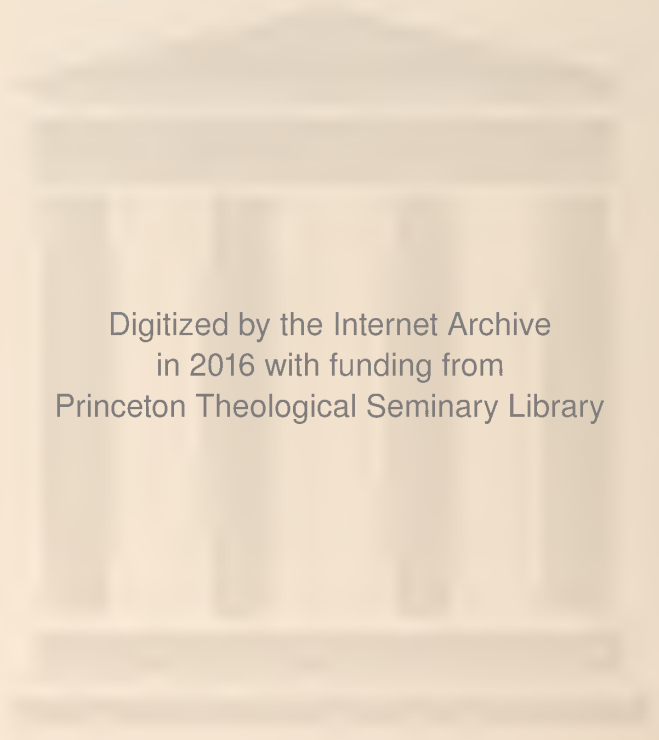

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Art. I.—*The Works of Algernon Sidney*, 1722.

Milton has well said; "A commonwealth ought to be as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man, as big and as compact in virtue as in body." But what ought to be seldom is, and what is really good on earth is seldom in perfection. The trail of the serpent is seen everywhere. Yet this is no reason, why the best things in the highest degrees should not be earnestly sought. The schoolboy may be but a blotter of paper for a long time, nevertheless he should have good copies before him all the time, lest in imitating he should incurably learn a bad hand. No man can do a better civil service to his country than to hold up before the young the best models of states and statesmen. When political virtue lives in the poor-house, political liberty goes to jail. This is ever true. Therefore he who wishes well to men, should study and adduce the bright examples of former days, for the admiration and benefit of his own and future ages, and so much the more as living instances are rare.

Very few names in the history of the past are more entitled

to celebrity among freemen than that of Algernon Sidney. Strange as it may seem it is yet true that the world has for a long time been disputing about the year of his birth, some insisting that he was born in 1617, and others, with better evidence perhaps, that he was born in 1622. His father was Robert, earl of Leicester. His mother was Dorothy, eldest daughter of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland. At the age of ten, he accompanied his father into Denmark, and at fourteen years of age into France, to which countries his noble sire was ambassador. Even at that age it was said of the boy that "he had a huge deal of wit, and much sweetness of nature." In 1641 his father was lord lieutenant of Ireland. When the rebellion broke out, Algernon went to that island with his eldest brother Philip, lord viscount Lisle, commanded a troop of horse, and distinguished himself on all occasions by his gallantry. In the year 1643 he had liberty from Charles I. and from Leicester to return into England. In August of that year, he landed in Lancashire. He was taken in custody, and carried to London by order of Parliament. He was there prevailed on to take a command under them, and in the May following he was made captain in a troop of horse in the regiment of the earl of Manchester, who was at that time Major General of several counties. He soon won distinction at the battle of York and in other engagements, became governor of Chichester, then went to Ireland, became Lieutenant General of the horse, received the thanks of Parliament for his good services, returned to England and became governor of Dover. In 1648, he was nominated one of the judges of that guilty monarch, Charles I. but for some reason unknown he did not sit in the case. He served the Parliament and the cause of liberty faithfully as long as the government was of a republican form. But when Oliver Cromwell set aside the Parliament and ruled by force of arms, Algernon Sidney denounced the usurpation in open and fearless terms. He never would act with him nor for him; but to the extent of his power opposed him and his son Richard. Indeed on his trial Sidney called Cromwell "a tyrant and a violent one" and added, "you need not wonder I call him a

tyrant, I did so every day in his life, and acted against him too."

