at their expense.

Hitherto, Mr. Wheelock had proceeded without any assistants: but his good sense led him to see that it would be altogether expedient to associate some respectable persons with himself, that they might share the responsibility. The persons selected by him were Elisha Williams, Esq., late Rector of Yale College, Samuel Mosely, of Windham, and Benjamin Pomroy, of Hebron; who readily entered into an engagement to lend their aid and influence.

The first considerable donation was made by Mr. Joshua Moor, a respectable farmer of Mansfield. It consisted of a convenient tenement and about two acres of land, contiguous to Mr. Wheelock's dwelling. In consequence of this valuable donation, it was determined to honour the donor, by naming the institution MOOR'S INDIAN CHARITY SCHOOL.

Upon the breaking out of the war with the French, the Indians on the frontier committed such horrid barbarities, that some of Mr. Wheelock's friends advised him to relinquish the enterprise; but his resolution to persevere could not be shaken; and he was greatly encouraged by the orderly behaviour of the Indian boys in the school. Those tribes from which his pupils came, and to which he wished to send teachers and missionaries, were friendly to the colonies.

In 1764, the school contained thirty scholars, of whom, about one half were Indians; the others were mostly such as were preparing to be teachers or missionaries among the Indians, and were assisted by the funds of the institution. The teachers were carefully selected, and were religious, learned, and faithful men. The Indian boys were accommodated in a part of the house given by Mr. Moor, and were furnished with proper lodging, diet, and other necessaries by persons employed for the purpose. Evening and morning, the whole school, teachers and pupils, attended prayers, in the hall of Mr. Wheelock's house. The students were required to be decently dressed and ready to attend family worship, in the autumn and winter, before sunrise, and in the summer at six o'clock. A portion of scripture was read by several of the larger boys, and those who were able answered questions in the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, when some explanation was given of the same. After prayers in the family, some time was allowed for recreation before breakfast. At nine o'clock, the school was opened with prayer, and the exercises continued until twelve; there was an intermission until two, when the scholars re-assembled and continued in school until five. Evening prayers were always attended before it became dark, after which, they applied themselves to their studies until bed time. On the Lord's day, they attended church, where two pews were appropriated to their use. In the intervals of public worship, one of the teachers was commonly with them, to preserve order, to hear them read, and to give them suitable instruction. Several times in the week, Mr. Wheelock was accustomed to address them on religion in a plain and familiar style, suited to their capacities. Their improvement greatly occupied his mind, and he entertained a warm affection for his

pupils, and delighted to observe their good conduct; and wherever he went, this was the usual subject of his conversation.

This Indian school had commenced under such favourable auspices, and was in so flourishing a condition, that it attracted the attention of societies and other public bodies, both at home and in Great Britain. The Society in Scotland, for Promulgating Knowledge, was so persuaded of the usefulness of the school, that they appointed a committee for aiding and promoting "Moor's Indian Charitable School." This commission consisted of thirteen persons, partly respectable laymen and partly clergymen, who were friends to the institution.

The General Assembly of Connecticut authorized a collection in aid of the school, throughout the colony. The General Assembly of the province of Massachusetts also granted the avails of a generous legacy, given by Mr. Peter Warren, towards the support of six children of the Six Nations, at said school. The General Assembly of New Hampshire also made a handsome donation to promote the design; and the London Commissioners, in Boston, made several grants for the same purpose. Contributions were also sent in from various Christian congregations and individuals in the neighbouring colonies. Thus though Mr. Wheelock, trusting in Divine Providence, commenced the enterprise on his own responsibility, his expectations of timely aid were not disappointed. Nor were these benefactions confined to America. In Great Britain, the fame of this Indian school excited the hopes and drew forth the good offices of the pious and philanthropic. The Earl of Lothian, as early as 1762, sent Mr. Wheelock a donation of £100; a like sum was given by a lady in England who concealed her name. Many others, both in England and Scotland, whose names we have not room to mention, contributed liberally to this charitable institution.

The friendly dispositions of Christians in Great Britain, as well in the Established Church as out of it, induced Mr. Wheelock to determine on sending Samson Occum, accompanied by some respectable minister, to the mother country to solicit funds. The person selected to accompany Occum was the Rev. Nathanael Whitaker, of Norwich. The voyage was un-

dertaken without delay, and Mr. Occum was the first Indian preacher who was ever welcomed to the shores of England. He preached with great applause in London and the principal cities of England and Scotland, to numerous audiences made up of different denominations. Wherever he preached, liberal contributions were made for the school. The enterprise met with almost universal favour, among all classes, from the highest to the lowest. The pious Earl of Dartmouth became its zealous patron, and by his influence the King himself became a benefactor, by a donation to the institution of £200. A large number of very respectable civilians and divines both of the Established and Presbyterian Churches in England, satisfied with the goodness of the design, and fully convinced of its importance, published an ample testimonial in its favour. The Earl of Dartmouth, and eight others, distinguished laymen, among whom we find John Thornton, Charles Hardy, and Josiah Roberts, founded a Board of Trustees, to receive and remit all moneys which should be contributed to this object. The collections which were made in North Britain were placed in the hands of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," which from the first had taken a lively interest in the enterprise. The University of Edinburgh, to manifest their high respect for Mr. Wheelock, conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. The success of the mission to Great Britain was chiefly owing to the presence and popularity of Occum, who had the features and all the characteristics of a full blooded Indian.

The encouragement was now so great, that Dr. Wheelock determined to enlarge his plan, and to convert his school into a college. But as there was already a college in Connecticut, it was judged expedient to choose a site in some other place. After receiving proposals from several parts of the country, it was determined, as it was chiefly intended for the education of the Indians, to erect the college on the west of New Hampshire, in the town of Hanover, on the banks of the Connecticut river, where Governor Winthrop had offered 500 acres of land, on a beautiful plain. Accordingly, in the year 1770, Dr. Wheelock, with his family and scholars, removed to this place, where they encountered all the hardships and privations of

the first settlers of a new country. For, when they arrived, the only preparation made was the clearing of a few acres of ground. Very soon, however, a log cabin was erected to accommodate the Doctor and his family; while the pupils and labourers had, for a time, to sleep on the ground. The winter also commenced this year earlier than usual; so that the work of building a college, which had been commenced, was obstructed. But although Dr. Wheelock was now in his sixty-first year, and possessed an estate sufficient for his support, for the sake of the benevolent object which he had at heart, he endured all the privations and hardships of this new settlement with cheerfulness; and by his serenity diffused contentment on all around. Governor Wentworth not only gave an ample charter for the college, but also granted to it the right of a ferry over the Connecticut river; and proposed giving to the Institution civil jurisdiction over an extent of three miles square. This last was prevented by the troubles in which the country began to be involved. He did, however, confer on Dr. Wheelock a special commission as a justice of the quorum. At this time no literary institution had been established in the province of New Hampshire. In honour of the Earl of Dartmouth, one of its most distinguished benefactors, the college received the name of DARTMOUTH; which it still retains.

To show that a missionary spirit existed in New England at this time, it will be proper to notice some facts preceding the establishment of the College at Hanover. As early as 1763, Mr. Charles Jeffery Smith, of Long Island, was ordained to the work of the gospel ministry at Lebanon, with a view to his performing a mission to remote tribes of Indians. "Mr. Smith was a worthy, pious, young gentleman, zealous in religion, compassionate to the heathen, and of an accomplished education." He had itinerated sometime as a preacher among the poor and destitute settlements in the southern colonies; and was successful, partially, in Virginia, in bringing some of the wretched children of Africa to a knowledge of Christ. He was universally respected for amiable manners, great benevolence and popular talents as a preacher. His

mission was delayed by the troubles which now came on, in which the Indian tribes were involved.*

In 1764, two young men, Titus Smith and Theophilus Chamberlain, graduates of Yale College, were ordained and commissioned as missionaries to the Mohawks and Oneidas. At the same time, eight Indian youths were examined, and found fully adequate to accompany these missionaries as schoolmasters. They had learned to speak the English language with considerable facility, were acquainted with the rudiments of grammar, and wrote a fair hand. Their appear-

* The Rev. Charles Jeffery Smith, here so honourably mentioned, was a remarkable young man, whose end was tragical and mysterious. Having by the increasing troubles of the tribes been prevented from devoting himself to missionary labours among the Indians, he seems to have turned his attention to the instruction of the slaves in Virginia. A pious and intelligent man, who had been an elder in the congregation of the Rev. Samuel Davies, in Hanover, Va., informed the writer of this article, that Mr. Smith on his arrival in the state, waited on the Governor and General Assembly, and by invitation preached in the State House a sermon on the necessity of regeneration; which is said to have produced a great impression on many of his audience. A copy of it was requested for publication; and it was accordingly printed. The gentleman who gave this account produced a printed copy of this discourse, which appeared to the writer to have been written with uncommon force and vivacity. He has never met with it since; but in a letter of Mr. Smith to Dr. Wheelock, dated Brookhaven, L. I., March 12, 1766, he says, speaking of his visit to Virginia, "The discourse delivered there on regeneration accompanies this and solicits your acceptance." From the same letter it appears that he expected to receive from some Board a commission, which he might use in Virginia; probably as a missionary. The words are, "The commission from your reverend Board will be highly acceptable. As you, sir, know its design, it is needless to desire that it may be as full as the charter will permit. Is it worth while for me to write to Mr. E—— whether the charter will answer the end proposed, and shield one against the attacks of the establishment, in Virginia?" Mr. Smith, according to the testimony of the gentleman already referred to, purchased a considerable property in one of the eastern counties of Virginia; and returned to Long Island to settle his affairs. But, before this was finished, he went out early one morning with a fowling piece in his hand; the report of a gun was heard, and, Mr. Smith not returning at the time expected, search was made for him; when, alas! he was found in the wood, dead, with his gun so situated as to indicate that he had designedly shot himself. This sad occurrence affected the hearts of all the pious with grief and astonishment; for Mr. Smith not only appeared truly and deeply pious, but was of an uncommonly cheerful temper. For some years, nothing occurred to relieve the case from its mystery. But the aforesaid pious elder, who had formed an acquaintance with Mr. Smith and greatly admired him, said, that it was reported to him, that a man condemned for another crime and executed on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, confessed under the gallows, that he was the murderer of Mr. Smith; that, believing that he carried a large sum of money about him, he had met him in the wood, and after some conversation requested to look at his gun, and immediately shot him dead, and left the gun in such a situation as if he had killed himself, and that finding no money, to avoid suspicion, he left his watch in his pocket.

ance and deportment were very pleasing, and their patron and former instructer and other friends were much encouraged by these first fruits of the enterprise, and were ready to predict great and extensive usefulness among their savage countrymen. But here a sad disappointment was experienced. The funds of the institution were found to be exhausted; so that means to defray the necessary expenses of their journey were wanting. Dr. Wheelock, however, was not a man to be easily discouraged. He had learned in such dilemmas, to cast himself on the care of Providence; and had so often found relief from his embarrassments, from unexpected quarters, that he determined to proceed in the present case, as though the requisite funds were at his command; and on the day at first appointed, the missionaries with the Indian teachers departed with ample supplies, which had providentially been furnished from unexpected sources. They were kindly received by several villages of the Indians, and schools were soon collected, and masters appointed to each of them. The missionaries were entrusted with the patronage of these schools, which they frequently visited; treating the teachers with paternal kindness, and encouragement. The whole number of the children of the Mohawks and Oneidas, received into these schools, was a hundred and twenty seven. The scholars generally appeared fond of learning, and made pleasing progress. For some time, the Indian teachers were attentive to their work; but after the lapse of several months, some of them grew weary, and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the missionaries and other patrons, returned, in a considerable degree, to those roving and savage habits from which it was hoped they had been completely rescued. A part, however, maintained their integrity, gained respect, and continued to be useful to their countrymen. The missionaries from time to time gave encouraging accounts of the teachable disposition of the Indians, and of the commendable conduct of the majority of the schoolmasters.

Hitherto, no attempt had been made to introduce Christianity into the confederated Six Nations, except among the Mohawks and Oneidas; the others seemed disposed to reject all offers of the kind; at least from Protestants. But now, it

seemed expedient to make an effort to extend the influence of the gospel into some other of these tribes. The opportunity of making the attempt was providentially afforded; for Mr. Samuel Kirkland, who had just finished his education at Princeton, offered himself as a missionary. In the autumn of 1765, he set out with a design to penetrate into the country of the Senecas, to learn their language, and to conciliate their friendship, with a view to a mission among them. The Senecas were the most remote of all the tribes of the confederacy; and their social habits were understood to be more savage than those of any other tribe. It may be observed here, that all the Six Nations spoke dialects of the same language. Mr. Kirkland had acquired some knowledge of the language of the Mohawks; and this greatly aided him in acquiring the Seneca language. The enterprise was considered bold and hazardous. No Protestant missionary had ever penetrated these forests, or visited this ferocious tribe. But Kirkland was peculiarly qualified for this arduous undertaking. His constitutional strength and vicacity were uncommon; he was fearless of danger, possessed a great fund of benevolence, a heart devoted to the cause of the Redeemer, and zeal for the conversion of the heathen. He travelled among these barbarians unattended; boldly enduring trials and encountering dangers which would have filled a common mind with dismay. Though famine spread its horrors around him, and his life was often threatened, he persisted in the good work; and continued among the savages eighteen months, during which time, he acquired a competent knowledge of their language, and had the opportunity of holding forth the word of life in this very dark corner of the earth. At first the chief men of the nation treated him with haughtiness and contempt, but after witnessing his courage and his kindness they exchanged this for admiration; and some became so full of approval that they expressed a desire to be instructed in the Christian religion. But so invincible was the opposition of the majority, that Mr. Kirkland, seeing no prospect of usefulness among them, took a mission to the Oneidas, among whom for many years he continued his laborious services, in the exercise of the ministry;

in which he was both faithful and successful, and the effects of his labours were permanent.

Mr. Occum laboured chiefly among the Mohegan, Mohawk, and Narraganset tribes; occasionally visiting the Six Nations. The Rev. Mr. Bull, in a letter to Mr. Bostwick, says of Occum, "that in his preaching, he seems always to have in view the end of the ministry, the glory of God and the salvation of men. His manner of expression when he preaches to the Indians is vastly more natural and free, than when he preaches to others. He is the glory of the Indian nation. I rejoice in the grace of God conferred on him &c." His popularity was so great and he was so much flattered by some, that Dr. Wheelock on one occasion exclaimed, "May God mercifully preserve him from falling into the condemnation of the devil!"

The bright prospects of success in the literary institution, established chiefly with a view to the civilization and evangelization of the Indians, were obscured by the contest between the colonies and the mother country. Dr. Wheelock's principal dependence for pecuniary resources was on Great Britain; but in the year 1775 all intercourse between America and Britain was suspended. Besides, nearly all the tribes of Indians, from which he received scholars, being friendly to the British and hostile to the colonies, recalled their sons. This he considered a favourable circumstance; as the means of subsistence were in a great measure cut off by the war, and he did not like to send away the scholars, for fear of offending the tribes to which they belonged; this difficulty was removed by their sending for their children.

Moor's Indian school was never incorporated with Dartmouth College. Dr. Wheelock, indeed, proposed to the Trustees of the College, to take charge of the school; but they were of opinion that their charter did not authorize them to take upon them such care and supervision, and so it remained under Dr. Wheelock's sole care and management until his death.

During the progress of the revolutionary war, Dartmouth, on account of its remoteness from the theatre of hostilities, suffered comparatively little; for while the colleges on the

eastern part of the country were disbanded and their buildings dilapidated by the invasion, the course of study in this institution was uninterrupted. Since the close of the war, Dartmouth College has held a most reputable standing among the literary institutions of the country; many eminent men, both in church and state having received the finishing part of their education in this seminary. But it is our object not to give the history of this literary institution, but to exhibit the benevolent zeal of Dr. Wheelock towards the aborigines of the country, and his labours and success in the work. The health of this good man began rapidly to decline in the year 1779, and on the 24th day of April, he breathed his last. Being asked by Mrs. Wheelock, when death was evidently near, what were his present views, he said, "I am not afraid of death with every amazement," and shortly before he expired, he repeated the 4th verse of the 23d Paslm, "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death I will fear no evil; for Thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me."

At his death, Dr. Wheelock had completed his sixty-eighth year; nine from the founding of the College; and twenty-five from the institution of his Indian school. His funeral was attended by a large concourse of people, and the sermon, on the occasion, was preached by the minister of the parish of Hanover, the Rev. Mr. Burroughs, from Job xiv, 14, "If a man die shall he live again? all the days of my appointed time, will I wait till my change come."

Dr. Wheelock did not live to see the dawn of peace to his country. By the charter of the College, he was authorized to appoint his successor; and he conferred the office on his own son, one of the first graduates of the College; who, before he took charge of the institution, travelled extensively in Europe, and was successful in collecting some pecuniary supplies in Great Britain.

Although Dr. Wheelock performed the duties of President of the College, master of the Indian School, and preacher to both those institutions, he received for his services no other salary than a supply of necessary provisions for his family. While much money passed through his hands, his

fidelity and wisdom in the appropriation of such funds were never called in question.

After his decease little opportunity has existed for carrying out the original design of the founder, as it relates to the Indians; but still the establishment of a respectable College, by the exertions of an individual, was a great work, and has accomplished extensive good to the community. As in our view Dr. Wheelock was an uncommon man, we will close this article with a description of his character, as given by his biographers, but abridged.

In the articles of his faith, Dr. Wheelock agreed with the Puritans, who were the fathers of New England. He belonged to the school of Calvin. The doctrines of divine sovereignty, human depravity, the moral impotence of the sinner, the necessity of regeneration, the divinity of Jesus Christ, the infinite merit and efficacy of the atonement, the doctrine of election, special grace in the conversion of a sinner, the immediate duty of repentance and faith, and the necessity of holiness as evidence of justification, were his favourite themes in his preaching. Like the light of the sun, the benevolence of Dr. Wheelock shines in his active and useful services. His whole life demonstrates the goodness of his heart. No brighter evidence of a benevolent mind can be given than the arduous labours he performed, the many privations which he endured, the immense sacrifices he made, the burdensome and complicated cares which he assumed. Love to God and the souls of men was undoubtedly the animating motive of his active life. The school and College were founded to promote the glory of the Redeemer in the salvation of men; especially the perishing Indians of North America. And when, in consequence of the interruption of intercourse between the colonies and the mother country, the resources of the College failed, Dr. Wheelock advanced his own property to the amount of three thousand three hundred and thirty three dollars, to sustain the institution. This sum, by his last will, he bequeathed to the College; reserving only a small annuity for his oldest son, who was an invalid. Other valuable legacies he left to the School.

As a religious instructer, faithfulness was a remarkable

trait in the character of Dr. Wheelock. Religion entered into all his calculations, gave direction to all his plans, and seemed to dictate the most minute arrangement: he was the same good man, in the pulpit, the college, and the parlour. He had a remarkable talent of introducing religious subjects into conversation with ease and pleasantness. His manner had nothing of ostentation or formality; nothing which offended the careless or gay. His hospitality was patriarchal; and to his guests his conversation was open and honest as the day, which, while it afforded edification, gave also pleasure, by his dignified and affable manners. His solicitude for the salvation of his children, pupils, and servants, he manifested by occasionally taking them into his study, to inquire with parental tenderness into their spiritual state; when, with great plainness, he gave them such advice and exhortation as their respective cases required. And God was often pleased to bless these pious labours; as many of his pupils had reason to bless God for these seasons of religious conference. In the great concern of their salvation his children and pupils frequently applied to him for instruction. The College was a school not only of science, but of religion.

As a preacher of the gospel, Dr. Wheelock possessed shining gifts. His sermons were connected, affectionate and persuasive. During the great revival, he travelled extensively, through New England, and in the constellation of the preachers of that day, was a star of the first magnitude. Wherever he preached multitudes flocked to hear him. Though a fine classical scholar, and a man of profound sense, his preaching was in an easy and familiar style. He had a remarkable talent for winning the attention and arousing the consciences of his hearers. Without factitious ornament, his language was perspicuous and forcible. His aim was to reach the feelings of his hearers through the understanding. His sermons were not read, but delivered from short notes, and sometimes entirely extemporaneous. Possessing a lively imagination, a warm heart, and a deep concern for immortal souls, the impetuosity of his eloquence often presented common and well known truths with all the irresistible charms of novelty. From what has been said, it may be inferred, that he was an

uncommonly successful preacher. Multitudes throughout New England acknowledged him as their spiritual father. But though so popular and successful he was preserved habitually in an humble state of mind. He was not wont to enter the pulpit with confidence, but with diffidence of himself; and often with fear and trembling.

Dr. Wheelock was animated in a high degree with the spirit of missions; that is with the genuine spirit of Christianity. A double portion of that spirit which in the present age has been excited in the minds of many, leading them to seek the extension of the blessed gospel to the heathen, was bestowed upon this eminent servant of God; and this at a time, when it was almost restricted to his own bosom: far in the obscurity of a country village he began the work alone. How would his pious heart have exulted in the prospect, could he have foreseen the missionary exertions of the church in the present day! We have already remarked on the humility which accompanied him into the pulpit; we may now add that although he laboured so much, and endured so many hardships, and actually accomplished so much, no one even heard him speak with complacency of his own labours. When in his will he bequeaths to the college what in that day would have been considered a good estate, he lays in no claim for admiration; but modestly says, "I have professed to have no view to making an estate by this affair. What the singleness and uprightness of my heart has been before God He knows, and also how greatly I stand in need of his pardon." Though often under the necessity of making great pecuniary sacrifices to sustain the College, he was careful never to involve his friends.

Dr. Wheelock's disinterestedness and trust in Providence are very clearly manifested in the following extract, from one of his annual narratives: 'When I think of the great weight of present expense for supporting sixteen or seventeen Indians boys—which has been my number the last year—and as many English youth, on charity; and eight in the wilderness who depend for their support wholly from this quarter; also, such a number of labourers, and the necessity of building a house for myself, with the expense of three and sometimes four tutors, I have sometimes faintness of heart.

But then I consider that I have not been seeking myself in one step which I have taken; nor have I taken one step without deliberation and asking counsel; and that if further resources from that fullness on which I have depended from the first should be withheld; yet that which has been laid out will by no means be lost to the school: nor be exposed to reproach as having been imprudently expended. I have always made it my practice not to suffer my expenses to exceed what my own private interest will pay. In case I should be brought to that necessity, justice will be done to my creditors. But the consideration which, above all others, has been my support is that it is the cause of God. God most certainly has, and does own it as his work. In him, and in him alone, do I hope to perfect his own plan for his own glory. Under these apprehensions I cannot be anxious respecting the issue. God has done great things for the institution, and I may not go back; but wait upon him, and hope in him, to maintain and support and defend it, and perform what is wanting for it in his own mercy and time. Certainly his hand has been conspicuous in its beginning, rise and progress, through so many dark scenes. When in its infancy, and an object of contempt, it was the hand of God which opened and disposed the hearts of so many on both sides the water, to such pious and charitable liberalities for its support. It was the finger of God which pointed out such a wise, goodly, and honourable patronage for it in Europe. What but a divine influence should move my worthy patrons, with so much cheerfulness, and disinterested zeal, to accept the important trust, in London; and to prosecute the design, with so much steadiness and zeal? It was the hand of God, which advanced our great friend and patron, the right honourable William, Earl of Dartmouth, to the American administration, while he was in such connexion with this Seminary. It was the hand of God which opened the heart of our gracious Sovereign to show his princely munificence in his royal bounty; and especially in ratifying a charter, endowing the Seminary with all the powers, immunities, and privileges of any university in his kingdom, by which its interests are most effectually secured; so that those who are graduated here, have not an empty title, but by law a claim

to all those rights and privileges enjoyed by graduates of any University in Great Britain. Was it not the hand of God that advanced so important and beneficial a friend to the chair of this province, as his Excellency Governor Wentworth, and disposed him as a nursing father to patronise this infant College in the wilderness? and certainly, the gracious hand of God has been very evident to all acquainted with the regularity and good order which have uninterruptedly sustained her; and that without any form of Government, but parental.

"These things have not resulted merely from the wisdom, prudence or wise politics of the age; but God has evidently designed to hide pride from man, and make the excellency of his power and grace conspicuous, by making choice of an instrument every way unequal to the arduous work. Surely this looks like his plan, to make the excellence of his own perfections appear, and secure all the glory to himself."

The confidence felt by Dr. Wheelock's patrons in England was unbounded. Mr. John Thornton authorized him to draw on him for any sum he might need; and he never, in any case, abused this confidence. Doctor Wheelock, in person, was of a middle stature and size, well proportioned, and dignified. His features were prominent, his eyes a light blue and animated. His complexion was fair, and the general expression of his countenance pleasing and handsome. His voice was remarkably full, harmonious, aud commanding. We can scarcely find in history a more illustrious example of benevolent and successful effort, than in Dr. Wheelock. By his single effort, through the blessing of divine Providence, he accomplished a work, which has commonly required the united labours of many minds and many hands. And although his pious purpose in relation to the Indians was in a great measure frustrated by the occurrence of the revolutionary war, Dartmouth College has been eminently useful to the country; and will ever stand as a memorial of the piety, benevolence, and perseverance of the Rev. Doctor Wheelock.*

* It is natural that the friends of the Theological Seminary at Princeton. should feel an interest in Dr. Wheelock; since a considerable legacy was, on a certain contingency, bequeathed to this institution by the late Dr. Wheelock. the son and successor of the founder of Dartmouth College. Providence has so ordered events,

ART. IV.—*The Life of John Calvin, compiled from authentic sources*, by Thomas H. Dyer. New York: Harpers. 1850.

OUR author states in his preface that "the appearance in an English dress of Henry's Life of Calvin from the pen of Dr. Stebbing might seem to supersede the necessity for another work on the same subject, and had that gentleman's book been published earlier, the present one would probably have never been undertaken." If an earlier announcement of Dr. Stebbing's design would really have prevented the appearance of the work before us, we think it is much to be regretted that the important information was so long withheld from the public, and from Mr. Dyer in particular. The public would have lost nothing if this fruit of Mr. Dyer's literary labours had never seen the light, and we much fear that he will find that his book belongs to that large class which "the world will willingly let die." We cannot get rid of the suspicion that Mr. Dyer became aware of the intentions of Dr. Stebbing much sooner than the preceding extract of his preface would lead us to suppose, and that the only effect of the information was to infuse fresh activity into his pen, so as to anticipate, if possible, the publication of a rival work. However this may be, the most charitable view which we can take of many of his pages, is, that they were written with uncommon haste.

That a complete and well written life of the Genevan Reformer is a great disideratum there can be no doubt. Dr. Henry's large work, which has been repeatedly noticed by this journal, composed as it is by one who has a high but not blind admiration of the Reformer's character, and a cordial sympathy with those great principles, to the exposition and defence of which Calvin devoted all the energies of his noble soul, is very admirable. It contains the rich and ample fruits of the researches of many years; it is a well stored repository of ma-

that, with the full consent of the legal heir, that property has come into the possession of the Seminary; and it, no doubt, once belonged to Dr. Wheelock the elder. Considering his love of learning and sound doctrine on religion, if he could have foreseen that a part of his estate would be available to promote the training of young men for the ministry, in a church which maintains the very same system of doctrine, which was so dear to him, the prospect would have been gratifying to his benevolent heart.

terials, gathered from many sources, but on this very account not so well adapted for general circulation; so that the need for a biography of Calvin for popular use still exists. In undertaking to supply this want Mr. Dyer has attempted a work, for which, if we may judge from the present volume, he does not possess a single qualification. He is an English high churchman of the same school as the late Dr. Tomline, whose now forgotten book entitled "Refutation of Calvinism," he quotes as one of the "authentic sources" of information respecting the principles of the Calvinistic system; to expect a truly candid account either of Calvin's personal history, or of his religious faith from such a writer is manifestly preposterous. Indeed we are at a loss to conceive what motive induced Mr. Dyer to take upon himself the task of preparing a biography of Calvin, unless it be the selfish one of mere pecuniary advantage, or that he was possessed of an invincible desire to appear in print. That he was not prompted by an affectionate regard for the memory of the Reformer, or a desire to honour him for the sake of his great services to the church of God, is abundantly evident from every page. Neither does it appear that he is particularly fond of historical investigations, or that he has been occupied with original researches in regard to the men and events of past ages; for while his work claims to be derived from "authentic sources," a phrase, by the way, of rather dubious import, it is in fact nothing more than a compilation, in which, the author has made a free though not always a fair use of the labours of Beza, Ruchat, Henry and others. On one topic, "the nature and extent of Calvin's intercourse with the Anglican-church, and with the Marian exiles," Mr. Dyer affects to speak with the authority of one who has carefully examined all the original documents bearing upon it, and "ventures to hope" that his readers will find in his volume more information on this subject than in any other biography of Calvin. It is quite certain that this matter fills a larger space in his work than in Dr. Henry's, and if Mr. Dyer's inferences from facts and his observations upon them could properly be placed under the head of "information," his claim, would be well founded. When this additional information

however is thoroughly inspected, we unfortunately find that so much of it as is true is not new, while all of it that is new is not true.

It might seem uncharitable to affirm that Mr. Dyer wrote his book for the express purpose of disparaging the reputation of Calvin, especially as he closes it with some fine words about the "mellowing" influence of time and "the impartiality and moderation which the lapse of three centuries should produce." We will not assert that he intended to take up his position by the side of such men as Bolsec and Audin; but this much we may say that every candid reader will rise from the perusal of the book with the decided conviction that its author has a most cordial dislike of the Reformer whose history he has undertaken to relate, and that he often writes against the system of doctrine and discipline associated with that Reformer's name, "with the virulence of a man who does not understand it." Such a reader will ask the question without getting a satisfactory reply, what could have induced a person who evinces such profound ignorance of the nature of evangelical religion, and such lukewarm sympathy for the Reformation in any phase of it, to attempt a task for which he was so unfit, as that of the biographer of a man who was confessedly one of the greatest champions of divine truth, and with all his faults, one of the noblest examples of true piety. However we are under no apprehensions that the name and memory of Calvin will be injuriously affected by the appearance of this book; nor would we have felt much alarmed if Mr. Dyer's pen had been as vigorous as his prejudices, which happily is not the case. In common with other men who have fulfilled high destinies, and whose lives, if they have not formed, at least have been intimately connected with great eras in the world's history, Calvin has been forced to bear a vast amount of obloquy; but there are many delightful indications that the mists of ignorance and prejudice are dispersing and that the world is beginning to discern his real features, and to form a just estimate of his services. Mr. Dyer's work has not one redeeming quality to save it from the fate which has overtaken so many others breathing a like spirit. We cannot point out a single page in which the author rises to any thing like eloquence, nor can we

quote one passage that bears the impress of a really vigorous mind. Indeed we should not have deemed it necessary to notice the book, were it not that our readers may be tempted to purchase a volume, which bears the imprint of one of our principal publishers, and which received the endorsement of one of our respectable religious papers, as a valuable contribution to our biographical literature.*

We should require a great deal more space than we can spare, if we noticed everything in the volume which invites criticism; or should undertake to correct all its abounding misrepresentations and mistakes. The author looks at every thing not merely from a false position, but with a jaundiced eye, so that whatever may be his point of view, the object of vision becomes discolored or distorted; and accordingly there is not one important event in the life of Calvin the narrative of which is perfectly fair and candid. As we have already given in our successive notices of Dr. Henry's admirable volumes, a large account of the life and labours of Calvin, we do not deem it necessary to go over the ground again, and therefore in our remarks on Mr. Dyer's performance we shall not confine ourselves to the historical order of events. Our main design is not so much to defend Calvin against the attacks of a prejudiced biographer, as to guard our readers against the purchase of a worthless book; and this end will be sufficiently attained by giving a few illustrations of Mr. Dyer's manner of dealing with the character, the actions and the doctrinal system of Calvin.

The work opens naturally enough with some observations on the Reformation in general, and on the early division of its friends into certain parties which still exist. From these introductory remarks we cull a few sentences, which will serve to give our readers a taste of the literary qualities of the book, and to show forth Mr. Dyer's competency to discuss topics belonging to the domain of historical philosophy. "The grand

* From the second "notice" of Dyer in the N. Y. Observer it appeared that the critic had not read the book which he so highly lauded, but seems to have taken it for granted that as it was a Life of Calvin it must be excellent. On examining it however, he found he had gone too fast; but as he valued consistency more than candour, he comes out with a "second notice," resembling, at least in one feature, those Delphic oracles which the priestess uttered when she knew not which side to take.

and manifold blessings attending the Reformation were not unalloyed with serious evils, the chief of which were the dissensions that arose among the reformers themselves. The pretended infallibility of the Romish church had, at least secured unity. The right of *private judyment, the active principle of the Reformation*, was a standard that necessarily varied according to the temper, the understanding, or the knowledge of different men, and hence arose a variety of sects." "The same principle that produced these excrescences, though not pushed to such extravagant results, ultimately divided the Protestant church into three main denominations of Lutherans, Anglicans and Calvinists." "It was indeed, impossible that the spirit of the Reformation should be bounded by the views of Luther. Notwithstanding his personal boldness, in matters of doctrine and discipline, Luther was a timid and cautious innovator. The establishment of *his doctrine* of justification seems to have been at first his only object." "Before Luther began his career, another reformer had already started up in Switzerland possessing bolder views and a more philosophical method. Zwingli began by laying down the abstract general principle that the Scriptures contain the sole rule of faith and practice." "Out of these two churches were developed the Anglican and the Calvinistic—Calvin, pushing both the doctrine and practice of Zwingli to a rigid extreme, succeeded nevertheless in incorporating the Zwinglian church with his own." "Hence Calvin's title to be regarded as an original reformer is *eclipsed, in point of priority as well as in some other particulars* by those of Luther and Zwingli. Calvin's influence flowed mainly *from his literary abilities.*"

The rhetorical elegance of these extracts is about equal to their historical accuracy. It is undeniable, that as Luther and Zwingli began the work of Reformation while Calvin was yet a mere child, his title to be regarded as an original reformer is "eclipsed in point of priority"—to use Mr. Dyer's original figure—by theirs. But when he asserts that Calvin's influence "flowed mainly from his literary abilities," "that Calvin pushed the doctrine and practice of Zwingli to a rigid extreme," he makes statements which he would find it not so easy to substantiate. Indeed the last of these assertions is

not only contrary to historical fact, but on his own showing absurd, for on the previous page he informs us that the distinguishing doctrine of Zwingli was "the abstract general principle that the Scriptures contain, the sole rule of faith and practice;" and how this principle could be "pushed" to any more rigid extreme than that to which Zwingli himself "pushed" it we are at a loss to conceive. Apparently forgetful of what he had said on this subject, he assures his readers, in his closing chapter, that "Calvin's best claim to originality with regard to any single part of his doctrine, rests on that of the Lord's Supper." Now whether Calvin's doctrine on the subject of the Lord's Supper be original or not, every one acquainted with the history of the sacramentarian controversy knows that so far from "pushing" Zwingli's view on this point to a rigid extreme, he never even reached the Zwinglian position. Again, the statement that the naked right of private judgment was "the active principle of the Reformation," "a standard that necessarily varied according to the temper of different men" is scarcely more accurate than those which we have just noticed. If Mr. Dyer had said that the sufficiency and supremacy of Scripture as the rule of faith and manners, was the active principle of the Reformation he would have come much nearer the truth. The right to read and interpret the word of God, was asserted and exercised by the reformers, and though each one of them studied the lively oracles for himself, the results thus independently reached, are to a surprising extent identical; on all those points of doctrine which are immediately connected with the way of salvation, they saw eye to eye, as the various confessions of the Protestant churches abundantly prove. The right of private judgment for which the reformers contended was not the right to think as men pleased, to adopt any system of faith that whim or caprice might dictate; but a right, which, in its exercise must be governed by the paramount and absolute authority of the word of God.

But there is another subject of far higher importance than the rules of elegant writing, or even than a knowledge of the earlier developements of Protestantism, in reference to which Mr. Dyer manifests, as we have already intimated—a lamentable

ignorance; we refer to the nature of evangelical religion. Simple ignorance on this subject, unaccompanied by prejudice against the distinctive truths of the Gospel and those who profess them, would disqualify a man however accomplished in other respects, for writing a proper biography of Calvin. There is much in the character and labours of the Reformer which he could neither appreciate nor understand; there are many things which, with the fixed purpose to be impartial, he would be sure to misrepresent; for the working of the spiritual life can be discerned only by the spiritual mind. In Mr. Dyer's case, however, there is not merely ignorance, but positive aversion; there are many passages in his work which show that he fully shares those feelings of intense dislike of the evangelical system which have so long characterised the prevailing party in the church of England. Thus, in speaking of the vital doctrine of Justification, which holds so prominent a place in all the confessions of the Reformed churches—he describes it as Luther's, "*his doctrine* of justification." Calvin, is said "to have been converted by a sudden call, *like the new birth of the Methodists*;" and then he adds in a scarcely less sneering tone "there will be occasion to relate other instances of the unexpected intervention of Providence in Calvin's spiritual history." The doctrine that "every thing must be subordinate to the glory of God" is represented in very much the same spirit as being one of the peculiar and prominent truths of Calvinism. In his account of the social and political condition of Geneva at the time of the Reformation, after giving a most deplorable picture of the moral state of the people among whom "reckless gaming, drunkenness, adultery, blasphemy, and all sorts of vice and wickedness abounded," he assures us that "*the worship, such as it was, showed the cheerful side of religion*, no eternal fiat of reprobation haunting the sinner with the thoughts of a doom which it was impossible to escape." While he thinks "it cannot be disputed that these vices and disorders demanded a large measure of reform" yet he is very severe on the "evangelical ministers" for going beyond the bounds of discretion, "confounding what was really innocent in the same anathema with what was fundamentally vicious;

cards, and dancing, plays and masquerades being absolutely prohibited as well as the graver vices before enumerated." We very much fear, by the way, that, if Mr. Dyer had had the reforming of Geneva, these "graver vices," and "the worship such as it was, showing the cheerful side of religion" would have continued until this day. Then we have such phrases as "the jargon peculiar to the elect," and "the nasal melody of our tabernacles," and others of like character, which every person of refined taste, whatever may be his theological views, will feel, are bad enough in a party pamphlet, but in a grave biography are utterly intolerable.

Let us now see in what colours our biographer paints the character of Calvin. Besides numberless inuendos of a most derogatory kind, there are positive charges brought against him, affecting his reputation, not only as a public man but also as a christian—charges which no one has hitherto ventured to make, unless such foul-mouthed calumniators as Bolsec and Balduin, who themselves had no character to lose. For example he accuses Calvin of aiming to become a party leader, he "*seems* at this time (in 1532, when only twenty-three years old, and before he had published a single page) to have indulged *the ambitious hope* of becoming the head of the Reformed party in France." Unlike the bold and masculine Luther, he "was more inclined *to propagate his doctrines by stealth*, and at a safe distance; though continually exhorting others to behave like martyrs, he was himself *always disposed to fly* at the first appearance of danger." Another "trait in his character which strongly contrasts with the bold and open conduct of Luther" was "the many disguises" in the shape of fictitious names to which Calvin resorted. Having occasion to refer a favour formerly conferred on one who had shamefully entreated him, Mr. Dyer sets this down to the score of "*meanness.*". Perhaps it was the bias derived from the discovery of this trait that induced him to regard Calvin's salary of about fifty dollars a year as on the whole "respectable," and to omit all mention of the fact that when the council sent him supplementary donations of money, wheat, wood and wine, he always sent back the first and insisted upon paying for the latter articles. Another point of difference be-

tween Luther and Calvin, consisted in the amount of "personal importance which the latter arrogated to himself. The respect and submission exacted by him far exceeded that claimed by other spiritual guides. The most *trifling slights* and *insults* such as most men would overlook with contempt, he *pursued* with *bitterness and acrimony*." Again, we are told that "if Calvin was not *exactly Pope*," he was "at least the Bishop of Geneva," having "usurped the perpetual presidency of the consistory" and offered to make Beza his successor—a story that comes through a very suspicious channel, the pages of the veracious Brandt. More than this—"he did not scruple to place the leaders of the Reformation, among whom he claimed a place, *on a level* with the Evangelists."