But when Richard Cromwell resigned and the long Parliament was restored in May, 1659, and ordained that "to secure the liberty and property of the people, both as men and Christians, and that without a single person, kingship, or house of Lords, and to uphold the magistracy and the ministry, he gave in his adhesion and became one of the Council of State. On the 5th of June, 1659, he was nominated, with Sir Robert Honeywood and Beelstrode Whitelock, Esq., to mediate a peace between the kings of Sweden and Denmark. Soon after he with Whitelock and Thomas Boone, appointed in place of Honeywood, who had declined, set out and reached Elsineur, on the 21st of that month. His conduct in this negotiation, as might be expected, was every way honourable. But General Monk, Admiral Montagu, and many others secretly engaged to Charles II. were now exerting all their power to hasten the restoration of the Stuart dynasty. Montagu returned suddenly to England, to be ready to serve the rising interests of his frivolous master. But Sidney remained in the North of Europe. In June, 1660, he writes a letter to his brother expressive of great doubt as his own future course; and again on the 22d of July, 1660, stating that he was about to leave Denmark for Hamburgh and Holland but was very uncertain as to his subsequent career. Under date of August 30th, of the same year his father wrote him a letter, which certainly was none of the kindest, bnt it is not necessary to give it entire. Yet one or two things are worthy of notice. He says to his son that there is a report in England that when he was in Copenhagen he wrote in a volume of the university, these words:

——"Manus haec inimica tyrannis
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem,"

and put his name to it. His father also says it is reported that he had said to one who spoke of the guilt of the death of Charles I. "Do you call that guilt? why, it was the justest and bravest action that ever was done in England or any where else." No wonder his father regarded it unsafe for him to return to England under these circumstances, and so

advised him. He accordingly remained on the Continent, visiting Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Rome, Belgium, Holland and France, until 1677, when he obtained leave to return and a particular pardon. He did all he could to divert the nation from a war with France, then so much spoken of, fearing that the army trained abroad would on the return of peace, be turned against the liberties of his own country. This involved him in suspicion, some charging him with being a pensioner of France, than which nothing could be more untrue. There was no just cause of war with France at that time. Love of country was undoubtedly his ruling passion on this occasion. He twice stood candidate for Parliament, viz: in 1678, for Guildford, and in 1679, for Bramber, but was defeated, his own family in the last case being against him, and his brother Henry being his successful competitor. But his mind was firm, his principles uniform, and his courage undaunted. Nothing could induce him to truckle at the footstool of power. His enemies were active, suspicious, and unprincipled, and in 1683 he was arrested on a charge of treason. When examined before the king and council as to the rye-house plot, he refused to do more than assert his readiness to vindicate his own innocence against all charges brought against him, in conformity with British laws. He was cast into the tower where he lay till the 7th of November, when he was brought by *habeas corpus* to the bar of the court of the King's bench, then filled by a set of detestable monsters. On the 21st of the same month he was tried and found guilty. On the 26th, he was brought up and sentenced. On the 7th of December, 1683, he was, at the age of sixty-one years, executed in a manner too brutal to relate. The next day his body was interred with his ancestors at Penshurst.

In his character the most prominent features were sweetness of temper united with a courage that nothing could intimidate. He was conscientious unto death. Not an instance in all his life has been found when he swerved from candour, truth, and honour. All his impulses were generous and asserted personal independence. If he sometimes carried his assertion of his rights to what seems to us an extreme, let us remember that in opposing the encroachments of tyranny,

there is but one only safe motto, "*Obsta principiis.*" Dr. Hutcheson, of Glasgow, often told of him that when in France and hunting with the French king, Sidney was mounted on a fine English horse whose form and spirit greatly pleased the king. The king sent him a message offering to buy the horse at his own price. He replied that he did not choose to part with him. The king determined in defiance of all the decency of his position and of all the hospitalities due to a stranger and a gentleman, to take no denial, and directed money to be offered, and whether he accepted or not, to take possession of the horse for him. This was made known to Sidney, who immediately took a pistol and shot his steed, saying, "My horse was born a free creature, has served a free man, and shall not be mastered by a king of slaves." Let cowards gape at such an act. Let the scrupulous censure it. But by so much as a man is better than a horse, and by so much as absolute liberty is better than degrading servility, by so much was this conduct more noble and praiseworthy than anything that can be expected from the base and vile. Indeed love of liberty was an everburning passion with Sidney. When serving the Parliament in the war, he bore this only motto, without figure, "SANCTUS AMOR PATRIAE DAT ANIMUM." Nobler sentiments of personal independence were never uttered than those he expressed in his long exile from his country for about eighteen years succeeding the Restoration.

Hear him in reply to the importunity of some friends, who desired his return: "I am sorry I cannot in all things conform myself to the advices of my friends. If theirs had any joint concernment with mine, I should willingly submit my interest to theirs; but when I alone am interested, and they only advise me to come over as soon as the act of indemnity is past, because they think it is best for me, I cannot wholly lay aside my own judgment and choice. I confess we are naturally inclined to delight in our own country. I have a particular love to mine. I hope I have given some testimony of it. I think that being exiled from it is a great evil, and would redeem myself from it with the loss of a great deal of my blood. But when that country of mine, which used to be

esteemed a paradise, is now like to be made a stage of injury; the liberty which we hoped to establish oppressed; luxury and lewdness set up in its height, instead of piety, virtue, sobriety and modesty, which we hoped God, by our hands, would have introduced; the best of our nation made a prey to the worst; the parliament, court, and army corrupted; the people enslaved; all things vendible; no man safe but by such evil and infamous means as flattery and bribery; what joy can I have in my own country in this condition? Is it a pleasure to see that all I love in the world is sold and destroyed? Shall I renounce all my old principles, learn the vile court-arts, and make my peace by bribing some of them? Shall their corruptions and vice be my safety? Ah! no; better is a life among strangers, than in my own country upon such conditions. Whilst I live, I will endeavour to preserve my liberty; or at least, not consent to the destroying of it. I hope I shall die in the same principles in which I have lived, and will live no longer than they can preserve me. I have in my life been guilty of many follies; but, as I think, of no meanness. I will not blot or defile that which is past, by endeavouring to provide for the future. I have ever had in my mind, that when God should cast me into such a condition, as that I cannot save my life but by doing an indecent thing, he shews me the time has come, wherein I should resign it: and when I cannot live in my own country but by such means as are worse than dying in it, I think he shews me, I ought to keep myself out of it. Let them please themselves with making the king glorious, who think a whole people may justly be sacrificed for the interest and pleasure of one man, and a few of his followers; let them rejoice in their subtilty, who, by betraying the former powers, have gained the favour of this, not only preserved, but advanced themselves in these dangerous changes. Nevertheless, perhaps they may find, the king's glory is their shame; his plenty the people's misery; and that the gaining of an office or a little money is a poor reward for destroying a nation, which, if it were preserved in liberty and virtue, would truly be the most glorious in the world; and that others may find, they have with much pains purchased their own shame and misery, a dear price paid for that, which is not worth

keeping, nor the life that is accompanied with it. The honour of English parliaments hath ever been in making the nation glorious and happy, not in selling and destroying the interest of it, to satisfy the lusts of one man. Miserable nation! that from so great a height of glory is fallen into the most despicable condition in the world; of having all the good depending upon the breath and will of the vilest persons in it! cheated and sold by them they trusted! infamous traffic, equal almost in guilt to that of Judas! In all preceding ages, parliaments have been the palace of our liberty; the sure defenders of the oppressed; they, who would formerly bridle kings, and keep the balance equal between them and the people, are now become instruments of all our oppressions; and a sword in his hand to destroy us; they themselves led by a few interested persons, who are willing to buy offices for themselves, by the misery of the whole nation and the blood of the most worthy and eminent persons in it. Detestable bribes, worse than the oaths now in fashion in this mercenary court! I mean to owe neither my life nor liberty to such means. When the innocence of my actions will not protect me, I will stay away till the storm be over-passed. In short, where Vane, Lambert, Haselrigge cannot live in safety, I cannot live at all. If I had been in England, I should have expected a lodging with them; or though they may be the first, as being more eminent than I, I must expect to follow their example in suffering, as I have been their companion in acting. I am most in amaze at the mistaken informations, that were sent to me, by my friends, full of expectation of favours and employments. Who can think that they, who imprison them, would employ me, or suffer me to live where they are put to death? If I might live and be employed, can it be expected that I should serve a government that seeks such detestable ways of establishing itself? Ah, no; I have not learnt to make my own peace, by persecuting, and betraying my brethren, more innocent and worthy than myself. I must live by just means, and serve to just ends, or not at all. After such a manifestation of the ways by which it is intended the king shall govern, I should have renounced any place of favour, into which the kindness and industry of my friends might have advanced me, when I