Dark and repulsive as are the traits of character enumerated above—ambition, cowardice, meanness, jealous sense of personal importance, usurpation of authority, there are worse features still. Not only did he eagerly grasp at absolute power, but he "determined to uphold his scheme of ecclesiastical discipline *without much regard* to *the means* which he used for that purpose." Among these were "mean subterfuges," "duplicity," "mental reservation" in the matter of oaths, "a rather pliant conscience," "disingenuousness" on so many occasions that it seems to have become a sort of incurable habit. Nay more, so thoroughly had his relentless logic or his towering ambition banished from his nature all the gentler virtues that he could relish the burning of heretics at Geneva with a *gusto* not inferior to that of an inquisitor at Rome; he could out of pure personal revenge pursue his enemies to the death; he could even participate in the plots and persecutions of other lands. Our biographer goes into what he would have his readers consider as a historical argument, to prove the high probability, that Calvin had a hand in the death of Joan of Kent, during the Protectorate of Somerset, in 1552, and the almost certainty, that he was in some way implicated in the assassination of the Duke of Guise in 1563.

Such are the colours in which Mr. Dyer paints the character of Calvin. We have transferred them to our pages simply because they will enable our readers to judge of the spirit by which the book before us is pervaded. If it were in the least

necessary, and our limits allowed of it, we might add other illustrations of the animus of Mr. Dyer, derived from the manner in which he deals with the notoriously false and the foul calumnies published by such men as Bolsec. Thus, for instance, he is at pains to record that Bolsec had charged Calvin with having made an attempt upon the chastity of a Madame De Fallais, and the bald conclusion of his tedious logic that fills the greater part of a page is, that the charge is not proven! As Bolsec was not only a bitter enemy of Calvin, but a convicted liar, we are gravely assured that "his authority must not be lightly taken; nevertheless it *seems probable* that such a report was in circulation at the time!" No man could write in this style, on such a topic, who has a proper respect for Calvin. We deem it quite a needless task to discuss in detail these affirmations respecting the character of the Reformer, for in most cases they are the mere dicta of the biographer which he does not pretend to support by historical proof; while in the few instances in which he does attempt to confirm his charges, as of Calvin's complicity in the assassination of the Duke of Guise and the judicial murder of Joan of Kent, every candid reader of the letters on which his argument is based, will see that there is not a shadow of evidence.

We are not as we have before stated in the least apprehensive as to the effect of these disparaging statements, in modifying the high estimate which the Protestant world at large is beginning to form of the merits of the Genevan reformer; they will damage Mr. Dyer's volume, far more than the memory of Calvin. Besides revealing the strong prejudices of the biographer, they evince a degree of ignorance very ill becoming one who presumes to correct the mistakes and supply the deficiencies of a work like Dr. Henry's—the fruit of the labours and researches of many years. If, for example, he had examined as closely as he should have done, the matter of Calvin's assumption of fictitious names, he would have found that Luther himself did the same thing on one occasion, the only one during his public career when he was exposed to personal danger; he would have discovered that in most cases Calvin resorted to this disguise from a considerate regard for the welfare of others rather than to secure himself from peril. During his

journey into Italy he no doubt took the name of Espeville as a safe-guard against the myrmidons of the Inquisition; but the publication of the first edition of his Institutes under the name of Alcuin could have had no other motive than the wish that it might reach and be read by persons, who would perhaps have turned from it in disgust, had they known who was its author. The other names are appended to letters written long after his settlement at Geneva, where Calvin himself was in no danger; but many of his correspondents resided in countries where Romanism was still dominant, and they would have been subjected to very serious trouble, if it had been known that they were in communication with the Reformer. But let us pass from these subordinate incidents, and see how Mr. Dyer handles the more important facts of Calvin's life.

One of the earliest contests into which Calvin was drawn after his settlement at Geneva was that with Caroli. This man was at one time a doctor of the Sorbonne, but having been charged with heresy, he fled from Paris, and joined the Protestants. Becoming speedily discontented with his new position, he reconciles himself to the Romish church, again relapses, escapes into Switzerland, and after a temporary settlement at Geneva and at Neufchatel, is chosen one of the Pastors of Berne. Here he soon proved himself to be a vain, fickle, ambitious hypocrite, eager in the pursuit of popularity and power. Having been thwarted in some of his schemes, and knowing that Farel and Viret were aware of his real character, he began to meditate schemes of vengeance. An opportunity soon occurred for the display of his malice. In one of his sermons he insisted upon the necessity of prayers for the dead, an offence for which he was summoned before the consistory of Berne. Though Calvin and Viret who were present interposed on his behalf, he arose, and to the surprise of every one charged them and Farel with Arianism. To investigate this accusation a Synod was summoned to meet at Lausanne, and a few months later a still larger one assembled at Berne: by both of which Caroli was condemned and by the latter, deposed. Calvin, in the name of his brethren gave in a confession of their faith, which was declared to be satisfactory, but Caroli objected to it because the terms Trinity and Person

were not used, and insisted that they should subscribe the Nicene and Athanasian creeds—a demand with which they refused to comply, not from any objection to the creeds, but because they could not recognise the right of Caroli to make the requisition, and as they had already given ample satisfaction to the Synod as to their soundness in the faith.

The conclusion of this affair we will give in Mr. Dyer's own words. "It must, however, be confessed that Farel and Calvin's subsequent conduct with regard to the doctrine was not only amenable to the charge of obstinacy and self-will but even of duplicity. They still continued to object to the use of the words Trinity and Person, and even wished to force their views on some of the ministers." On this, we have to observe that the whole story is told by our biographer in a manner so confused and bungling as to make it impossible for his reader to conceive how Farel and Calvin could have laid themselves open to such charges. On one page we find them exculpated by acclamation, and their accuser deposed as a base calumniator, on the very next they are guilty of obstinacy and duplicity for holding views as to certain words, against which not a whisper had been heard in the Synod. In the next place we observe that Mr. Dyer lays himself open to a charge as heavy as that which he so gratuitously brings against Calvin. He talks about Calvin's views, and forcing his views upon others, when he knew perfectly well that he held no peculiar views respecting the technicalities in question. Farel had some difficulty in regard to them, but Calvin never objected to their use; what he did object to is thus stated by himself in a letter dated 30th August, 1537—"Tantum nolebamus hoc tyrannidis exemplum in ecclesiam induci, ut is haereticus haberetur qui non ad alterius praescriptionem loqueretur. Cum ille (Caroli) strenue contenderet neminem Christianum esse sine tribus symbolis."

To avoid the censure inflicted upon him Caroli fled from Berne, and continuing to propagate his impudent calumnies, he for a time succeeded in awakening suspicions of the orthodoxy of the Genevan ministers, in various parts of Switzerland and Germany, which occasioned Calvin no little trouble. But of all this our candid and impartial biographer says not a word.

Having disposed of Caroli's affair, Mr. Dyer reverts to a subject on which he had already expended a number of pages, viz: "the efforts made by Farel and Calvin to establish their schemes of Church Government at Geneva. These proved very unpalatable to the great body of the people. As early as September, 1536, many of the principal citizens protested to the Council against the reproofs of the ministers." To substantiate this latter statement he is at particular pains to quote in a foot note, the Registers of date 4th September, 1536. It would have been much more to the purpose if he had condescended to explain to his readers what these "schemes of church government" were; this he neglects to do, perhaps for the very good reason that he had not a clear understanding of them himself. All that he says on the subject, in this connexion is, that Farel with the help of Calvin had drawn up a confession of 21 articles, comprising some regulations respecting church government, and that "among the latter the *right of excommunication* was the most important, as it subsequently became the *chief instrument of Calvin's spiritual domination.*" From this statement the reader might naturally infer that Calvin had succeeded in getting "the right of excommunication" vested in himself. But we refer to this part of the narrative mainly, because it shows how determined Mr. Dyer is, to make Calvin the author of all the troubles at Geneva, in palpable violation of dates recorded on his own pages. Dates are dangerous things for a careless historian to deal with. In a note, in which our author's desire to display a little historic lore seems to have got the better of his discretion, the date of the popular protest against the schemes and reproofs of Calvin and Farel is 4 September, 1536. Now Calvin came to Geneva in the latter part of August 1536; for many months after his arrival there he refused to accept of any office which would have tied him to the place; his first sermon—as Mr. Dyer himself tells us in an earlier part of his book—awakened such enthusiasm that vast numbers attended him from the church to his lodging. How a man who could hardly be induced to listen to the call from Geneva, whose mind, for many months, was in a state of anxious suspense as to his duty, could be at the very same time

concocting schemes of spiritual domination, and within the first week after his arrival could excite such lively enthusiasm, and such earnest opposition, is a problem which we are quite unable to solve.

The limits of this article forbid a minute examination of Mr. Dyer's account of Calvin's controversy with Bolsec on the subject of Predestination. In the whole course of the narrative it is very manifest on the one hand, that the author's sympathies are decidedly on the side of Bolsec, and on the other, that his fitness to discuss the merits of the Calvinistic system is precisely such as might be looked for in one who belongs to the Tomline school of theologians. Bolsec was originally a Carmelite monk, but having been forced to leave Paris, his place of abode—on account of a rather free expression of his opinion on matters of religion, he repaired to Italy, and for a short time was under the patronage of the Duchess of Ferrara. Here he married, and entered the medical profession. Beza asserts that he was expelled from Ferrara for having practised some deception upon his patroness: but as Beza's authority does not stand high with our author, while Bolsec, either on the score of his enmity to Calvin, or to the doctrine of Predestination is somewhat of a favourite, he deems the fact of the expulsion quite doubtful. Bolsec, on quitting Ferrara, established himself at Geneva, as a physician; and as he succeeded in gaining the acquaintance of some of the leading people there, our logical biographer infers that "his character must have been fair." He forgets, however, that in that age as in this a man moving from place to place, might easily keep in advance of his character, and that as physicians were not so numerous as now, it is not likely that those who needed Bolsec's services would stop to inquire about his morals. Be this as it may, he was not long in Genova "before he began to question *Calvin's doctrine* of Predestination. He could scarcely have committed a more unpardonable offence."

The matter was taken up by the consistory, and as Bolsec at first tried to hide his errors under a cloud of ambiguous terms, a set of questions was proposed to him, bearing directly on the subject in dispute, and calculated to draw from him his real sentiments respecting it. In the whole process.

Calvin is exhibited as the only antagonist of Bolsec, and he is denounced as guilty of gross inconsistency for subjecting the latter to a kind of inquisition, which, he had stoutly opposed when applied to himself by Caroli. Yet the documents from which Mr. Dyer quotes, bear upon their very face the proof that the two cases of Caroli and Bolsec were entirely unlike. In the former, a captious question about a technical term is put by a single individual; by a man convicted of grave offences, to another who had already furnished the most satisfactory evidence of soundness in the faith. In the latter, a set of queries on an important doctrine, and prepared with great care is proposed to a man of doubtful orthodoxy, not by Calvin, but by the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory of Geneva. Of these questions, three are quoted by Mr. Dyer, which, says he "will serve by way of specimen of *the spiritual tyranny* exercised by Calvin." The answers of Bolsec, are described as "breathing a more humble and Christian-spirit." The absurdity of illustrating the spiritual tyranny of Calvin in this way, will be obvious to any one who inspects the paper of queries as given by Dr. Henry. There are seventeen questions in all, following each other in close logical order. It is quite easy to make the doctrine of the queries to assume a most repulsive aspect, by quoting two or three of the questions at random. And this is precisely what Mr. Dyer has done, with the evident design of inducing his readers to believe that the doctrine which Calvin taught, and for rejecting which Bolsec was condemned, was just this, that God created men simply to damn them.

Besides the account of the personal controversy between Calvin and Bolsec, our biographer favours us with a kind of natural history of the doctrine of Predestination, "the founder" of which, was Augustine. "Hume" says he, "has somewhere traced the doctrine of absolute decrees to a spirit of enthusiasm" an opinion, which, Mr. Dyer cordially adopts, though he does not condescend to give the grounds of his and Mr. Hume's sentiment, nor does he explain the nature of the connexion between the spirit of enthusiasm and the doctrine of decrees. Now this is a very serious omission, especially as the authority of Mr. Hume, on such a point as the genesis of

a religious doctrine, does not stand very high among Christians. The necessity of such an explanation becomes quite imperative after advancing a little in our history; for while at the outset Mr. Hume and Mr. Dyer jointly declare that the doctrine of decrees is the product of the spirit of enthusiasm, we are soon after assured by Mr. Dyer that "Calvin was singularly *free from superstition and enthusiasm*, and probably it was to this quality of mind that we must ascribe the adoption of the doctrine."

Without following our author through his history, let us come at once to his view of the doctrine itself as maintained by Calvin. "Minds equally pious and acute as his own," says he "viewed with horror its incompatibility with the attributes of God, as known to us both from reason and revelation." "That God should call all, yet elect only a few; that he should send his Son into the world to suffer an ignominious death for the purpose of saving those whose fate had been decided before the foundation of the world, and thus to effect a redemption by which nobody was redeemed; that he who is essentially just and merciful should consign one portion of his creation to eternal misery solely from caprice, or at all events, for sins which he would have necessitated them to commit, as if he were the cause of guilt and evil," &c. By penning such a passage, and gravely proposing it as a condensed summary of Calvin's scheme of Predestination, Mr. Dyer shows, either that he has never read the writings of Calvin, or that if he has examined them, it has been to very little purpose. It were a pure waste of time, to discuss such a palpable caricature of the Calvinistic doctrine. And yet with all "these horrible and revolting" features of Calvin's scheme, and beset as it is with difficulties, Mr. Dyer confesses that "*it afforded him an opportunity to insist* on the *duty of humility and entire submission to the will of God*,"—"there was nothing positively incomprehensible about it, nor were there wanting many texts of Scripture, and *especially in the writings of St. Paul*, which he could quote in its support and justification."

If Mr. Dyer had studied Calvin's own writings, with the simple aim to ascertain his opinions, instead of trusting to the accuracy of Tomline's account of them, it is barely possi-

ble that even he might have suggested objections, not unworthy the consideration of those who regard the Calvinistic system as accordant with the word of God. But the preceding extracts exhibit the old and oft repeated caricature of the doctrine of Predestination, and for this reason we should not deem it deserving of serious discussion, even if we had ample room to expound and defend the views of the Reformer. No sensible man can assent to the self contradictory proposition that "God sent his Son for the purpose of saving those whose fate had been decided before the foundation of the world;" and whoever else may have taught that "God consigns one portion of his creation to eternal misery solely from caprice," it is very certain that Calvin never did. We can pardon the ignorant declaimer who has never seen a volume of Calvin, and who could not read a page of one, if it were put into his hands, for asserting that this is Calvinism; but we shall leave it to our readers to determine for themselves, in what light a biographer should be viewed, who can gravely write such obviously absurd statements, and deliberately publish them.

From what has been already said, our readers will be prepared to judge in advance of the way in which Mr. Dyer tells the melancholy story of Servetus. In his hands, it certainly loses none of those horrid features, which the enemies of Calvin have been so careful to give it. He addresses himself to the task of narrating it with a manifest and hearty good will, the history of the affair fills a large portion of his book, and its most minute details are laboriously spread out before us. He represents Calvin as holding sentiments on the subject of the punishment of heretics pre-eminent for "their atrocity" even in that age, and as far as he can, he keeps out of sight the notorious fact that all the distinguished men of that day held the dogma that gross heresy was deserving of death. No one in these days pretends to vindicate the conduct of Calvin in this affair; but to hold him up as a special object of indignation, while unjust in any one, is monstrous injustice in a member of the church of which Cranmer was one of the fathers and founders.

Mr. Dyer professes to derive his account of Calvin's inter-

course with Servetus from Mosheim's "Ketzer Geschichte" and Trechsel's "Anti Trinitarier," both of which works if not dictated by avowed hostility to Calvin, were written by men who had an antipathy to his doctrinal opinions, and which are necessarily imperfect, because the documentary evidence which the authors had before them was not complete. The more recent work of M. Rilliet published in 1844,* Mr. Dyer says—and we must confess to some surprise at the statement—he was unable to procure. Its author is not a Calvinist, but he is a man of candour; his work is based upon original documents, some of which were long supposed to be lost; and he has given from unquestionable and authentic sources, all the circumstances connected with the melancholy event of Servetus' trial, which the impartial student of history needs in order to determine the measure of blame belonging to the several parties concerned in it. M. Rilliet exhausts this much disputed topic; and though our readers will find in an earlier volume an article expressly devoted to it, we would gladly, if our limits allowed it, lay before them the results at some length, brought out in the small but masterly volume of the author just named. He shows most conclusively that Calvin was, at this time, very far from being "the almost Pope of Geneva," as Mr. Dyer asserts. The government of Geneva was then composed of men belonging to the two extreme parties, at the head of which were Perrin and Calvin, and the magistrates who held an intermediate position. These neutral councillors without being as openly hostile to the Reformer as the Perrinists, were by no means strongly attached to him. "They had not so eagerly," says M. Rilliet, "espoused the cause of the Captain-general as to forget that of the republic. These masters of the majority (the neutrals) were less occupied with what might promote or thwart the wishes of Calvin, than with what menaced the vital interests of the republic. The unanimity of the Swiss churches in condemning Servetus—his attacks against doctrines till then held sacred in every communion—the promises of justice

* Its title is, "Relation du Procés Criminel Intente a Genève en 1553, contre Michel Servet, redigèe d' apres les Documents originaux, par A. Rilliet."

given to the magistrates of Vienne—the exhortation to severity from those of Zurich and Berne—the troubles which the partisans of novel opinions had already produced in the churches of the Reformation—all these contributed to separate the guilt of Servetus from his rivalry with Calvin in the minds of his judges—to make them forget the theologian, and think only of the criminal." After examining all existing documents with the dispassionate accuracy of a judge, M. Rilliet declares with reference to the final action of the council, that Calvin was not only not the instigator, he was not even consulted. "Local considerations disappeared before the general welfare; or if they had any influence, it was to make the council comprehend that after having punished the heretic they would be placed in *better circumstances for resisting the ecclesiastical pretensions of the Reformer.*" If any confirmation of this view were necessary, it is to be found in the fact that Calvin and his colleagues in vain put forth all their efforts to change the nature of the punishment of Servetus. "The judicial usage triumphed over the request of Calvin. It is to him notwithstanding, that men have always imputed the guilt of that funeral pile, which he wished had never been reared!"

In the true spirit of that "moderation and impartiality" by which, says Mr. Dyer the present age should be distinguished, but of which, as we think we have shown, his own volume evinces a sad deficiency, M. Rilliet closes his discussion with an observation which we must not omit. "Viewed by our own consciences, which the faults of the past have enlightened, the sentence is odious; according to law it is just.—Let us deplore the sentence of the judges, without attacking their motives: for we could not do so except by profiting by a privilege which was refused to them—*the benefit of time.*" We shall only add that these conclusions arrived at by a man who has no sympathy for the creed of Calvin, after diligent and impartial examination of all the original documents, are just the reverse of those which Mr. Dyer has been pleased to put forth. He labours throughout the whole of his long chapter on this subject, to show that Calvin was the ruling spirit of the scene—prompted by a desire for personal revenge as much as by a

zeal for theological truth—stimulating the flagging efforts of the councillors—acting with doubtful sincerity when seeking to commute the punishment—and finally exciting the horror even of Farel by his bloody bigotry; we apprehend that our readers will not find it a difficult matter to decide which of these opposite conclusions bear the stamp of truth.

As we stated in the outset of this article, our aim has been not so much to defend the character of Calvin, as to show that the volume before us, as a biography of the Reformer is worthless, that it is pervaded by a spirit of prejudice against him, and that its apparent if not real object is to disparage his reputation. Calvin was neither infallible nor faultless; he was not exempt from error in opinon, nor from mistakes in conduct. He had his infirmities like other men and other Christians. Strange indeed would it have been if amid his incessant labours, and his almost incessant sickness, his earnest struggles against the libertines of Geneva and his many contests with the opposers of God's truth, he had never uttered a hasty word, nor displayed a ruffled temper. It is idle to look anywhere on earth for such a miracle of equanimity. But those who knew him best loved him most; the bitter tears shed by men unused to weep, as they stood around his dying bed, and heard the last echoes of his potent yet kind voice, were the tokens of an affection of no common tenderness. He was hailed by his own age—"the great divine"—"the theologian;" and there are in our own days, many indications that the time is not distant when the predictive poetry of Buchanan respecting him, shall be completely fulfilled.

> Non tamen omnino potuit mors invida totum
> Tullere Calvinum terris; aeterna manebunt
> Ingenii monumenta tui: et livoris iniqui
> Languida paulatim cum flamma residerit, omnes
> Religio qua pura nitet se fundet in oras
> Fama tua.

ART. V.—*The Life of Luther; with Special Reference to its Earlier Periods, and the Opening Scenes of the Reformation.* By Barnas Sears, D. D. Philadelphia. American Sunday School Union. 1850. 12mo. & 18mo. pp. 528.