found those that were better than I, were only fit to be destroyed. I had formerly some jealousies; the fraudulent proclamation for indemnity increased them; the imprisoning of those three men, and turning out of all the officers of the army, contrary to promise, confirmed me in my resolutions not to return. To conclude, the tide is not to be diverted, nor the oppressed delivered; but God, in his time, will have mercy on his people. He will save and defend them, and avenge the blood of those, who shall now perish, upon the heads of those, who, in their pride, think nothing is able to oppose them. Happy are those, whom God shall make instruments of his justice in so blessed a work! If I can live to see that day, I shall be ripe for the grave, and able to say with joy, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.' Farewell. My thoughts as to king and state depending upon their actions, no man shall be a more faithful servant to him than I, if he make the good and prosperity of his people his glory; none more his enemy, if he doth the contrary. To my particular friends I shall be constant in all occasions, and to you a most affectionate servant."

Any right-minded man would rather be the author of such a letter, written under such circumstances, than enjoy the fame of having founded Nineveh, built the walls of Babylon, or erected the pyramids of Egypt. The very names of those who reared these stupendous monuments of the Nile are gone from among men, the pride of him of Babylon sent him to eat grass in the field, and the Persian soon had his city; and Nimrod and Ashur the son of Shem are made the antagonist claimants for the honour of founding Nineveh, nor would mankind gain any advantage by settling the dispute. But the sentiments of this letter are immortal and will make great and good men of all who embrace them. He who believes with Milton in his celebrated prayer that tyrants "shall remain forever the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most underfoot and down-trodden vassals of perdition," will not lack an Isaiah to sustain his creed, and cannot fail to bring his tribute of homage to such sentiments as Sidney has here recorded. Nor will they ever utterly perish, until private and public virtue shall be driven from among men, and,

standing bleeding before God's throne, shall cry for a hasty winding up of human affairs by the awful assizes of the last day, and by a universal conflagration of the heavens and the earth. What miserable drivellers of our own day are those who find no warm sympathies with such a man and with many like him! An English clergyman of the last generation, has had the candour to say that, "many, no doubt, who obtained an undue ascendancy among the Puritans, in the turbulent days of Charles the first, and even before that time, were factious, ambitious hypocrites; but I must think that the tree of liberty, sober and legitimate liberty, civil and religious, under the shadow of which, we, in the establishment as well as others, repose in peace, and the fruit of which we gather, was planted by the Puritans, and watered, if not by their blood, at least by their tears and sorrows. Yet, it is the modern fashion to feed delightfully on the fruit, and then revile, if not curse, those who planted and watered it." Yes, even in this land of freedom, there are men base enough in heart to express sympathy with those who persecuted the Puritans. The Puritans! Who were they? Some tell you they were men of whom the world was not worthy. Others denounce them as unfit to live. But what is the truth? The Puritans were chiefly of four classes. These were the Independents, a small, intelligent, pious body of men, not numbering in all London two thousand, but by their great learning and high moral character exerting a powerful influence over the realm. Next come a respectable and pious body of ministers and laymen in the established church of England, numbering among its brightest ornaments such men as Richard Baxter. Next we see that large body, who borrowed their notions of doctrine, discipline, government, and liberty from Geneva, Holland and Scotland. They had vast learning, much piety and great numbers. These three classes of men laboured long and faithfully to fill the land with sound knowledge. Every year their power was more and more felt, until it was evident they were soon to be in the ascendant on all great questions of morals and government. Then rapidly politicians forsook their old associations and began to act with the religious Puritans. This fourth class, the Political Puritans, consisted of two classes, first the en-

lightened and genuine friends of the liberties of the people, who were pleased to unite their efforts with all, who were like-minded, and secondly, the men, who are always ready to suit their actions to the times in order, if possible, to be leaders. This despicable class of time-servers is commonly not very small. When they joined the Puritans, they wore the lankest hair, whined and canted most extravagantly in scripture phrase, and carried sanctimoniousness to the grossest extremes. These very men, on the Restoration, (so far as they were admitted to the royal favour,) were as loose as their profligate master could well have desired. But they were at all times a minority. The great body of the Puritans acted from principle, and nothing could change them. Algernon Sidney was one of them. John Hampden was another, John Milton was a third. The illustrious men already named, with hosts of others, swelled the company of the patriots to an immense size. If the time shall ever arrive, when the memory of such men shall not be venerated, liberty will be no watchword, and Englishmen and their descendants will be ready to do the behests of selfish, petty tyrants.