THERE is certainly not in our language, if indeed in any other, a compendious Life of Luther, which is so truly founded on original authorities as this. For certain purposes, and for a certain class of readers, Michelet's sprightly book is serviceable, and it is made up in a good degree of materials drawn from the Reformer's own times, and generally from his own words. But how is it possible for the great champion of gracious justification to be portrayed by one, however gifted or faithful, who has not the slightest love for his chief truths? The English biographies were in the first instance made out of the Latin annals; and for two centuries they have copied one another. Presbyterian scholars of the older sort are familiar with the names of the venerable works we mean; Spalatin, Myconius, Sleidan, Scultetus and Seckendorf, among historians; and Melancthon, Cochlaeus, Selneccer, and Melchior Adam, among biographers, strictly so called. We purposely omit those who wrote in German, from the excellent Mathesius downwards. To these our popular compilers have had small recourse, which may account for the loss of interest which has befallen every paragraph or utterance of Luther, which they introduce. Translations of translations have in some instances reduced the knotty, savoury sayings of Luther to the tamest platitudes, if not to sheer nonsense. What is worse, errors of fact have been propagated, in book after book, deviating more and more from the truth as the stream became more remote from the original sources. Large tracts of time, including momentous portions of experience, have been passed over in silence. External transactions of comparative insignificance, or apocryphal anecdotes, have filled the place which ought to have been occupied by the struggles of Luther out of the monkish cell into gospel liberty.

The case has indeed been different in Germany, especially since the celebration of the third centennary of the Reforma-

tion, which gave rise to a surprising number of works relating to that period. Within a few years many new biographies of Luther have appeared, and the indefatigable German scholars and antiquaries have exemplified their herculean power of rummaging libraries, deciphering manuscripts and verifying dates. Shorter and livelier books have been issued, with and without illustrations, in profusion, with every diversity of tendency and predilection. To the proper biographies we must add all those church histories, general and special, which include the Reformation period; and the very literature of this one subject, as is well known, would fill a whole number of our work. Marheineke's History of the Reformation, a work without rival or parallel among modern objective histories, is in reality a life of Luther; and Merle d' Aubigné's excellent volumes give more space to the topic than to any other. Yet, with the exception of the last, English literature has sustained little modification from all these streams of continental discovery, and presents nothing better than the honest but cumbrous accumulations of the Milners and their continuator. We have intimated, moreover, that, with scarcely an exception, the English memoirs, even when most elaborate, derive all their material in the way of extract and correspondence from writings in the Latin language. How well soever this might do, in cases where Luther and his coevals wrote in Latin, it plainly left untouched that greater and richer magazine of works and letters in his incomparable and untranslateable German. Even after the appearance of the entire correspondence of Luther, as edited by De Wette with singular care and skill of critical collation,* and after repeated editions of his works, including that of the late lamented and pious Otto von Gerlach, the English press, teeming with reprints and epitomes, brought to light no single biography drawn from direct and thorough research. England, it may safely be said, has no such work; and for the nearest approach to it she, as well as America, must be indebted to the American Sunday School Union.

The author of this memoir is an eminent minister of the Baptist Church in Massachusetts, well known both as a pro-

* See Review in our volume for 1830, p. 504.

fessor and editor, and also by numerous publications connected with literary subjects. For any work relating to the Evangelical Churches of the Continent he may claim a fitness possessed by few in America; for he enjoyed remarkable advantages in some of the German capitals of learning and theology, and has added to the stores thus acquired by assiduous study, directed particularly to the numerous works connected with the German Reformation. We ought to add that he has one qualification which has been wanting in most who have previously undertaken to deal with the life of the Reformers, to wit, a thorough acquaintance with the structure and development of the German language, founded on the examination of its more ancient form. How necessary this is, will be apparent to those who reflect that by far the larger part of the documents to be consulted for such a work as this are not only in this tongue, but in that transition-form of it, which marks the passage to the newer German, to which Luther above all men gave the forming hand. In every part of Dr. Sears's labours, we have occasion to verify this statement, in observing the exactness of his apprehension, his discrimination of words, his recognition of idioms no longer prevalent, and his adroit exactness in giving the corresponding English phrases. If he sometimes fails, it is in the attempt to achieve what we regard as an impossibility, the reproduction of old German diction by similar archaisms in English, the consequence being a mingling of the style of two or even three different periods.

This is, so far as we remember, the most elegant typographical product of the Sunday School press, being adorned with steel engravings, besides more than twenty vignettes and other illustrations in the letter-press. The portrait of Luther is the most agreeable we have ever seen. Those of his wife and of Melancthon are little less so; both appear to be from plates executed in Germany. The interior of Luther's chamber is worthy of being purchased separately. Then we have, from an authentic source, views of the Augusteum or University showing Melancthon's house; Luther's old monastery; the parochial church of Wittenberg; the castle of Wartburg, and the Reformer's famous seal.

It is pleasing to observe how fully and zealously Dr. Sears takes the side of orthodox Christianity in his narrative. Even where there is no heresy, nor even error, a biographer may betray the cause by artful selection, disproportionate amplication, in a word by the *suppressio veri.* In these respects the author gives the chief place to religion, to saving truth, and to those parts of truth which are the object of faith, and which, as he shows, were the germinating principles of the Lutheran Reformation. Hence his account of the young Reformer's experience, on all those points which tended to make him a reformer, is searching and complete beyond what we have anywhere read. And the friends of old-time theology will be rejoiced to know that a book for the youth of America (perhaps of other countries) gives no uncertain sound on the vital subjects of original sin, atonement and justification. It is surprising to find that after several centuries of research so many errors should be still copied from book to book, respecting the early life and conversion of the reformer. These are corrected in numerous instances by the author, and in such a way as to remove all doubt. In much of this service he has been aided by the indefatigable research of Jürgens, whose work on Luther has extended to three octavo volumes. Among points of interest, thus cleared by Dr. Sears, may be specified the worldly condition of Luther's father, misapprehended by Michelet; the relations of the young monk to Staupitz; and the dates and stages of his gradual illumination.

The only dissatisfaction which any reader will be likely to feel, is that there is a certain disproportion in the parts of the work, the last twenty years being despatched in less than sixty pages, out of five hundred, as the law of the composition. This is fairly avowed in the title page, where we are told it is "with special reference to its earlier periods and the opening scenes of the reformation." There are also several obvious reasons why this course should have been pursued, among which is the fact that the whole of Luther's later life presents him in a new character, in consequence of the polemics induced by the sacramentarian differences. As a whole, the work is one which takes a high rank among the biographies of Luther, and promises to be the instrument of incalculable good, in the promotion of evangelical orthodoxy.

Art. VI.—*The General Assembly.*

The General Assembly of our Church met, agreeably to appointment, in the Central Church in Cincinnati, May 16, 1850. The Rev. Nicholas Murray, D.D., Moderator of the last Assembly preached the opening sermon from Ephesians v. 25–27. The Rev. A. W. Leland, D.D., of South Carolina, was elected Moderator, and Rev. W. W. Eells, of Newburyport, Mass. was chosen temporary Clerk.

Memorial to Congress.

The Rev. Dr. R. I. Breckinridge moved on the morning of Friday May 17th, that a committee be appointed to prepare a memorial to Congress expressing the views of the Assembly and of Presbyterians generally respecting the preservation of the National Union and the Federal Constitution.

"Dr. Breckinridge said that he presumed there could be no dissenting opinion here or in the United States, that such a movement is timely and proper. Ordinarily it is doubtless best that the Church of Christ should keep as far as possible from all the political agitations of the day, but great crises may arise when the danger is so imminent and so much is at stake, that it would be criminal neglect of duty for the Church to withhold the expression of its opinion and wishes. Such a crisis is now impending. It is not certain that it can be averted. If it does come, and the result so much to be deplored is accomplished, it would be the greatest calamity that could befall this country, and God's people, next to the extirpation of the Christian religion from the earth.

"Our Church occupies a peculiar position: extending into almost every State, and stretching over the whole country; embracing slaveholders and non-slaveholders; yet it has remained united; while other churches have failed to maintain the Union, we have succeeded. We are therefore in a position to say decidedly that the Union may be preserved. What we have done for one hundred and fifty years, may be done hereafter. Let us not dictate, but respectfully express our opinion that this great calamity which may be averted, ought to

be averted, and that we look to Congress and to God to avert it.

The subject was made the order of the day for Monday next, at three o'clock.

In the afternoon, however, the vote to make this subject the order of the day for Monday, was reconsidered and Dr. Breckinridge's resolution was called up. Its adoption was opposed by Dr. Spencer, Messrs. Hervey, Dickey, Reynolds, Barber, and Judge Fine. The last mentioned gentleman moved the indefinite postponement of the subject. The principal grounds of opposition insisted upon were, first that the Union was in no real danger, and secondly, that it was inexpedient for church courts to meddle with politics. The resolution was advocated by its mover and Mr. Mosely, on the ground that the Union is in real danger, and that the Church was bound to exert its influence in adverting so great a calamity as the disruption of the states. The motion for postponement prevailed, yeas 103, nays 79.

Church Music.

The committee previously appointed on this subject reported that unforeseen circumstances had delayed the publication of the book of church music which had been reported to the last Assembly. After some debate the committee was continued with powers.

Cheap Religious Newspaper.

A committee on this subject had been appointed by the last Assembly, from which two reports were presented, one in favour, and the other in opposition to the establishment of such a paper. We have actually expressed our opinion as adverse to the plan of the Assembly attempting to provide a paper to be under its control and patronage. A desire to gratify those who were in favour of the scheme, and the conviction that its public discussion would tend to settle the mind of the church on the subject, induced us to insert in a recent number of this Journal an elaborate paper from one of the most prominent advocates of the measure. Our own convictions of the impolicy and impracticability of any such enterprise have been

strengthened by reading the debates in the Assembly; and having as an act of courtesy presented to our readers in a former number, all that could be said in its favour, we think it proper to devote the few pages at our command on this topic to a statement of the leading objections to it, as they were urged on the Assembly. Some of these objections are given in a condensed form in the report presented by the Rev. Dr. Lord, of Philadelphia, which we insert in full. Dr. Lord said he concurred in the views of the majority of committee in opposition to the establishment of such a paper:

"1. Because he believes the measure pecuniarily impracticable, unless the proposed paper shall be also cheap in respects far more essential than the price of subscription, that all calculations founded on the presumption of obtaining forty thousand subscribers, and their undeviating prepayment, so as to avoid all loss, are, if plausible, deceptive, and would be proved so by experience.

"2. Because he is entirely opposed to taxing the church at large, as the friends of the measure propose, for the establishment of such a paper, as it would unnecessarily multiply collections, and interfere with the success of those which are absolutely necessary to carry forward efficiently the Institutions of the church, while it is probable, that one half the sum which it is contemplated thus to raise, would be sufficient to supply the really poor with any one of the local papers now established.

"3. Because he believes that religious newspapers can be best sustained by private enterprise, and that to interfere with such enterprise by an attempt at centralization in a collossal church establishment, would be unpopular, anti-republican, injurious to individuals and dangerous to the church itself. If successful in breaking down such enterprise, it would become dangerous to the church, by having thus removed the various sentinels which now stand and watch on the walls of our Zion.

"4. Because he is convinced that the idea and practice of cheapness may be carried too far, that its moral effect on the church may prove injurious, that there are too many ready to avail themselves of the Assembly's sanction of the principle

to carry it out in its application to other matters besides a weekly paper; and that, in the end, this cheapness falls heavily on the labouring classes. Capitalists and employers are not first nor chiefly affected by the reduction of prices. They can save themselves, at least to some extent, by a corresponding reduction of wages. The real and oppressive operation of the thing is on those who do the work. It grinds the face of the poor. And the evils of this cheap system are already becoming great, in our country. The church should have nothing to do with it, except to condemn it. That benevolence which lives by exactions on the bones and sinews of the poor, is a heaven provoking enormity.

"5. Because the proposed measure involves great if not insuperable practical difficulties of this kind,—such as would arise in the choice of a competent editor, the embarrassment to which he would be subject in pursuing an impartial and independent course, while constrained by his position to speak for all, when at the same time there must and will be among them diversity of sentiment; the constant and often unpleasant discussions which a review of his course would occasion in the Assembly, year after year, engendering strife instead of harmony.

"6. Because the Assembly itself would be placed by the proposed measure in an improper and wrong position.

"First, by being liable in law, or in honour, for such pecuniary deficiencies or obligations as the want of sufficient patronage or the occurrence of reverses which no sagacity can always guard against might originate; and,

"Second, by being really responsible for the character of the paper, whilst its actual control over it could be only infrequent and imperfect.

"Such is the mere outline of the reasons, stated not argued, in view of which the undersigned feels himself constrained to concur in the report of the majority."

To this we subjoin an outline of the remarks of the Rev. Dr. Hoge, who said,

"1. He believed that the experiment of establishing a newspaper for the church would prove to be a failure. It would meet with such decided opposition from all other papers now

in existence, that it would be unable to get such a circulation as would be necessary to ensure its support.

"2. Such a paper with the seal and impress of the Assembly, is undesirable in itself. Here would be the one paper as the organ of the church, and the others avowedly in opposition to the Assembly. The peace and unity of the church would be thus destroyed, and perhaps the disruption of the church would be the result.

"3. The operation of the church paper would be dangerous to the order and purity of the church. It may be beautiful in theory, but we are old enough to know that theories, however beautiful and dazzling, may be worthy of the severest condemnation. However much may be said of the supervision to be exercised we may be sure that it will be made the organ of a party. What would have been its power for evil twelve or fifteen years ago? and who knows but there may arise, and soon, another state of things, rendering it equally dangerous and disastrous? I am no prophet, but I venture to say, in ten years a party will arise that might destroy that organ.

"4. It is impracticable to sustain such a paper. There is not such a unity of mind and binding together of opinion in our church as to make such a paper successful. It is a free church; freedom of mind and thought is characteristic of our church: and the press must be free. You cannot place it under restrictions, without destroying its utility. It is said we may as well control the newspaper, as books and tracts. But there is an essential difference. These boards are to express opinions on specific subjects. The contrary is true of the periodical press. It must have freedom to put forth its opinions on all subjects, at all times. Otherwise it ceases to be valuable, and becomes decidedly mischievous.

"5. Leaving out of view the idea of establishing *one* paper, and taking that of exercising control over all Presbyterian papers, I have only to say, that it would be vexatious and troublesome, fettering the mind of the church, and in the end would be intolerable. I think the church exercises as much control now as is desirable. If the ministers and members do not like the way a paper is conducted, they may stop its circulation among them. This is control enough.

"6. Differing from some brethren, I do allege that our religious newspapers are at too high a price to come within the means of a large part of our families. True they might deny themselves some luxuries and take a paper. But this we cannot expect them to do. And I do know families who cannot find the means to pay for a paper at three dollars a year. If you would have these papers widely circulated, you must put them at a price that will bring them within the means of the people."

Judging from the course of the debate the prevailing sentiment of the Assembly seemed to be very generally and strongly against the proposed plan. In a spirit of concession, however, the following resolutions were finally adopted.

Resolved, That while the General Assembly is at present unprepared to take any step towards the establishment of a religious paper or papers designed for more general circulation, especially to meet the wants of families living in the remoter sections of the church, and enjoying the means of grace only in a limited degree, still it does regard such a work as full of momentous results, and worthy of the most serious and prayerful consideration.

Resolved, That the whole subject be recommended to the careful consideration of the churches, and that a committee be appointed to make it a matter of further investigation and inquiry, and report the results to the next General Assembly. Resolutions adopted.

Under this resolution, the following committee was appointed:

Rev. Dr. McGill, Rev. Mr. Barber, Rev. Dr. J. W. Alexander, Rev. Dr. W. L. Breckinridge, and Mr. J. D. Thorpe. to which were added, on motion, Rev. Mr. Hamill and Rev. Dr. McKinley.

Foreign Missions.

The committee on this subject made the following report which was adopted.

The committee to whom was referred the Report of the Board of Foreign Missions, submit to the Assembly the follow-

ing statement and propositions, as to the results of their examination of that important and impressive document.

"The General Assembly recognize with a deep sense of gratitude to the Great Head of the Church, the marked tokens of His special favour on this good and great work during the past year. Our Missionaries have been protected in the midst of great perils—the pestilence that walketh in darkness, and the destruction that wasteth at noonday. On one of our stations, the Spirit of God has been poured out in special effusions, and the hearts of our Missionaries greatly encouraged in beholding the work of the Lord prospering in their hand. We have manifest evidence of an increase of interest amongst our people in this work. For these indications of the care of our Heavenly Father, and his benediction on the cause committed to our care, we desire to feel the obligations we are under to thank God, and to engage with increased zeal and energy in furthering the work. In accordance with the facts and statements above alluded to, we recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

"1. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly call the special attention of the members and elders of the churches to the pressing want of additional labourers among the Indian tribes; and they would express their earnest hope, that during the year this want may be fully supplied.

2. "*Resolved*, That the Assembly view with satisfaction the commencement of a system of thorough education for the youth of Liberia. And they hereby direct the Board to proceed as fast as means may be afforded in the erection of suitable College buildings, and in the endowments of Professorships and Scholarships, in sufficient numbers to meet the growing wants of this infant Republic; and for this purpose the Board are hereby authorised to open a separate account for such donations in aid of this object as may be made by the friends of education in Liberia.

"3. *Resolved*, That the Assembly record their thanksgiving to God for his blessing upon the labours of our brethren in the great Missionary fields of India, Siam, and China; and they would earnestly exhort the churches to sustain these important missions by enlarged donations, and especially by

earnest and importunate prayer for the presence and helping of the Holy Spirit, without which all human agency will be in vain.

"4. *Resolved*, That the present condition and wants of Papal Europe demand the increased attention and exertions of the Board, and that the Assembly call the attention of the Churches to this most interesting field and urge them to more prayer and effort, and that the already weakened power of the Man of Sin be utterly destroyed, and his followers be brought into the glorious light and liberty of the children of God. And the Assembly would urge upon the Churches, that their donations for this purpose be made through their own Board, as the most economical and appropriate mode of communication with our Evangelical brethren in Europe.

"5. *Resolved*, That Missions among the Jews have a peculiar claim upon the prayers and patronage of God's people.

"6. *Resolved*, That the report of the Board be approved and referred to the Executive Committee for publication."

The Hon. Walter Lowrie, Secretary of the Board, made a very interesting statement as to its operations and prospects. He first presented the condition of the Indian tribes, among whom the missions of the Board are established. There are but two objects that can induce men to go among these people: to make money or to do good, and it was found that the men whom the Government sent among them to educate them, were very unsuitable men to promote their spiritual welfare. To carry on missions among them, a large number of laymen are wanted, of suitable spirit to go there. Five tribes have been offered to us as fields of our labour, on this side of the Rocky Mountains, as well as on the other, and we can do nothing for them for want of suitable men and women to supply them. The means are furnished, and what we now want is the men to go. Africa, Western Africa, is now a field of great interest and importance. The missions are no longer experimental. In Liberia, they are aiding in laying the foundation of an educational system of permanent influence. They want a system to train not only a native ministry, but physicians and teachers for that field. We have an excellent school with fifty to seventy scholars taught by one of the

elders there. We are greatly in need of teachers for that mission. A young man educated for the ministry, had recently offered to go there as a teacher, and a man in the South had offered to give $500, a year, for five years, to promote education in Liberia.

The missions in other parts of the country, were also exhibited, and it was greatly encouraging to hear of the prospects of usefulness in that part of the world.

Northern India.—Five young men are now ready to go to this field. Fifteen native students are in process of training for the ministry, and in a short time, the force will be doubled. Four printing presses are at work sending off ten millions of pages every year. The Secretary entered into and gave a most pathetic and impressive picture of heathenism there, especially the degradation of the female sex, and the influence of the example of social intercourse of the missionary and his wife upon the native population. He also discussed the propriety of missionaries returning home, and showed that when a man loses his health, it is, in all its aspects, desirable for the cause at home and abroad, that he should come back.

Siam.—It is a day of small things here, but an immense population is to be brought under the power of the gospel. We only need to extend our operations there to reach the most extensive system of superstition in the world.

China.—The mission here needs immediate enlargement, and the means to give the people the printed page should be greatly increased, he showed the wonderful results to be anticipated from the speedy communication now opening with China by the way of California.

Mr. Lowrie closed his statement, which was listened to with deep interest, by referring to Papal Europe, and showed the encouraging signs of the times in that field. He remarked that there was a strong tendency toward Presbyterianism among the reformed churches there, and he handed a letter to the Stated Clerk to read, from Brussels, showing the great encouragement there is, to prosecute our labours there, and gratitude for what has already been done.

Mr. Lowrie said we have a perfect organization to send money to Europe, and promote this work; but there is an-

other society that is aiming to do the same work, in the same field, and comes into our churches to solicit funds for its support. This produces confusion, and takes from our treasury a large amount of means that we should receive, and could most usefully employ. Some of our most respected brethren have taken decided grounds against the admission of these agents.

The Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge offered a resolution additional to those now before the Assembly, on foreign missions, requiring that an additional number of pages be set apart, in the Home and Foreign Record, for the Foreign Missionary Board.

The last Assembly had appointed a committee which had established a monthly periodical for all the Boards, and five pages only are allotted to the circulation of intelligence from our wide missionary field. It is not enough. The Board has far less facility and space for diffusing intelligence than formerly, and instead of diminishing she ought to enlarge her means of spreading the knowledge of her operations among the churches.

Dr. Van Rensselaer said that the committee of the last Assembly had not yet reported, and until the Assembly heard from it, no action ought to be had on this resolution. A contract had been made by which one private enterprise had been given up, and the Record for the church had been established, each Board agreeing to a certain number of pages for its own use in the paper. It would be unjust, he said, to the other Boards to order the enlargement of the space allotted to one, while the rest were restricted.

After some further conversation the subject was postponed. This is a complicated question. Two things however we presume will be generally admitted. First that the space at the command of the Foreign Board is altogether inadequate; and secondly, that from the nature of their operations it is not necessary or desirable that the Boards should be on an equality in this respect. It is evident, for example, that the Board of Foreign Missions must have far more to spread before the church, than the Board of Publication. At the same time, the additional space required by the former can hardly be

granted to it in the pages of the Record without injustice and injury to the other Boards. We understand the proposition of Dr. Breckinridge was modified so as to allow each of the Boards, at their discretion, to enlarge the space in the pages of the Record.

Domestic Missions.

The Rev. Mr. Happersett read the annual report of the Board of Missions of which the following is an abstract:

"Number of Missionaries, 570, who have laboured in twenty-five States, and in California and Oregon, and Minnesota. Additions on examination, 2500; Certificate, more than 2000; Churches organized, 60; Church edifices built, 140; Forty thousand children in Sabbath Schools. A large number of Bibles and tracts and books of the Board of Publication have been distributed. These Missionary churches have contributed about $10,000 for Foreign and Domestic Missions. Encouraging reports of the observance of the Sabbath, and also the cause of Temperance, have been received. In California a Presbytery has been formed, and two churches organized, and the houses of worship sent out to the brethren there."

The committee to whom this document was referred subsequently submitted the following report:

The Committee to whom was referred the Report of the Board of Missions have attended to that service, and have examined the document presented with all the accompanying papers, and are highly gratified to find, in the details, ample evidence of the steady onward progress of this very important instrumentality for advancing the cause of true religion throughout the wide extent of this growing country, and while they do not institute any improper comparison between one form of benevolent operation and another, but would bid them all God speed, yet they cannot refrain from saying that the cause of missions in our land is productive of great good, and ought to find a response in every heart. After such consideration as we have been enabled to give the subject, your Committee would respectfully submit to the Assembly, for their action, the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That the report be adopted and published under the direction of the Board.

2. *Resolved*, That, in view of the widely extending operations of the Board, and the constantly increasing need of funds, it be earnestly recommended to all the churches to make new and strenuous efforts to enlarge their pecuniary contributions, in aid of all the objects contemplated by the Board; a duty that we are greatly encouraged to press upon the churches, from the fact stated in the report, that during the past year much more has been received into the Treasury from *church collections* than in former years.

3. *Resolved*, That the wants of California, Oregon, and other new parts of our wide spread territory, as brought before us in the report of the Board, joined with the good which we have reason to believe may be effected in those portions of the country, are such as to demand the special regard of our Church, and fully justify the Board in the large expenditures which they have thought it proper to make.

4. *Resolved*, That the efforts of the Board of Missions to benefit the many thousands of foreign population who are cast upon our shores, is worthy of all praise, and should be commended to the churches for their countenance and support.

5. *Resolved*, That, in looking at the results of the labours of the year, and considering that *five hundred* ministers have been sustained, either in whole or in part, while preaching the gospel in the more destitute parts of our land; that *sixty* new churches have been *organized*, more than 140 houses of worship built, and at least 2500 persons brought into the churches by profession, a large portion of whom we have reason to believe, were hopefully converted during the year, together with the encouragement felt by our missionaries while labouring among the coloured population at the South; when these results are considered, surely the people of God should lift up their hearts in gratitude to Him, and take courage for all coming time.

And whereas, It is understood that Dr. Wm. A. McDowell, who has for many years filled the office of Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Missions, has resigned that office, the Assembly cannot let this opportunity pass without bearing

testimony to the fidelity, diligence and wisdom with which he has conducted the affairs of the Board, and assure him that he carries with him into his retirement the full confidence of this Assembly in him, as well as their prayers for his happiness in his declining years.

It appears an overture had been presented, praying the Assembly to take action on the subject of giving greater efficiency to the Board of Missions, to enable it to keep up with the rapid extension of the population of our country. The committee of bills and overtures recommend the adoption of the following resolution on this subject, which was agreed to, viz:

Resolved, That a committee of nine selected from different portions of the church, be appointed to consider this matter, and report to this Assembly.

The following gentlemen were appointed on this committee, James Hoge, D. D., N. Murray, D. D., J. C. Spencer, D. D., A. W. Mitchell, M. D., N. L. Rice, D. D., W. L. Breckinridge, D. D., S. S. Davis, D. D., R. Nall. Dr. Hoge, the chairman of this committee, subsequently submitted the following report:

The committee to whom was referred the subject of devising a method of giving greater extent and efficacy to the operations of the Board of Missions, have considered it carefully and earnestly, and propose to the Assembly the following views and measures for their consideration:

"A great work, which is important to the Church and the country, in a degree that is not easily estimated, has already been performed by the Board of Missions. During the time that has elapsed since its organization, many Congregations and Sabbath Schools have been established, the Gospel has been preached to great multitudes, many destitutions have been supplied, very many souls been brought to the Saviour, and the Church has been greatly edified by this instrumentality. The whole amount of good which has been accomplished in this way for the welfare of the Church and the glory of God, can be known only in eternity. And yet there seems to have been the beginning, instead of the completion of the work of giving the full ministrations of the gospel to that portion of the population which falls to our share. With proprie-

ty, then, we may inquire,—How shall we more fully do this work? In answer to the inquiry, it is proposed that the Assembly shall make the following arrangements:

I. The Board of Missions shall hereafter consist of members; and this number shall be appointed by this Assembly; one-third of whom shall serve one year, one-third two years, and one-third three years; and after the present appointments, one-third of the number shall be appointed by each General Assembly. Of the whole number, one-half shall be Ministers and one-half Lay-members of the Church.

It shall be their duty to be present at all meetings of the Board; shall be necessary to form a quorum; and their travelling expenses, if any are incurred, shall be paid out of the general funds.

They shall have power to elect their own officers, as heretofore, except the Secretaries: to make all rules and by-laws which may be necessary; to fill vacancies in their body, and in the office of Secretary, until the next Assembly shall have filled such vacancies; and they shall in general have the management and control of the whole work of Missions and Church extension in the United States.

II. There shall be two co-ordinate Secretaries, whose particular duties shall be defined, and the performance of them shall be directed and supervised, and their compensation shall be determined by the Board.

The Secretaries shall be elected by the General Assembly, and they shall hold their office during the pleasure of the Assembly. But a Secretary may, for urgent reasons, be suspended from his office by the Board, until the next meeting of the Assembly.

III. As it is deemed highly necessary that the several Synods shall be fully engaged in Domestic Missions, it is also proposed that the Assembly consider these further arrangements:

1. That it be enjoined upon each Synod, at its next annual meeting, to elect a Committee on Missions, with a Secretary, or Agent, (whose salary shall be fixed by the Synod,) who shall be charged with the whole subject of Missions within the bounds of Synod.

2. That each Synod shall, at its annual meeting, draw up

an estimate of the probable amount of the contributions of its Churches for the year next ensuing, and a statement of the number of Missionaries needed within its bounds, and shall forward the same, as soon as practicable, after said meeting, to the Assembly's Board.

3. That the Board shall, at the earliest day practicable after the above statements are received, meet and determine the number of Missionaries to be allowed each Synod, with the aggregate compensation, of which notice shall be immediately given to the Synodical committees, who shall thereupon nominate the Missionaries and name the salary for each to the Board, in order that commissions may issue.

4. That it is hereby enjoined upon every Church in connection with this body, to take up annually a collection for this object; and the Synods are charged with the oversight of this injunction. The collections to be paid over to the Synodical Secretaries, and by them deposited within the bounds of the Synods respectively, subject to the drafts of the Treasurer of the Assembly's Board. JAMES HOGE,

Chairman of the Committee.

We sincerely rejoice in this decisive expression of the opinion of the Assembly against such innovations. Organic changes, except in cases of real emergency, are great evils, and therefore should be very rarely resorted to. Our Boards have answered well. They are highly conservative bodies. They prevent the concentration of power in a few hands. If they are either abolished or rendered inefficient every thing is thrown under the control of a small executive committee. To such committee it might be very pleasant, at times, to be perfectly independent, except so far as a nominal responsibility to the Assembly is concerned. We say nominal responsibility, for it can scarcely be more. The Assembly is too large a body, sits too short a time, and has too much to do, to allow of its exercising, in ordinary matters, a real controlling supervision over executive officers. It is the ultimate court of appeal in great cases. But the Board can be called at any time, can prolong its sessions, can concentrate its attention, and in a manner really effective inspect, the action of the executive committee. This is a great security, and a great relief to the

committees themselves. It throws the responsibility from some six or eight on a body of sixty or eighty drawn from every part of the church. It is true the attendance on the meetings of the Board is not always large; but it is generally a body several times more numerous than its executive committee; and cases of real difficulty, can hardly fail to secure an adequate attendance. On many occasions the healthful action of the Board in modifying or revising that of the committee has been gratefully acknowledged by the excutive officers themselves. It is not organic changes we want. Executive ability is all that it is necessary to make the Boards, with their present organization, answer all the ends of their appointment. This is shown not only in the great enlargement of the operations of the Board of Missions under the long and faithful administration of its late secretary, Dr. William McDowell, but in the ease with which the new department of church extension was engrafted on the other operations of that Board. If they are blessed in securing the services of a man of efficiency and of true constructive intellect, we doubt not the church will see the Board of Missions expand itself into proportions adequate to the growth of the country, and the great subject of ministerial support thoroughly discussed and satisfactorily disposed of.

Board of Education.

The Committee to whom the report of the Board of Education was referred made the following report which was adopted, viz:

"The committee to whom was referred the Thirty-first Annual Report of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church (1850) beg leave to state to the Assembly that upon the examination of the Report, they find it to consist of three departments or sections.

"1. Some very appropriate and highly valuable remarks upon the general importance and bearing of the educational operations of the Presbyterian Church, embodied in the first fourteen pages of the manuscript portion of the Report.

"2. The second division comprises the notice or history of the educational operations of the Board during the past year,

and completes the manuscript portion of the Report, which exhibits a progress truly encouraging, and calls for gratitude on the part of the Church to her Great and Divine Head. This progress is cheeringly demonstrated by the growing prosperity of both branches of the important work intrusted to this Board by the Assembly, viz: The superintendence of the ministry, and the fostering care of seminaries or institutions of learning from the primary school, where the elements of a scriptural morality and sound theology are inculcated, to the Theological Hall, from whose disciplinary appliances the student is ushered upon his field of labour. The Report exhibits an increase in the number of candidates over that of the preceding year, and an advancing prosperity in the schools, academies, and colleges within the oversight of the Presbyterian Church. But while your committee recognize in the operations of the Board a highly adequate ability, fidelity, and vigilance, on the part of the official agencies on whom its highly important trusts are devolved, they cannot but regret the apparent want of an interest on the part of the great body of the Church in this department of the grand field of her moral and spiritual enterprise commensurate with the issues to be wrought out. The cause of missions, so dear to the Church, is in an important sense dependant upon the onward progress of the cause of ministerial education. It is here within the limits of this department of the Church's hallowed enterprise that the foundation is laid, and the susceptibilities elicited, and the appliances put in requisition for the qualification of an instrumentality by which the Home and Foreign field of Missionary enterprise is to be cultivated, replenished, and adorned, and to be indifferent to this fountain from which such streams are expected to flow, appears to your committee an inconsistency, for which, as a Church, we cannot too severely inculpate ourselves, so long as the present apathy continues to exist in the congregations generally, throughout our borders. Your committee therefore hope that the members of this General Assembly, in returning to their respective fields of labour, may endeavour to hold up prominently before the views of their congregations the claims which

this cause is worthy of maintaining in their prayers and sympathies and contributions.

"3. The third division of the report is embodied in a printed circular or pamphlet, entitled 'Suggestions towards improving the plans of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America;' and contains some very valuable hints and suggestions concerning the modification and expansion of the present plans of the Board's operations.

"As expressive of the sense of this Asssembly upon the entire report, your committee beg leave to offer the following resolutions:

"1. *Resolved*, That this General Assembly, believing Christian education in all its departments to be connected with the preservation of the best interests of the Church and State, cherish a high sense of the importance of the measures of their Board of Education, whose aim is to secure the religious instruction of our youth in schools, academies and colleges, and to assist candidates for the ministry in their preparation for the sacred office.

"2. *Resolved*, That this General Assembly record their gratitude to God for the general prosperity which has attended the operation of the Board during the past year, as indicated in the increase of candidates for the ministry, and in the increase of schools, academies and colleges, under the supervision of the Presbyterian church.

"3. *Resolved*, That the third division of the Annual Report, embodied in the printed pamphlet entitled 'Suggestions towards improving the plans of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,' be commended to the consideration of the next General Assembly thereby affording to the Presbyteries more ample opportunity to examine the views it contains, and enabling the Board to digest a system of rules and regulations in conformity to the changes proposed and illustrative of the practical working of their plans according to their contemplated modification.

"In behalf and by order of the Committee.

"JOHN A. SAVAGE, *Chairman.*

When the report of the Board was presented to the Assem-

bly, the Rev. Dr. Baker moved its adoption and made a series of instructive and interesting remarks in relation to Texas, the field of his labours, especially in reference to the interests of education in that extensive and important state. He stated that most other denominations had taken precedence of the Presbyterians in Texas in this matter; but that the Presbytery of Brazos had made arrangements for founding a college at Huntsville. A very favourable charter had been obtained from the legislature of the state, and eight thousand dollars, in addition to an eligible site for the college-building, had been subscribed by the inhabitants of the town. This is a very important and promising enterprise, which must commend itself to the best wishes and co-operation of Presbyterians in every part of the country. Dr. Baker we understand is devoting himself with his characteristic energy to soliciting funds for the establishment of this college. We trust he may meet with abundant success.

Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, said, "he did not expect to have an opportunity to say anything on this Report, when it might hereafter be brought up, and must say a word now. He was disposed generally to allow the gentlemen at the head of the Boards to shape their general action. They might be supposed to be better acquainted with the requirements of the case, and they were held accountable. For no secretary had he more respect than for the secretary of the Board of Education; but when great principles were brought in question, he felt bound to express his mind, under any circumstances. The Boards are all our own, and to be loved; but he did not agree with his father, that because one of them must have a ginger-cake, all must have the same.

"A great change in the Board of Education was now proposed. Originally this Board was designed to select poor and indigent young men of fair promise, and superintend their education for the ministry. If it is proposed that the Presbyterian Church take up the whole subject of education, or education of all Presbyterian children, or all academical or college education, he objected to it. If this were to be done, it would not be best to do it through this Board, designed for the training of poor and pious young men for the ministry,—

a Board located, too, in one corner of the Church. If this is to be done by the Church, it must be done much more largely than as a collateral matter of this Board of Education.

"Again, he thought the General Assembly ought to consider well before they determined that we ought, as a church, to embark in the matter of universal education. We ought to be cautious how we gave countenance to this principle. In his judgment, if there was a calamity which could befall the Presbyterian church and the country, of a temporal or ecclesiastical nature, it would be that the whole knowledge, power and prudence of the entire Presbyterian Church should be abstracted and kept by itself. Moreover, the amount of money, time and labour required by the new suggestions of this Report for a general system of parochial high schools, &c., would require an amount of money, time and labour, which would be much better expended in another way. Millions and millions of money, and efforts no man can calculate, will be necessary to accomplish an object which, if it were accomplished, had perhaps better be undone.

"He had carefully examined the system of parochial schools, in other countries, and ventured to say, that no such system as was here proposed had ever existed any where. In Scotland, the system was connected with the union of Church and State, and, in proportion as that tie was weakened, were the Scotch people abandoning the parochial school system, and, if we go on as desired, by the time they have gotten off their old shoes, we will have put them on. But he was not now discussing the question, and would proceed no further.

"The first two resolutions were then adopted, and on the fourth which refers to the new plans of the Board,—

"Rev. Dr. Hoge said: He would prefer that this part of the Report be referred back to the Board of Education, with instructions to them to report fully on the proposed changes to the next General Assembly, and made a motion to this effect.

"Rev Dr. Van Rensselaer said, this report was not intended to commit this Assembly. The report already went much into detail as to the plan proposed. He was willing it should be referred back to the Board.

"Rev. Dr. Hoge wished the Board to state specifically

what amount of means and money would be required to carry out this plan. He had read this part of the report somewhat carefully. He thought the plan, as presented, was rather theoretical than practical.

"Dr. Hoge's resolution to refer the matter back to the Board was then carried."

We regret that the able secretary of the Board had not the opportunity of unfolding before the Assembly and the church the modifications which he has proposed, and the principles on which those modifications rest. The matter is of so much importance that every opportunity should be embraced of bringing it prominently forward. It is perhaps well that some delay should occur in the adoption of the suggestions of the report by the General Assembly; but it is a pity the subject was not discussed. It appears from the printed pamphlet accompanying the Report, that the proposed modifications have reference mainly to the following points. 1st. The mode of giving assistance to those under the care of the Board. 2d. The conditions on which that assistance is to be given, and 3d. The class of persons to be thus aided.

As to the first of these points the true principle undoubtedly is that those who devote themselves to the service of the church are entitled to a support from the church. This is but one application of the more general principle that the labourer is worthy of his hire. The application of this principle to the case of those who preach the gospel is universally recognized. It is however no less applicable to those who are preparing for that work. They give themselves up to the service of the church. If already prepared, she receives and sustains them. If they are able to prepare themselves at their own expense, very well. If not, the church is bound to give them at her expense the necessary training. Every civilized state acts on this principle. Youth are every where trained for the service of the state at public expense, for all those branches of the public service for which special professional training is necessary. Youth are placed in military schools to be educated for the army, or on board of national vessels to be qualified for the navy. And almost every church, in every age, has had its schools for training young men for the ministry free of all

expense to themselves. It is wrong therefore to regard those who are thus educated by the church for her own service, as recipients of alms. This unhappily is done at least to a certain extent, and is injurious in its influence both on the church and the candidates for the ministry. For some reason a distinction is made between receiving the avails of a scholarship and being on the funds of the Board. The former is not felt to be a degradation; the latter is in a measure regarded as a painful dependance. We see no substantial reason for this distinction, but as it is actually made not only by the young men, but also by others, it is wise in the Board to change the form of their benefactions, and instead of doing as is now done, allowing those under their care so much a year, establish scholarships in our various seminaries, colleges, and academies. It is not of course intended to make permanent foundations, the interest of which is to support the incumbent, but simply to give a new form to the annual appropriation. The incumbent will be regarded as a bursar in a college; or a recipient of the income of a scholarship in a seminary. No objection can be made to this, and if it changes the aspect under which the appropriation is viewed, it will be a decided and great advantage.