It is impossible to read "the trial of Algernon Sidney" without sentiments of a righteous indignation. It covers sixty-five pages. His apology on the day of his death covers thirty-two pages. Here we have exactly one hundred quarto pages, in which is the record of as much wrong, illegality and brutality as can perhaps be found in the same amount of transactions in any tribunal, the Inquisition hardly excepted. He was imprisoned contrary to the provisions of Magna Charta, reaffirmed by many parliaments, which require two credible witnesses, or a free confession. The law allowed imprisonment before conviction only for custody and not for punishment. Whereas Sidney was kept and treated as if sentence were already passed. His private personal property was seized by the minions of power and dispersed, he and his friends knew not where, before he was brought before any court. The bill found by the grand jury was not upon evidence, but on the request of the attorney. The indictment was long, perplexed and confused. In it no overt act was distinctly set forth. The meetings of the alleged conspirators

were said to have been on the thirtieth of June and many other days both before and after; whereas he was then, and for some time before and afterwards until his death a close prisoner. He was at his first hearing and throughout his trial denied counsel, though he asked it, and urged his want of acquaintance both with statutes and the forms of legal proceedings. When he offered a special plea, already prepared, it was refused, unless he would make it peremptory, so that if it were over-ruled, he could be no further heard. He was thus forced to a general issue on an indictment, which he never saw, and a copy of which was refused him throughout the trial, although he heard it read. The jury consisted not of peers, or gentlemen, or even of freeholders. The right of challenging for cause was utterly denied, and every challenge was required to be absolute. The jury was packed, and was in part named by the infamous Graham and Burton, two vultures employed by the court to procure the death of innocent men. Four witnesses were brought into court to fill the minds of the jury with terrible ideas of treason somewhere, but not one of them could say anything against Sidney. Then came forward the ever infamous lord Howard with his rhetorical flourishes, a man who had not for years enjoyed the confidence of any gentleman; a man, who had repeatedly appealed to heaven for his sincerity in declaring that he knew nothing that could affect Sidney's good standing for loyalty, but who by his cowardice had been driven to what himself called "the drudgery of swearing" away the lives of others in order to save his own. The peerage of England have commonly been men of a high sense of honour as to truth, but this miserable creature was not fit to be a nobleman in Newgate. Three eminent peers, two gentlemen of quality, cousins of lord Howard and other witnesses entitled to credit showed him to be one of the basest of men, and not entitled to the least credence, even when solemnly appealing to God. This monster of depravity was the only witness against Sidney. To make up the deficiency of witnesses some unfinished, unpublished pieces of paper, said to have been found in Sidney's closet, were brought in. Yet it was not proved that Sidney had written them; or that he had shewn or published them. They were evidently

old and the statute required treasons to be prosecuted in six months. When these papers were brought into court, they were not all read, but only parts of them and only such parts as pleased the prosecution. The presiding judge was George Jeffreys, a name as certainly doomed to infamy in all coming ages, as that of Judas Iscariot. His drunken and bloody brutality is now confessed the world over. With him was associated Wythins, a coarse, ignorant drunken monster. The charge to the jury was full of prejudice, violence and coarseness. There is even reason to suspect that Jeffreys had access to the jury after they retired.

It is extremely revolting to our feelings to dwell on these details. Nothing is more trying to our temper than the annals of cruelty, especially cruelty practised under the name of law and authority. But he, who would serve his generation wisely, must not be scared away from investigation of the past, under the belief that human nature is now better than formerly. Such trials as those of Sidney teach great lessons, and the friends of freedom ought to study them well. We have heard from our childhood of the value of an *independent judiciary*. In its origin the phrase had a very good sense. For a long time the crown both appointed and removed judges at pleasure. Such a judiciary could not be expected to act with impartiality. Britons did not rest until an act was passed, by which the judges held their office until removed for cause by impeachment fairly tried. This was indeed a great point gained. The whole history of nations shows that the judiciary is almost without exception strong enough, and when freed from intimidation by popular violence, or royal behests, it is surely independent enough for all good purposes. But it is monstrous that the property, liberties or lives of mankind should be sacrificed to the incompetency, or malice of judges under any plea whatever. What can be more revolting than to see a drunken debauchee or an old dotard or a self conceited youth, who never knew much law and has forgotten that, ministering in the temple of justice. He must have seen but little of the wants of our country, who has not witnessed cases of spitefulness, gross ignorance, and lordliness in the bench.