There is one feature of this part of the plan, however, with regard to which we feel some difficulty. It is proposed that these scholarships "shall be bestowed upon candidates as awards of merit." We do not see how this principle is to be carried out. If there were a limited number of scholarships in a college or seminary, for which there were numerous candidates, then we could understand how a selection of the most promising of these candidates could be made, and scholarships granted them as rewards for previous diligence and good conduct. But we presume that the Board propose to give every young man who leaves the academy a scholarship in a college, and every graduate of a college a scholarship in a seminary, provided these applicants are not deemed unfit for further support. The scholarships therefore will be given not to a certain number of distinguished candidates, but to all who pass muster; i. e., to all who are not dismissed for incompetency or bad conduct. If this is the case, they cease to be

"awards of merit;" any more than the allowance granted the cadets at West Point, or the salaries of our pastors. It is indeed proposed on page 5, of the "Suggestions," that "a few premiums in the form of larger scholarships, or of fellowships in each of our Theological Seminaries," should be offered. This as far as it went would meet the objection above stated; but of course only to a limited extent. It would be only these "larger scholarships" which would have this character of "awards of merit."

There is another difficulty as to this point. We do not see who are to act as judges of the respective merit of the candidates. Our candidates do not all come under the cognizance of the same body of examiners. They are scattered over the whole of the church. A young man may be superior to the few with whom he is compared in one place, and thus adjudged worthy of an "award of merit;" though inferior to many in other places, with whom he cannot be compared. This difficulty would indeed be avoided by assuming a fixed standard by which to judge, and not take simply the best of those who offer. The actual operation of the plan however would require the latter mode, the comparative estimate of all the applicants; and we do not see how this can be made.

Besides this, what is meant by merit? and how is it to be estimated? It would be easy to judge of the comparative scholarship and talents of a number of candidates; but this is only one, and not the most important, form of excellence in a candidate for the ministry. Piety, temper, prudence, and energy are not to be left out of view. It might well happen that the best scholar would not be the most promising man. The merit of moral excellence and temper though so important, can not be determined by a board of examiners—and therefore every thing on this plan would be apt to turn on literary proficiency. Besides we question very much the propriety of introducing the principle of emulation among theological students. We throw out these reflections for the consideration of those concerned, not in the way of opposition to the plan, which in its essential features we heartily approve.

The second modification proposed relates to the condition on which aid is to be given to those under the care of the Board.

At present assistance is rendered only on condition that the recipient pledge himself to enter the ministry, or to refund the money expended on his education. It is proposed to do away with this pledge. It is urged that it is manifestly improper to exact of a boy just entering an academy the pledge, that after some eight or ten years he will become a minister. He is too young to know his own mind intelligently; he can have no adequate apprehension of his gifts for the sacred office; we cannot tell whether he can conscientiously, after such a term of years, regard himself as called of God to take on himself the work of a minister. He is placed in a false position in being required to decide this momentous question at the very commencement of his literary course. When the time comes for him really to ponder it, he finds it already decided; and he cannot reverse that decision without a loss of character and a heavy pecuniary penalty. This is undoubtedly wrong. The church has no right to place her children under such temptations to enter the sacred office, uncalled of God. Another objection to the pledge is that it commits the church as well as the candidate. The church assumes that the youth who applies for assistance on entering the academy, is a proper subject to be regarded as a candidate for the ministry. She so considers him. He is recorded as such in the minutes of the presbytery or of the Board. He is so reported to the General Assembly. How manifestly unwise is it thus to determine this question before his talents, his disposition, his piety have been or can be subjected to any adequate test. This premature judgment has often to be revoked. "Almost all the failures of the Board of Education have occurred in the academical and collegiate courses." The church is either pained and her organs brought into disrepute by the failure of those prominently held up as suitable candidates for the ministry; or she is constrained, contrary to her better judgment, to introduce into the sacred office unsuitable men simply because she has committed herself, and has had them so many years under training. It is evident that we should have much greater security by rejecting all such premature engagements on either side. Let it not be decided that a man is to be a candidate for the ministry, until he is prepared to enter on

his professional studies. Then he may know himself, and be known to the church.

These and other considerations of equal weight are urged by the Secretary of the Board with great force for the abolition of the pledge. We fully concur in this view of the subject. We have for years regarded this feature of our educational operations with growing disapprobation, and we greatly rejoice that from the right quarter a movement has been made to get rid of this unsightly and galling chain. Dr. Van Rensselear states that out of sixty replies received "from the friends of education in every presbytery of the church," all but one were in favour of abolishing the pledge in the preliminary course, and that one "only expressed a doubt." We think the pledge therefore is as good as dead. Hundreds of liberated consciences and untrammelled hands will thank the worthy secretary for their deliverance.

The third modification proposed relates to the class of persons to be educated. Hitherto the assistance of the Board has been confined to poor and pious young men preparing for the sacred ministry. It is proposed, in the first place, not to restrict the Board any longer to aiding candidates for the ministry. Pious young men, whatever may be their views as to their future profession, will be eligible to the proposed scholarships in academies and colleges. This almost necessarily follows from the abolition of the pledge. That abolition supposes the incumbent to be left free to act on his own sense of duty as to what profession he shall choose when he has completed his collegiate course. Many therefore, it is to be presumed and desired, who have been educated by the church, will enter her service as teachers, physicians, lawyers, merchants, and agriculturalists. The church will gain much by this addition to her educated children. But in the second place, it is proposed that a profession of personal religion shall not, in all cases, be insisted upon as essential to eligibility to an academical or collegiate scholarship. It will be permitted to the Board to receive promising youth of good moral character, and give them the advantages of a liberal education. Can this be objected to? Would not every man rejoice if it were in the power of the church, as it ought to be, to offer to every

one of her youth the advantages of such a training? Is not such an education a great blessing and a great talent? Does not experience teach that a large part of the conversions among the young take place during the time they are in the academy or in college? And would it not greatly multiply the resources of the church, increase her strength in educated men, and enlarge her field of choice for ministers and teachers to have the number of those to whom a liberal education is accessible, increased? Many who now object to the education scheme because designed only for ministers, will be likely to co-operate cheerfully in this enlarged scheme of benevolence; while those who prefer that their contributions should be confined to the education of ministers, can of course, be gratified.

The great objection to this scheme is its expense. Where is the money to come from to educate not only the ministers, and teachers of the church, but all who would be glad to get the advantage of a liberal education. This difficulty is not so formidable as it appears. In the first place, the Board commits itself to nothing. It only undertakes to appropriate what the church confides to its care for the purpose of education. The expenditure must be limited by the supplies. And we can see no objection to allowing those who are willing to give, to contribute their money for general educational purposes. This indeed has already received the sanction of the Assembly in authorizing the Board to aid in sustaining colleges and academies, the benefits of which are extended to all classes. A second limitation to profuse expenditure is to be found in the consideration, that it is not every pious young man, much less every merely morally correct applicant for assistance that the Board proposes to receive. They will doubtlessly use the funds committed to their care discreetly. Aiding first those who have the ministry in view; then those who in addition to promising talents have the recommendation of hopeful piety; leaving, so to speak, only the surplus of their funds and moneys specially appropriated for the purpose, to be employed in the education of youth of superior gifts who make no profession of religion.

So far from feeling objection to this proposed enlargement

of the operations of the Board, we think the church is under great obligations to its Secretary for the expansion he has already given to its operations, and for the still larger principles and plans which he has now brought forward. It is by expansive schemes alone that we can keep up with the spirit of the times, and, as our Scotish brethren would say, can overtake the work God has given us to do.

Board of Publication.

"The Rev. Dr. Leyburn, Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Publication, read their annual report, which gave an encouraging view of the operations of the Board during the year. The following is an abstract of said report:

During the year ending March 31st, 1850, the Board of Publication have added to their Catalogue twenty-five new works. The total number of books and tracts issued during the year is 383,500, being an increase of 121,750 over last year's issue. Receipts during the year from donations and sales of books, $57,238 40. The circulation for the year has exceeded by nearly fifty per cent. that of the previous year.

The number of colporteurs employed during the ecclesiastical year ending March 31st, sixty-three; about twenty have since been added to that number. The fields of these colporteurs are in seventeen different States.

The entire cost of the new buildings of the Board was $20,-291 47, which has been paid.

Dr. Leyburn said, in conclusion, that the Board was constantly called to come into contact with other voluntary associations, which were doing the same work; and he urged the Assembly to take some action that would secure the contributions of our own churches to our own board. The Board of Publication ought either to be abandoned, or supported vigorously. It is often discouraged, when it sends out agents, to find the churches turning a cold shoulder to it, and preferring other associations of a similar character. This Board ought to be placed on an equal footing with the other Boards of the church. It was sometimes urged that it had an endowment to begin with; but so had the Tract Society; and yet the latter was constantly receiving large collections from the churches.

The Rev. Mr. White of Virginia, and the Rev. W. E. Schenck, of New Jersey, both spoke in strong terms of the importance of the operations of this Board as they had come under their own observations.

"The committee on the report of this Board presented the following resolutions, which were adopted.

"1. *Resolved*, That the Assembly are highly gratified at the wisdom and zeal with which the Board have prosecuted the business entrusted to them, and that gratitude is due to the great Head of the Church for the signal success which has crowned their efforts.

"2. *Resolved*, That the Assembly have established this Board for the purpose of supplying the Church and the world with a religious literature as far as practicable; that the Board have thus far met to a gratifying extent the expectations of the Assembly; and that the Synods, Presbyteries, and people, ought to give the preference to our own Board over any other institutions established for similar purposes.

"3. *Resolved*, That inasmuch as our ecclesiastical system furnishes an admirable instrumentality for efficiently carrying out the system of colportage now prosecuted by the Board of Publication, it is recommended to Synods or Presbyteries to appoint committees, whose duty it shall be to superintend their operations within their bounds.

"4. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly views with lively interest the evidences received through the Board of Publication, our corresponding brethren, and other sources, that an increased and increasing interest is manifested in the study of the Shorter Catechism.

"5. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Board of Publication to publish a richly illuminated copy of the Shorter Catechism, interspersed with interesting and instructive illustrations, adapted to the understanding and consciences of children and youth.

"6. *Resolved*, That the Assembly recommend to the Board of Publication to consider the propriety of publishing a monthly paper for Sabbath schools."

Overture No. 3, On Church Members.

This was a memorial from the Second Presbytery of Phila-

delphia asking the General Assembly to take such action in the case of members of the church who remove, without certificate, or who fail, for a length of time, to attend upon the ordinances of the gospel, as will secure constitutional and uniform action throughout the Presbyterian churches.

"As there is no provision in our form of government, or discipline, to meet such cases, and as it would be inexpedient for the General Assembly to make a regulation on the subject, which would have the force of a constitutional rule, the Committee on Bills and Overtures recommended that the following be sent down to the presbyteries for their decision:

"Shall the form of government be amended by adding this clause at the end of chapter 9?

Sec. 6. "They shall also have power to remove from the list of communicants, those who by long continued absence, without a regular dismission or other equivalent causes, are improper persons to be retained as members of the church."

"Mr. Morris gave the reaons which had induced the Presbytery to which he belonged to ask this alteration. There are many members of churches out of reach of discipline, and absent for years, and their names ought not to be continued on the roll.

"Dr. Hoge said, that it is proposed now to do regularly, what has been done heretofore irregularly. It is simply to omit from the list of members the names of persons of whom the Church has no knowledge.

"Dr. R. J. Breckinridge contended that there is no use for such a power, and it is liable to unspeakable abuse. Pastors and elders should do their duty in keeping watch of the members. There may be churches, not well watched, where the thing has become an evil. But you will often find these absent ones re-appearing; and they will be greatly grieved to find their names stricken off. If you want to put an irresponsible power into the hands of the Session, so that they may turn members out when they will, without form of trial, pass this provision, and you will have it. It is a settled principle of our Church, that a man who has given himself to the Church has made an irrevocable covenant, and you are trenching upon some of the most fundamental principles, sanctified

by two or three centuries, when you propose to strip a man of his rights, and turn him out of the Church without trial. He besought his brethren to pause before taking any step toward such a measure as this; and to test the sense of the house again, he moved to lay the proposition on the table. Carried."

It seems to us that there is a wrong principle in this overture and in the answer which it was proposed should be given to it. There are two distinct theories respecting our ecclesiastical constitution. The one is that it is the grant of powers; the other is that it is a limitation of powers, i. e. a treaty entered into by primary church organizations as to the manner in which they shall exercise the powers inherent in them and derived from Christ. The latter is unquestionably the true view. A church session does not derive its power to admit members or exercise discipline from the constitution. The constitution simply states that such and such powers pertain to a church session; and the various church sessions embraced under the constitution agree to exercise those powers in a certain way. Neither does a presbytery derive from the constitution the right to ordain or to depose from the ministry. If independent it could exercise those rights at discretion; but when associated with other presbyteries interested in its acts, it stipulates that it will ordain only under such and such circumstances. The reason of this is obvious, a man ordained by one presbytery becomes, as a member of synod, a judge over the members of other presbyteries. They therefore, have a right to a voice in the matter. Hence all presbyteries thus associated enter into an agreement as to what qualifications they will demand in candidates for ordination, and in general as to the principles on which they will exercise their presbyterial powers. And such an agreement is their constitution. It is not therefore a grant of powers, but a stipulation between the associated presbyteries as to the manner in which they will exercise the powers inherent in them. It follows from this that a session or presbytery is simply bound by contract not to violate the constitution, but the exercise of its perogatives is not circumscribed by that instrument. It can do what it pleases, as a church court, provided it infringes on no article of its contract with other

courts, and on no principle of the word of God. It has no need therefore to go to the General Assembly to ask power to do what from its very nature as a church court it has the right to do. A session must have a right to say who are the members of the church over which it presides. It might as well ask for power to erase from its roll the names of the dead, as to seek authority to say that those who have left them and wandered off no one knows where, have left them, and are no longer under their watch and care. The memorial, however, seems to assume that no session has any power in the premises but what it derives from the constitution; and the committee of Bills and Overtures proposed to add a section to that instrument to the effect that church sessions "shall have power to remove from the list of communicants those who from long absence," &c., as though such assumption were correct. According to our view the sessions have all the power they need in this matter inherent in themselves, and we therefore rejoice that the overture was rejected by the Assembly.

Complaint of the Rev. J. T. Smylie.

This was a complaint of the Rev. Mr. Smylie against the Synod of Mississippi. On the recommendation of the judicial committee the case being found in order, the usual mode of proceeding was adopted. This was an action in which a clergyman, the Rev. J. H. Van Court, had caused his slaves to cut sugar cane, on the plea of necessity, on the Sabbath. When arraigned for it informally in an interlocutory meeting of his presbytery, he expressed his sorrow that circumstances had rendered it necessary for him to act as he had done, and said he had no idea that the thing would ever occur again. The presbytery voted that this confession was satisfactory, and when the clerk made a record of the proceeding, the presbytery ordered it to be stricken out. Of this action Mr. Smylie complained to the synod. The synod allowed the presbytery to vote in the decision of the case, and sustained their action. Of this Mr. Smylie complained to the General Assembly.

Messrs. Beach, Mosely, Packard, Beatty and Templeton were heard in defence of the synod. They maintained that Mr. Van Court's confession was satisfactory; that the synod

had fully condemned cutting sugar cane on the Sabbath; that as there was no accuser in the case the presbytery was not bound to make a record of their action; and that, as it was not strictly a judicial case, the presbytery had a right to vote upon it when it came before the synod.

"The Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, appeared, at his request, in behalf of the complainant. He argued that both on account of the inadequacy of the confession, and the refusal to make a record, there was ground of complaint. Presbytery has a right to make a record or not, in an interlocutory meeting, but is responsible for the exercise of that discretion. They ought to make a record and keep it *in retentis*, that, if any one complains, the higher court may judge in the case."

The roll was called for members to express their opinion, and the vote being taken, it appeared that 124 voted to sustain the complaint; 40 to sustain in part; and 4 not to sustain. A committee was appointed to draw up a minute expressive of the sense of the house in the case. That committee made the following report which was adopted, viz:

"1. That the decision of this Assembly in sustaining the complaint of Rev. Mr. Smylie against the Synod of Mississippi, is not to be regarded as deciding the merits of the original question; that is, the guilt or innocence of the individual in respect to whom this case originated.

"2. That the Presbytery of Louisiana should have recorded the results of the interlocutory meeting referred to in the complaint.

"3. That the Synod acted unconstitutionally, in permitting the Presbytery of Louisiana to vote on the adoption of the report of the Judicial Committee on the complaint of Mr. Smylie.

"4. That the Synod should have placed on its records the above mentioned reports.

"5. That the Presbytery of Louisiana erred in pleading the limitation of time for the non-compliance with the resolution of the Synod referring this whole case to them for a full investigation.

"6. That the case be remanded to the Presbytery of Louisiana, according to the resolution of the Synod, for such action as is demanded by the Book of Discipline.

"7. That the decision of the Assembly, together with the foregoing minute, be recorded in the minutes of the Synod of Mississippi, and of the Presbytery of Louisiana."

Western Seminaries.

The public attention has of late been called to the subject of theological education in the west. Several prominent ministers of our church entertain the opinion that there should be but one theological seminary in that portion of the church, and that Cincinnati was the most eligible place for its location. In order to carry out these views, several meetings were held designed to favour the union of the two existing seminaries at Alleghany and New Albany, in a new institution to be established at Cincinnati. The result of these meetings, as we understand, was a decision to found a new seminary at Cincinnati, and to invite the other institutions to unite with the new enterprise on terms to be subsequently agreed upon. This gave rise to a protracted discussion, it being understood that the friends of the existing seminaries were opposed to the proposed union, and to the establishment of a new institution at Cincinnati. This subject was brought before the Assembly in two ways. First, by the report of the committee on the annual report of the seminary at Alleghany; and secondly, by overture. One of the resolutions recommended by the committee was the following, viz:

"That inasmuch as repeated movements and discussions have agitated the public mind, touching the permanency of the present location of this Institution and impressions unfavourable to the permanent prosperity of the Seminary cannot fail to result from the continuance of such proceedings, the General Assembly considers it timely and proper to say distinctly that it considers the present location of the Seminary in all respects as permanent as any acts of this body can make it; that it sees no reason to justify the further agitation of that question; and considering the past history and present condition of the Seminary, it knows of no ground on which the interposition of the General Assembly, for the removal of that Seminary from its present location, would be either just or politic."

Dr. Hoge remarked in regard to this resolution "that he should be constrained to vote against it. It did not accord with his own views, and never did. He opposed the location of the Seminary at first, and had ever since been opposed to it, and might feel constrained at a proper time to enter his dissent from it in the resolution.

"Dr. Herron expressed great regret at hearing such an opposition from his venerable friend. He asked who located the Seminary? The General Assembly. Who had approved it at every stage of its progress, for the last twenty-two years, at each annual meeting? The General Assembly. The Assembly appointed the first Board of Directors and the first Professor. It was not an institution gotten up outside of the Presbyterian Church, and without authority. He then went into the history of the Assembly Seminary, and said scarcely anything had ever been given to it, except by the friends in its vicinity. He argued that the Assembly had no power to remove it, and he hoped they would not now repudiate all their former acts on this subject.

"Judge Fine said he was a member of the Assembly which located the Seminary at Alleghany. He thought at that time Cincinnati a better place than Pittsburgh; but, after hearing all the reasons, he came to the conclusion that Pittsburgh was a proper site, because around it they had all the materials for such an institution. But the question now is not location, but letting it remain after it has been located—not shall we build up, but shall we pull down. He thought it ought to remain, and that Cincinnati now was a proper site for another institution further west, and would raise both hands for one here, if the funds were offered us to found one.

"Dr. Hoge again explained that he did not propose a removal, nor had he ever done so. He never made opposition to it, but only to its location. He had assisted it in his feeble way, but did not now, nor did he ever favour its location.

"Dr. Herron expressed his gratification at his venerable friend's explanation of his position—perhaps he had stated his friend's position in rather too strong a light.

"Dr. R. J. Breckinridge said he hoped the resolution would

pass without serious opposition. The interests of the institution were seriously compromised by this constant agitation about its removal. Its immediate friends felt this. The committee were unanimous that it ought to cease. They had not introduced any extraneous questions into their resolutions, and he thought the Assembly ought to do all in its power to stop this agitation. They ought to say the question of location is settled. They now know nothing that can ever make it proper to break it up and remove it somewhere else. He was perfectly willing to take up the whole subject of Seminaries in the West and settle it; and he considered that the Assembly never could be in a better position to do so than now; but that question ought not to be mixed up with this one.

Mr. Brown, of Ohio, said he considered the resolution perfectly gratuitous. We, as an Assembly, had done nothing to indicate any desire to remove it. He should vote against it, though a friend of the Seminary.

Mr. Cleland, of Illinois, said he thought the Seminary properly located, but he could see no necessity for this resolution. It looked like going out of the house to hunt up business. The report of the committee is perfect without it. He therefore moved to strike out the 4th resolution from the report.

This motion was lost by a large majority.

Dr. Murray moved to lay the resolution on the table, as the subject would come up in another form. This motion prevailed.

When the subject was resumed, the Rev. Mr. McIlvaine moved as a substitute for the resolution above mentioned, the following, viz: "That the Assembly regards the location of the Western Theological Seminary at Alleghany city as permanent, and all agitation of the subject of its removal [now or hereafter] as inexpedient and unjust." The words *now or hereafter* were on motion stricken out, and the substitute adopted: and then the whole report of which it formed a part was adopted without dissent.

The overture on this subject asked the Assembly to express its mind on the following subjects:

"That it has no direct control over the New Albany Semi-

nary, and will not interfere with the Synods which have established and are conducting it.

"That it regards the location of the Western Theological Seminary as finally settled, and will discountenance any scheme for its removal.

"That it does not approve the scheme to establish a third Theological Seminary at Cincinnati.

"Without expressing any opinion upon these propositions, the committee report the overture for the consideration of the Assembly."

Dr. R. J. Breckinridge desired permission to offer the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, While the General Assembly regrets that any serious difference of opinion should exist in any part of the Church, in regard to any of the great movements for the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world, and while it would willingly and gladly do all that may be proper, on its part, to compose and settle all such differences, it does not see its way clear, at the present time, to express any opinion in regard to the existing and contemplated Seminary west of Alleghany."

This resolution after some discussion was adopted by a large majority.

Marriage of Christians with Heathen.

A memorial from the Presbytery of Ningpo, in China, asking for advice from this General Assembly on the subject of the marriage of professing Christians with the heathen. The committee recommend that it be answered as follows:

"In performing the work of missions among the heathen, many difficulties will arise which will require great wisdom and forbearance, and which only can be overcome by a wise application of scriptural rules. Of this kind are the cases respecting marriage, which will frequently occur so long as a great majority of the people are heathen. And this application of these rules must be made with a sound discretion, and be very much modified by particular circumstances.

"That the apostolical direction, 'be not unequally yoked together with unbelievers,' is the advice of the Lord by the

apostle, and is to be observed carefully in all cases as far as practicable, is true. But, like other divine injunctions, it must be applied in all cases with due consideration of the circumstances. It is not, therefore, in the circumstances stated in the Overture, to be regarded as sinful universally and necessarily for a Christian to marry a heathen; nor is a Christian to be subjected to discipline on this account, unless the circumstances show criminality, and require the infliction of censures; of which circumstances the missionaries are the best judges."

When this report of the committee came up for consideration at a late hour in the sessions of the Assembly, a motion was made to refer the whole matter back to the presbytery of Ningpo, without an expression of opinion, or any judgment on the question presented. This motion was carried. The missionaries, therefore, are left to their own discretion in the premises. This perhaps is wise, though the answer proposed by the committee is probably as definite as the Assembly, under any circumstances, would have seen fit to give.

Ordination.

The Rev. Mr. Hughes, of the committee on the Minutes of the Synod of West Tennessee, recommended that the Records be approved, with the exception, that the Synod sanctioned the action of the Holstein Presbytery in ordaining a licentiate, when but two ministers were present. The Committee recommended that the Assembly express their strong disapprobation of this measure, and declare that the Synod should not have countenanced the proceedings of the Holstein Presbytery.

Mr. Walter Lowrie moved that the exception be stricken out from this Report.

Dr. William L. Breckinridge could not believe that any one could wish the General Assembly to give its sanction to a proceeding so irregular as this so-called ordination. On the subject of a quorum, our book is specific, and no matter for what reason the third minister withdrew, there was no presbytery when he was gone. He did not know whether any elders were present or not. He had said before that he would as leave be ordained by the Moderator and the elders present as

any other way; but that is not the question. There were not the requisite number of ministers here to make a quorum, and therefore it was no presbytery. He solemnly protested against the Assembly giving its sanction to such a proceeding.

The Rev. Dr. Doak, (one of the fathers of Presbyterianism in the West,) remembered all the circumstances of this case. At that very session there was a quorum present, by whom all the trials and preliminary exercises were approved, and the candidate was actually on his knees, and the hands of the two ministers were on the candidate's head, when they discovered the third brother had absented himself. They consulted as to what should be done, and concluded that as every thing else had been done in so orderly a manner, the want of a third minister's hand was not indispensable, and they therefore proceeded to ordain him. It seems hard that one single member of a presbytery should arrest the proceedings of a presbytery in such solemn circumstances, and before a large congregation. They admitted there was the appearance of wrong. He did not know whether the third brother had gone out of the house or not.

Rev. Mr. Coe acquieseed in the views of Dr. Breckinridge, as to the necessity of a presbytery to ordain, but did not think the disorderly withdrawal of a brother should vitiate the whole proceedings.

Rev. Mr. Dickey contended that the absence of this member did not vitiate this ordination. It was not necessary that every member present should lay on his hands, and the fact that this brother did not lay on his hands did not withdraw his consent. All the preliminary proceedings had been regular.

The Moderator stated the question was simply whether ordination could be performed by less than three ministers or not.

Mr. Lowrie said that was not the question, but that the question was whether the Assembly should approve the proceedings of the Synod, which, while they allowed the ordination to stand, censured the irregularity.

Dr. R. J. Breckinridge said, in his view the error lay in the

statement that the third member was not present. One of the ministers had here stated that he did not know whether he was in the house or not. All the proceedings had been regular up to the point of laying on hands, and then because this member did not come forward and lay on his hands, they presumed he was not there, whereas he was ecclesiastically present.

According to any understanding Dr. Breckinridge had as to the ordination of ministers, it was very hard to say out of the Bible, that two ministers or two elders might not ordain Presbyterially. Our doctrine was simply *plurality*. It would not be a *regular* Presbyterian ordination where three ministers were not present, but it would be *valid* where there was plurality. He had once gone to Princeton to ask Dr. Miller where the idea of "three" came from, and he said it was impossible for him to tell. Suppose an Episcopal minister were to come to us, would we not acknowledge his ordination, though it was done by one man? In his judgment, two Presbyterian ministers and seven elders (as in this case were present) were equal to an Episcopal Bishop! He thought they might just as well have objected to this ordination because those seven elders did not lay their hands on.

This man, moreover, was within, he might say, the almost imperceptible proximity to ordination, and no one could say exactly at what point that act would not be consummated. Under such circumstances, he would not be for uprooting serious matters for such minute points. The Synod did just what was right.

Dr. William L. Breckinridge regretted to appear again, especially in opposition to his brother, for whose opinions he had so much respect. The more ingeniously you maintain that this man came within *a line* of ordination, the more clearly you show that the thing was not actually done. As to whether the third member took himself off, we cannot go behind the record, which declares that he was not there. On this the whole question turned. The question is not whether we would receive a minister ordained in another Church, but whether a Presbytery can be constituted without "three ministers."

Rev. Dr. Murray said, the question is a very simple one

between irregularity and invalidity. The ordination here is irregular, as the Synod state; but they refuse to say that the ordination was invalid, and this the committee wish the Assembly to censure. He was persuaded the Assembly would not concur in this censure, and thereby pronounce this ordination invalid.

Rev. Mr. Hays concurred with Dr. Murray.

Rev. Mr. Clarke could not agree that the whole of this irregularity consisted in the absence of the third minister. There was a Presbytery, and the hands of three ministers were not indispensable to ordination.

Dr. Murray took the chair, and

Rev. Dr. Leland said that a quorum of a Presbytery required the presence of three ministers; and as soon as either of these withdrew, that ceased to be a Presbytery. Up to a certain point, there was a presbytery here; but when the highest act of an ecclesiastical body was to be done, it was found that one member had withdrawn. There was then no Presbytery and the ordination was consequently invalid. Installation can be performed by a committee of two ministers, but the power of ordination cannot be delegated.

Rev. Mr. Hodgeman contended for the validity of the ordination.

Rev. Dr. Hoge said this may seem to some a trivial matter, but it involves a great principle. To declare an act of this nature invalid involves very serious consequences. This person has been ministering to a congregation from that day to this. He has discharged all the functions of a minister. Will this Assembly, without imperative reasons, declare all this invalid? He would not, for one, unless under something that could be shown to be biblical authority. All preliminary proceedings were entirely regular. If there is any defect in this case it is of form and not of substance. The setting apart in ordination is the form, the governmental act whereby he was essentially made a minister, was done in full Presbytery; and in full Presbytery the public act was ordered to be performed, and two of their number ordered to perform it. This then they had a right to do. We should consider the difference as to the nature of ordination and installation. Both are de-

clarative, and not governmental acts; and if installation is valid when performed by two ministers, so also is ordination.

Rev. Dr. Rice. The Presbyterian Church is regulated by the Bible, as the great and highest resort, and the Confession of Faith as its exponent. Whilst the Confession of Faith requires three ministers in order to ordination, it no where declares that without three, there can be no ordination. Nor does the Bible any where specify "three" as the number necessary to ordain. It simply requires plurality. When we wish to determine what is regular, we go to our Form of Government; if to ascertain what is valid, we resort to the Bible. If two ministers are present, we cannot say that the Bible does not sanction the ordination. The number specified in our book is merely for prudential reasons.

Rev. Mr. Lloyd said, that in Western New York, where he lived, their Synods had been disowned because of irregularity: he would have the Assembly consistent, and censure irregularity here. There was no presbytery when this act was done, and it should not be sanctioned.

The exceptions in the report were stricken out, and the synod was not censured for approving the conduct of the presbytery in this ordination.

In this decision we presume the great body of the Church will concur. As the brethren, whose remarks are quoted above, state, there is the greatest possible difference between irregular and invalid. Rules are laid down for security and to be faithfully observed in ordinary circumstances. But the neglect or violation of the rules prescribing how a thing ought to be done, does not vitiate the thing done. In many countries and churches there are rules regulating the celebration of marriage, but how monstrous would it be that the disregard of such municipal regulations should make the marriage void. That this is sometimes done, as in Great Britain, is justly regarded as a grievous injustice. Some years ago it was decided that a marriage in Ireland solemnized by a presbyterian minister, where one of the parties was an Episcopalian, was no marriage. It would be a decision of like though of less enormity, to affirm that an ordination by less than three ministers was no ordination. As Dr. R. J. Breckinridge well remarked, we recognise

the validity of orders in the Episcopal church, and all classes of Presbyterians have always done so, with what consistency then can we maintain that three or even a plurality of ordainers is absolutely necessary? A plurality may be desirable in all possible cases; the precise number three may be the safest minimum that could be fixed on as the general rule, but there is nothing in the nature of ordination, and nothing in the laws of Christ which makes that number essential. We have derived the rule from the old canon law, as laid down in the earliest councils of the Christain church, which required the co-operation of three bishops in the ordination or consecration of another bishop. This became the universal law of the church, and of all churches, and was from its obvious wisdom adopted by the different classes of Protestants at the reformation. But it has ever been regarded as a prudential municipal arrangement, necessary to the safety of the church but not to the validity of the service. In our own church the same principle has been acted on. In the early part of our history it was customary to ordain by a committee of presbytery as well as by the presbytery itself. The Rev. Dr. Leland indeed, is reported to have said, "Installation can be performed by a committee of two ministers, but the power of ordination cannot be delegated." If this means simply that under our present constitution such is the rule, it may be correct. But if, as we suppose was intended, the sentence quoted means that according to the principles of presbyterianism "the power of ordination cannot be delegated," it is obviously contradicted by the practice of our own church, by the express enactments of the Westminster Directory, and the history of the church, in all its presbyterian branches.

The fact that a single minister ordains elders not merely in the midst of his session, or parochial presbytery, but when acting as an evangelist and organizing churches, shows, at least to those who make ruling elders to be bishops, that according even to our present constitution a single bishop may ordain others to the episcopate. This, however, is not our argument. The real question is what is ordination, and what is essential to the transmission of the ministerial office. All admit that under our constitution, which accords in this mat-

ter with the general law of the church, three ministers should be present and co-operate in the ordination services. Any departure from this rule is an irregularity, to be justified only in cases of emergency. But the departure, even when not justifiable, is to be censured as disorderly, but not considered as rendering the ordination void.

Question of Privilege.

"Judge Leavitt stated that the Rev. A. Swaney, Commissioner from the Presbytery of Steubenville, had gone home on account of sickness in his family, and that the Rev. Dr. Beattie, his alternate, being now present, he moved that Dr. Beattie take the vacant seat.

"Dr. W. L. Breckinridge asked if the Assembly had not decided against this practice in years past.

"Dr. Hoge cited one case, and the Moderator read another from the minutes, where the alternate had first taken his seat, and on the arrival of the principal had vacated it in his favour.

"Dr. R. J. Breckinridge argued that it was contrary to the established order of the Church, and dangerous in its operations. He denied the relevancy of the cases cited, and resisted the present application.

"Judge Leavitt stated that there was no collusion here between the principal and his alternate; the former had been called home by sickness in his family, and the latter happened to be here, without the least idea of taking his seat. But the presbytery had rights, and if the alternate is here in the absence of the principal he may claim the seat.

"The House so decided and Dr. Beattie was admitted."

It used to be a very common thing for the principal to give up his seat to his alternate. But as this was seen to give a very great advantage to the presbyteries near the place of the Assembly's meeting, the rule was adopted of refusing to allow the alternate to take the place of his principal. And that rule has been generally adhered to. Since the Assembly has adopted the plan of changing yearly its place of meeting, the reason for the rule is less stringent than it was.

SHORT NOTICES.

ART. VII.—*The Gospel its own Advocate.* By George Griffin, LL.D. New York. D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. 1850.

To some it may seem, that new treatises on the Evidences of Christianity are not needed, since the subject has already been presented in almost every variety of form; but, in our opinion, we cannot have too many well written books on the evidences of divine revelation, for every author has something peculiar to himself in his manner of presenting the argument; and this peculiarity may be suited to a certain class of readers, who feel the force of reasoning in a certain way, which, presented in a different form, had failed to produce complete conviction. But even when a new book contains only the old arguments, presented in the usual form, many will read it for the sake of the author, whose character is known to them; or, merely because it is new.

There is also a great advantage in having treatises on religion written and published by laymen, distinguished for their learning. The same truths which have been repeatedly uttered by clergymen, come with more force to the minds of many readers, when presented by scholars, who have no secular interest involved in the subject. These are supposed to be more impartial, and not under the influence of prejudice. And we cannot but esteem it a peculiarly valuable circumstance, when gentlemen of distinguished abilities in the legal profession undertake to discuss the evidences of Christianity; because from their constant experience in sifting testimony and weighing evidence, they acquire a remarkable sagacity, in discriminating between the true and the false. We do, therefore, esteem it an occasion of gratitude, and exceedingly favourable to the cause of revelation, that such eminent jurists as Simon Greenleaf, Esq., and George Griffin, Esq., men highly distinguished in their own profession, and of unblemished character, have been induced carefully to examine the evidences of the Christian religion, and to give to the public the results of their investigation.

In regard to the volume before us, we cannot say, that there is much novelty in the arguments adduced, or in the mode in which they are exhibited; but the argument is presented not only with perspicuity, but with vivacity and elegance of style. It is deemed unnecessary to give an analysis of the work. An inspection of the table of contents will satisfy the reader, that the author has brought out the most important points in discussion. The prominence given to the heathen testimonies will have a salutary effect on sceptical minds. We would direct the attention of the reader, particularly to Dr. Griffin's remarks on Hume's sophism; and also his answer to the learned Gibbon.

In the chapter on the New Birth there are striking peculiarities; indeed the author's strength seems to be here laid out. We admire his zeal and ability, and admit a large part of his argument; but after some thought we are not convinced that his choice of terms is the best, or that his proof reaches as widely as is intended. Mr. Griffin, let it be observed, maintains strongly, that 'Regeneration is a miracle,' properly so called; wrought by the special power of God against the laws of fallen nature; that as such it may be pleaded in evidence everywhere and all times; that every communicant in the Lord's Supper professes that, according to his best belief, he has been the subject of this miracle; that this is equal to a deposition in court; and that these depositions amount to hundreds of millions. The new birth is therefore a standing miracle. The age of miracles is not past, for this is the mightiest of them all; and it incontestably establishes the inspiration of the Sacred Oracles. In these statements there is much that we believe, even in regard to the probative force of Christian experience, and we assuredly will not fall below the author in magnifying the mighty power of God in the new birth. But how far the experience of this power is quotable as against opposers, and how far the new birth should be ranked among testificatory wonders, and how far communion in the eucharist is declarative *ipso facto* of a persuasion that he who communicates has undergone the great change,—these are questions still at issue between us and the respected author.

We take pleasure in recommending this small volume to the

careful perusal of all who may be annoyed with sceptical doubts, respecting the divine origin of Christianity.

The Dulcimer; or the New York Collection of Sacred Music, &c., &c. By I. B. Woodbury, Organist and Director of Music at the Rutgers Street Church, Editor of the American Musical Review, and author of various musical works. New York. Huntington & Savage. pp. 352.

The indiscriminate praise of a whole book of music would argue interested motives, haste or incompetence. There are in this things which we like and things which we dislike. We highly approve the cheapness, compactness, and fulness of the work. We are assured it contains about seven hundred tunes, upwards of one hundred and twenty-five select pieces, and about a hundred elementary exercises and divertisements, making in all nearly a thousand particulars; and that among these are three or four hundred old tunes, of which some have been almost forgotten, though they were prized by our forefathers. We find with pleasure a large proportion of the classical melodies which have acquired association with favourite psalms and hymns; and that the harmony of these has been restored from the ignorant and chance-medley arrangements of untutored musicians. We have represented here about two hundred composers, and tunes suited to sixty different metres, with chants, anthems, sentences, and set pieces, for every occasion which may demand vocal music. All this is methodized and presented under the guidance of a compiler, who appears to be at home in his profession, and familiar with the best masters. On the other hand, we are inclined to object to this very exuberance and diversity of style and subject. Just so far as the book is a cyclopaedia of compositions, it tends to interfere with that severe and chastened music which is inseparable from the ideal of the ecclesiastical genus. This, we are aware, is exactly in correspondence with the prevailing demand, and will give the collection a wide circulation. We may even add, it deserves this, on the ground of skill and elaborate preparation; and because a copious magazine of this sort is necessary to instructers. Yet for religious purposes, we should prefer a part to the whole.

We further apprehend that the abridged method of printing the chants, though it saves room, will increase the embarrassment of scholars. The Oratorio of Absalom, which concludes the work, has some exquisite morsels from Haydn, Beethoven, Rossini, David, and others. Yet we cannot but wonder to see such music wedded to such words as sundry of the effusions which appear in this Oratorio; as, for instance in No. 24, 'On to battle;' No. 5, 'Forgive my brother;' and No. 7, 'Ah, see now the sacrifice on altar they're slaying, The fire is descending it lights up the sky.' We insist upon poetry as well as music; if for no other reason, that the musical profession may not be thought to gain its pleasures at the expense of intellectual progress. After these strictures, we gladly acknowledge the debt we owe Mr. Woodbury for the great amount of truly good music he has here brought together, at a price which we have formerly known to be paid for what was less than a tenth in quantity, and inexpressibly inferior in quality.

A Practical Exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians, in a series of Lectures, adapted to be read in social meetings. By the Rev. William Neill, D.D., author of Biblical History, etc. Philad. W. S. Martien. 1850. 18mo. pp. 328.

There are more voluminous expositions of this epistle, yet we believe the brief work before us will be both welcome and edifying. All that proceeds from the pen of the venerable author is characterized by sound judgment, biblical knowledge, and orthodox opinion, and his numerous friends will be glad to find him still bringing forth goodly fruit in his retirement. As we doubt not the meditation of these lectures gave him heartfelt pleasure, we are sure they will accomplish his desire for prolonged service among God's people. Readers will find it not so much critical or scholastic, as hortatory and experimental. As the divisions do not average more than ten pages, they may be read with ease even on busy days, by private believers. We desire for the pious labour the usefulness which it seeks.

Report to the Corporation of Brown University, on Changes

in the System of Collegiate Education, Read March 28, 1850. Providence. pp. 86. 8vo. 1850.

This pamphlet is ascribed to President Wayland. It has increased interest from the general expectation that the changes here suggested will be realized. It proposes a radical reform in the methods now existing, and consequently is much occupied with the disclosure of defects and abuses. Beyond the circle of a particular college it has a value for all similar institutions, and embodies a mass of important historical and literary statements. We think it an exaggeration to say that almost the whole time of undergraduates at Cambridge is devoted to the study of mathematics. A preponderance in this direction there certainly is, but any one who has ever seen a volume of Examination Papers know that this statement is too strong. The points of chief moment in the report may be thus summed up. The time allotted to each study must be determined by its relative importance. Every student should study such branches as he chooses, under advice of his parent or guardian. Every course which is begun should be carried on to its completion. Certificates should be given of the degree of proficiency attained. Academical degrees, as now given, *pro forma*, should be abolished. It strikes us as passing strange, that in a report so matured, so extensively reviewing college systems, and so deeply aiming at new foundations, no single hint is given that in every one of the particulars, the amendments here proposed have been (some of them for years) in actual operation in the University of Virginia.

The Anglo-Saxon Language; Its Origin, Character, and Destiny: An Address delivered to the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association, of Cincinnati, Dec. 11, 1849. By A. Campbell, President of Bethany College Virginia. Philadelphia: printed for Walsh & Everson. 1850. pp. 31.

THIS Pamphlet, for which we are indebted to an unknown hand, has given us a very strong impression of its author's powers of elocution and popular address. We can easily imagine, that its round generalities, enunciated with consummate

elocutionary art, would make his hearers stare with astonishment. The extraordinary laudation, quoted on the cover, from the Daily Press of Cincinnati, proves thus much at least; though we are utterly at a loss to find in the Discourse itself the evidence of "profound learning and wondrous powers of reasoning," ascribed to the author, unless it be in the arithmetical process, by which he proves, that in the year 2015, the United States will contain 2,025,000,000 Anglo-Saxons. It is true that in the historical portion of the address, there are references to some old philological authorities, (the most recent and pertinent of whom is Sir William Jones); and a declaration of the author that he has made "very considerable research into the antiquities of both European and Asiatic History:" but the only use made of these authorities is to cite from them, with indiscriminate acceptance, opinions that have been exploded or superseded along with those which have passed into the established ethnology of the day; and notwithstanding his "very considerable researches," he seems to be most comfortably unconscious of the profound and learned labours of distinguished European scholars, on the very subject of his discourse within the last twenty years. The consequence is just what might have been anticipated. We have the "Teutones, Goths, Celts, Gauls, Angles, Saxons, and Normans"—the very enumeration, beautifully disregarding every principle of classification—treated as a single line of uninterrupted national descent. The patronymic, German, is authoritatively pronounced to be a mere corrupted *alias* for Gomerian; and thus by a single bold cut of his ethnological scalpel, the author makes his way through the tangled meshes of countless tribes, distinguishable and affiliated, up to their ancestral source, in the first-born son of Japheth. And as though this were not enough, it is intimated on a subsequent page, that the High German is to be classed with the "other *Slavonian* dialects spoken in Austria, Hungary, Poland and Russia!

Not content with thus mixing the blood of distinct and hostile races, whose undying enmity, even to this day, might have suggested the probability of distinct origin, the author treats his hearers to the old and oft told story of the Saxon

chroniclers, about the alliance sought by the Britons, at the suggestion of Vortigern, with their continental neighbors and friends, the Jutes, Angles and Saxons; as if it were not only veritable, but unquestioned history. There is clear internal evidence that the story commands his fullest credence; and we may be running some risk, by intimating a doubt about its truth. As a matter of precaution, therefore, it may be well to shelter ourselves under the wing of one of the latest and best authorities upon the subject, who affirms that "these traditionary details, bear no nearer relation to the real history of Anglo-Saxon England, than the story of Æneas, as related by Virgil, does to the real history of the foundation of Rome." Even the very names, *Hengist* and *Horsa* are by some of the ruthless modern historical critics of the Anglo-Saxon period, degraded into epithets, derived from the ensigns that flaunted in the van of these implacable enemies of Britain, 'the Dragons of Germany,' as they are called by the bards.* The whole story may easily have been an invention, to give color of right, to the first successful predatory incursions, of those restless, freebooting Saxons.

But the portion of our author's history, which strikes us as decidedly original, is that in which he informs us that Julius Cæsar found the British Islands occupied by numerous tribes of "Gauls, Celts, Belgæ, Cimbri, *Germans* or Gomerians" and other varieties of Asiatic growth, for which we cannot now find an appropriate name." "In process of time, however, and after many a hard fought field he Romanized them all as the Germans before had Germanized the old Celtic Britons—a more ancient tenantry of the Island." What our Lecturer means by this we are utterly at a loss to conjecture. The thing was done he expressly tells us in the time of Julius Cæsar, in the 55th year before the Christian era. What Germans had "Germanized the old Celtic Britons," before that period we cannot imagine; and how well Julius Cæsar Romanized them, every school boy knows. And then, to crown

*Hengist, it is well known, signifies a stallion, and Horsa, as still in modern Danish, a mare. The snow-white steed, still appears as the Ensign of Kent in England as it anciently did in the shield of the Old Saxons in Germany, and is even now borne on the shield of Brunswick Hanover. See Palgrave's History.

all, we are informed that after a desperate and fruitless "struggle of almost five centuries," (the author must, from the connexion, mean with the Romans,) "the Britons called for foreign aid and obtained it. The Jutes, the Angles and the Saxons, promptly obeyed the summons." We think the author would be puzzled to find authority even in the chronicles or the historical ballads of the Anglo-Saxons, for the statement that the Angles, and their confederated Saxon tribes, were invited over by the Britons as allies, to terminate a struggle of almost five centuries against their Roman rulers! This, we presume, must be one of those "depths of learning," alluded to by the Cincinnati Editor; where the best sounding lines at our command, are unable to find bottom.

Another curious piece of history, which after repeated perusals, still excites our wonder, may be found in the paragraph at the bottom of the 18th and top of the 19th pages. We feel almost tempted to quote the passage as a conundrum, for the purpose of trying the ingenuity of our readers, as we are free to confess, that our own has been fairly baffled in the attempt to suggest a solution.

After a few declamatory pages as to the character of the Anglo-Saxon language (the author, we presume from the context, means the English language,) the question of its comparative superiority is soon settled, on the obvious ground, that we can translate all the learning of all other languages, into our own, and "do it so perfectly, that the translation shall be fully equal to the original. As some one said of Pope's Homer: 'if all records were obliterated, and the chronology of nations lost, a time might come, when the wonder would be whether Pope translated Homer or, Homer Pope.'" "This with me," the author triumphantly says, "if not the most logical, is at least the most popular and appreciable way of deciding the question."

As to the hypothesis so confidently assumed in regard to the destiny of the Anglo Saxon (English?) language, viz: that it is "to become the universal tongue, spreading over all lands, and elevating, regenerating, and redeeming all people," we have no definite opinion to offer.

Of course, however, it follows from this that the "destiny"

of this race, of whom we Americans are so soon to number more than two thousand millions, is clear and inevitable. The "Universal Yankee Nation," is no longer a joke, but involves if not serious history, at least assured prophecy.

That the Lecture contains some bold and striking thoughts, and is well adapted to produce a strong impression on a promiscuous audience, we are free to concede; but when it is claimed that the Lecturer "displayed a depth of learning and vastness of intellectual vision truly astonishing," it will be seen from what we have said, (though it is not a tithe of what we might have said to the same purport, if it were worth our while,) we must beg leave respectfully to cast our vote among the *non liquets*.

The Annual of Scientific Discovery: or a Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art, exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Meteorology, Zoölogy, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Geography, Antiquities. Together with a list of recent Scientific Publications; a Classified list of Patents; Obituaries of Eminent Scientific Men; an Index of Important Papers in Scientific Journals, Reports, etc. Edited by David A. Wells, of the Lawrence Scientific School, Cambridge, and George Bliss, Jr. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1850. 12mo. pp. 392.

This crowded title page supersedes the necessity for any further description of this volume. It is really a table of contents, rather than a title page. The plan of the work has been long familiar to science, in the old world. To attempt to show its convenience and utility, would be like setting up a formal vindication of the art of printing, or anything else that the wants of the age have rendered a matter of simple necessity. Most of our readers are anxious to keep an eye to the progress of science. In doing this, there are two principal difficulties. The first arises from the vast number of persons devoted to scientific researches, and the consequent number, size, and expense of the Journals, or Reports, in which their researches are recorded. It is no longer possible for men engaged in other professions, to keep up with the Journalism of

the day. The second difficulty is that of discriminating between what is true and false, or valuable and worthless, in those branches of knowledge, with which laymen are in a great measure unacquainted. To remove these difficulties supposes, of course, a highly respectable order of scientific qualifications on the part of the compilers or editors of works like that before us. This is the only point about which our readers will need any endorsement from us. We are happy to be able to say, that not only in our own judgment, but in that of much more competent critics than ourselves, the work is well executed. It is recommended in unqualified terms, by Professors Agassiz, Horsford, Wyman, Dr. Gould, and Lieut. Maury: and as evidence of its adaptation to the popular want, it may be mentioned, that it has already gone to the second edition. The editors propose to continue the work from year to year.

A Discourse on the Spiritual Power of the Roman Catholic Clergy. Delivered before the Synod of Kentucky, October, 13, 1849. By Edward P. Humphrey. Louisville: Hull & Brother, Printers. 1850.

This strikes us as one of the most effective, popular discourses we have yet seen, among those called forth by the late revival of the controversy with Rome. The author's method is characterized by clearness, vigour and logical order. He sets out with an analysis of the Romish definition of the Church, as given by Bellarmine; for the purpose of showing the necessary presence, and predominant power, of the clergy, not simply as a ministry, but as a priesthood: and then proceeds to draw out by logical consequence, the elements of despotic power necessarily involved in this theory of the Church. He confines himself, however, to the exhibition of the powers vested by it in the inferior clergy. The topics brought into the discussion, are, the Power of the Clergy over the Faith of their subjects—the Doctrine of the Sacraments—Auricular Confession—the Prerogative of Absolution—and the doctrine respecting Purgatory. These are produed, not for the purpose of heated appeals to popular prejudices, but in order to show how the Church of Rome has constructed out

of them, the most compact, massive, and appalling structure of despotism, the world has ever seen.

Practical Sermons: To be read in families and social meetings. By Archibald Alexander, D. D. Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1850. pp. 571.

This is an elegantly printed volume, adorned with an engraving from the fine portrait of the author by Nagle. It must be a source of great gratification not to Presbyterians only, but to all evangelical christians, to see our Boards so successfully engaged in the publication and dissemination at so cheap a rate of works of this character.

The Story of William Tyndal; My own Bible; and The ungrateful child.

The Shepherd Boy of Bethlehem; William and his Dog; Profane Swearing; and the Sailor Boy of Eimeo.

These tracts form two elegant little volumes designed for children. They are among the recent publications of the Presbyterian Board.

Systematic Benevolence. Premium Essays. American Tract Society. pp. 87 and 76.

The former of these Essays is from the pen of the Rev. Parsons Cook, of Lynn, Mass. The author of the other is the Rev. Samuel Harris, Conway, Mass. They relate to a very important subject. God has always required of his people to contribute to the support and extension of the church. Under the old dispensation the mode and the measure of these contributions were determined by law. Under the New Testament economy Christ has left both to the free will of his people. For three centuries the liberality of Christians proved sufficient for the establishment and rapid extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. When the power of religion began to decline, confidence in the voluntary contributions of the faithful declined also, and those in authority thought they must prop up the church by legal enactments. From that time to this, in much the greater portion of Christendom, legal

provision for the support and extension of the institutions of religion, has been made and enforced by civil pains and penalties. Even in this country it was slowly and with many misgivings that the church gave up her dependance on the state. She has however been constrained to let go her hold on man, and trust to the promise and Spirit of God: This is a happy exchange. A child always carried in the arms continues feeble. When forced to go alone it rapidly increases in strength. Such has been the experience of the church. How instructive and encouraging, on this subject, has been the history of the Free Church of Scotland! The experience of the church in this country is scarcely less cheering. But a great responsibility is connected with this higher state and privilege. If God honours his church by confiding to her voluntary agency the support and extension of the gospel; he will bless her the more if she be faithful to her vocation; but her degradation and depression will be the greater, if she prove unworthy of this great trust. It is not a matter of course that Christians will do their duty in this matter. Means are necessary to secure their fidelity. These means are instruction and the exhibition of the true motives to obedience. It becomes, therefore, a matter of primary importance that the people should be imbued with correct principles; that they should be made to see clearly their duty, and to estimate aright the consequences suspended on their fidelity. Great care should be taken that the truth on this subject be clearly presented; that giving money should not be urged either as a means of righteousness, or as a means of thrift. Let the motives presented be elevated. Love to the Lord Jesus Christ is the great comprehensive Christian motive. He gave himself for us; and it is very little we can ever do in return.

The doctrine of the Church of England as to the effect of Baptism in the case of Infants. With an Appendix containing the Baptismal services of Luther and the Nuremberg and Cologne Liturgies. By William Goode M. A. F. F. A. Rector of St. Antholin, London New York: Sandford & Swords, 1850. pp. 562.

There is an intimate logical connexion between the theory of

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the church and the theory of doctrine. The Romish system of doctrine necessarily leads to the Romish theory of the church. The two indeed are so united as to be almost identified. The Protestant scheme of doctrine, on the other hand, with a like necessity, determines the theory of the church. According to Romanists the outward church is an institute of salvation. It is a visible corporation imbued with the power to sanctify and save. Christ gave the Holy Ghost to the apostles. They communicated the gift and the power to transmit it to their successors, the bishops. These confer the Holy Ghost on priests in ordination by the imposition of hands. The possession of this gift renders the sacraments as administered by them efficacious in conferring grace. By baptism the guilt of original sin is cancelled; inward corruption is removed; inherent grace is communicated; and the recipient is made a child of God and heir of heaven. Without Baptism no one, infant or adult, can be saved; because that rite is the only appointed means of conferring, in the first instance, the benefits of redemption. The grace of baptism, however, may be lost by mortal sin. When thus lost it can only be restored by the sacrament of penance. All who are within the church and obedient to its rites and rules are saved; all out of the visible church perish. This theory (with the exception of what relates to penance) has always had its advocates in the Anglican church. And under the name of Puseyism has of late years become specially conspicuous.

The great doctrine of the Reformation was justification by faith alone. Men are saved by grace, through faith. He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life. He that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him. Faith is confessedly a personal act. It is receiving the record God has given of his Son. Faith, therefere, and not the sacraments, is the great means of salvation. The benefits of redemption are not conferred by external rites; but being received by faith they are represented, sealed and applied anew to believers in the sacraments. We are united to Christ therefore not by union with the outward church; but being united to Christ by faith we become thereby members of his body, which is the true church.

It would seem to be impossible to unite the doctrine of justification by faith only, with the doctrine of justification by baptism. They are radically different views of the gospel. And they cannot coalesce. Historically, therefore, they have never been long united. Rome holds the doctrine of justification by baptism, and considers the doctrine of justification by faith a deadly heresy. Protestants hold justification by faith, and it would seem, must repudiate the other doctrine. Consistent Protestants have ever done so. But many have sought a middle ground.

One theory has been that baptism in the case of infants does in all cases, when rightly administered, convey the benefits of the redemption. But men may fall from grace; and when by actual sin they forfeit the privileges conferred in baptism, then they must repent and believe, and be saved in the way in which Protestants represent.

Others again deny that Baptism actually conveys a new nature. It simply secures the remission of the guilt of original sin, and power to repent, believe, love God, and keep his commandments. If that ability is duly cultivated and exercised, salvation is secured; if it is lost or neglected, all the benefits of baptism are forfeited.

It was in the former of these two ways the Lutherans endeavoured to reconcile the doctrine of baptismal regeneration with the great doctrine of the reformation. The Reformed church, however, of which the church of England, in the days of her purity and youth, was proud to consider herself a branch, was precluded from that view. The Reformed church, and no branch of it more thoroughly and zealously than the church of England, held the doctrine of personal election and perseverance of the saints. They believed that whom God calls, them he also justifies, and whom he justifies them he also glorifies; that the gifts and calling of God are without repentance; that where he has begun a good work, he never fails to carry it on to salvation. If therefore all baptized infants are regenerated, they would give the evidence of holiness in their lives, and be finally saved. As this is confessedly not the case, the inference seems irresistible that, according to the doctrine of the Reformed, they could not have been regen-

erated. It has, therefore, been the characteristic doctrine of the Reformed that the grace of God is not tied to Baptism, that it comes at the time, long afterwards, or never, according to the inscrutable purpose of God; that the design of baptism therefore is not to convey, in the first instance, the benefits of the covenant of grace, but to seal to those within the covenant the possession of its blessings, on the condition of faith.

It seems to be the object of Mr. Goode to show that as the church of England was for a hundred years after the reformation, thoroughly imbued with the reformed faith (i. e. Calvinism,) it could not have held either the Romish or Lutheran theory of baptismal regeneration. We believe this argument is valid and unanswerable as far as the real faith of the church is concerned. But it does not prove that baptismal regeneration is not the doctrine of the Prayer Book. That book, as every one knows and concedes, was a compromise. It was constructed with the view to change as little as possible the forms of public worship, and to conciliate as far as possible those who adhered to the Romish faith. The two questions therefore seem to us perfectly distinct: What is the faith of the church of England considered as a body of professing Christians? and, What is the doctrine of the book of Common Prayer? The inconsistency between the language of the latter and the faith of the true representatives of the former, has always been a great let and hindrance, which can never be taken out of the way until the Prayer Book is reformed.

The Doctrine of Holy Baptism; with remarks on Rev. W. Goode's "Effects of Infant Baptism." By Robert Isaac Wilberforce, A. M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. Phila: H. Hooker. 1850. pp. 300. 12mo.

In opposition to Mr. Goode, Mr. Wilberforce contends that "the gift of a renewed nature" is conveyed to all baptized infants; that the early English reformers were not Calvinists; and that the authoritative divines of the English church all taught the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

Archdeacon Wilberforce belongs to the German school. He has succumbed to the new philosophy, and adopted that form of mystic theology which has its foundations in the pantheistic

principles of Schleiermacher. It is a very dangerous experiment to attempt to separate principles from their legitimate results. This is the experiment which is now in the process of trial by a large class of the disciples of Schleiermacher in Germany, England and America. Whether that distinguished man was, strictly speaking, himself a pantheist, may be a matter of dispute; but it is not denied, by the most competent judges, that pantheism was the basis of his peculiar system. He could not, and avowedly did not believe the doctrine of the Trinity, of a two-fold nature in Christ, or of atonement and justification by the imputation of righteousness. Justification with him was really subjective. It is more than we can understand how those who adopt his principles, can still retain their faith in these doctrines. Such is the pliability of his system that it accommodates itself easily to the peculiarities of doctrinal Romanism. As to the question of baptismal regeneration, the two systems come into close contact. According to Romanists the visible church is in such a sense the body of Christ, that all who by baptism are united to the church, are thereby united to Christ and made partakers of his spirit and life. According to the disciples of Schleirmacher, the church is the continuance of the incarnation; the divine and human were united, or manifested as one in Christ; men are saved by him and made partakers of this deified humanity; or of the human nature of Christ which is one and the same with his divine nature. Humanity in him was divinity. The humanity of Christ, therefore, is the principle of our regeneration, according to Mr. Wilberforce. And as we are united to Christ by being united to the church, and as union with the church is effected in baptism, it is by baptism that we are made partakers of Christ's humanity and thus regenerated. The whole theology of this school is a hybrid system, and had it the principle of propagation, would be more to be dreaded than Romanism itself.

The Unity of the Human Races proved to be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason and Science. By Rev. Thomas Smyth, D. D. New York: Geo. P. Putnam. 1850.

This work has all the characteristics of its author, with

which the public are well acquainted. We need not therefore commend it to their notice. The subject will command for it general attention. We regret that it came into our hands at so late an hour, as to render anything more than this advertisement impossible.

The Psalms: Translated and explained, By J. A. Alexander, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. vol. I. New York: Baker & Scribner, 145 Nassau St. 1850. pp. 436.

The author states in his preface that "he has aimed exclusively at *explanation*, the discovery and statement of the meaning." The work is especially designed for ministers who may well be left to erect a doctrinal, devotional or practical superstructure on the exegetical basis here offered. We understand the second volume is passing rapidly through the press.