It is impossible to read the history of State Trials in any period of the history of England without being appalled at the enormous amount of wrong done. This remark applies to so late a period as the latter days of George III. Sir John Scott, afterwards Lord Eldon, was a terrible prosecutor; and one has but to read the speeches of Lord Erskine to find his sensibilities excited to the highest pitch for the unhappy victims of legal persecution at a time, to which the memory of some still living runs. When we hear freemen, who live in a land where constructive treason is unknown in judicature, speaking in glowing terms of the liberties enjoyed under the British Constitution, we shrewdly guess that if they had stood in the place of Lord George Gordon, or Thomas Hardy, or James Hadfield, they would utter very different sentiments. Lord Coke has indeed given this law maxim for judges:— "Qui haerit in litera, haerit in cortice," but a much greater man than he has given us two other maxims far more true and safe: "Cum recedit a litera judex transit in legislatorem," and "non est interpretatio, sed divinatio quae recedit a litera."

Our readers have noticed that but one witness (and he unworthy of credit) was brought forward to prove the treason of Sidney. On nothing do human rights depend more than on correct laws and a correct application of the laws of testimony. Therefore, it can never be a matter of indifference to any wise man what those laws are, and what usages prevail in courts of either criminal or spiritual jurisdiction. On the subject of the necessity of two witnesses we venture to give a short quotation from Sidney's apology. "I must," says he, "ever insist upon the law of God given by the hand of Moses, confirmed by Christ and his apostles, whereby two witnesses are necessarily required to every word and every matter. This is received by all that profess the name of Christ, and so understood by all, that no man in any place can be put to death, unless two or more testify the same word or thing. The reason of this is not because two or more evil men may not be found, as appears by the story of Susanna; but because it is hard for two or more so to agree upon all circumstances, relating to a lie, as not to thwart one another: and whoso-

ever admits of two testifying several things done or said at several times and places, conducing, as is said of late unto the same ends, destroys the reason of that law, takes away all the defence that the most innocent men can have for their lives, and opens a wide gate for perjury, by taking away all possibility of discovering it. This would be far more mischievous in England, where there is no law of retaliation, than other countries, where a false witness undergoes the same punishment as should have been inflicted upon the accused person, if his words had been found true. But the law of England doth require two witnesses unto the same thing in the statute, Ed. VI. and the stat. 3 Eliz. 2 and 13 Car. 22." He then argues with great power that if the modern doctrine prevail, we may all say in the language of one of the worst magistrates Rome ever had, 'scituros neminem se invito reperiri posse insontem.' In these sentiments we express our hearty concurrence. They are essential to the preservation of human rights. The passages of scripture bearing on the case are numerous and clear, as Numbers xxxv. 30, Deut. xvii. 6, and xix. 15, Matt. xviii. 16, John viii. 17, and 1 Tim. v. 19. The apostolic canons admit the same rule and point to the scriptures as authority. We have long observed that no small portion of the cases of appeal and complaint in our higher church courts are those, in which there has been a neglect of this great and essential principle by the court, in which process commenced.

Mention has been made in the quotation from Sidney of the "law of retaliation." To many readers the word sounds harshly, because it is commonly applied to private revenge. But Sidney has given the true meaning of the phrase. The law is a good one.

The conduct of the lord Howard, whose testimony, in the case of Lord Russell, did by no means tally with his testimony in the trial of Sidney reminds one of the old proverb—a liar ought to have a good memory. Verily it is even so. Rhetorical flourishes in the witness-box are as much out of place as in the pulpit. In both cases they are a poor substitute for plain truth. Preaching is testifying. The more clear the mind and words of the witness the better. But we dismiss further thoughts on this trial.

That, which above all other things has made Sidney a benefactor to his race is his immortal work on government. It covers five hundred and eight pages quarto, and is an imperishable monument of his genius, learning and patriotism. It is divided into three chapters (a modern would say books.) The chapters are divided into sections (which a modern would call chapters.) The first chapter contains twenty sections; the second chapter contains thirty-two sections; and the third forty-six—in all ninety-eight distinct topics of discussion. We will give the titles omitting the numbers. The first chapter contains these sections; The Introduction; The common notions of Liberty are not from School-divines but from Nature; Implicit faith belongs to fools, and Truth is comprehended by examining principles; The rights of particular nations cannot subsist, if general principles contrary to them are received as true; To depend upon the will of a man is Slavery; God leaves to man the choice of forms of Government, and those who constitute one form may abrogate it; Abraham and the Patriarchs were not kings; Nimrod was the first king during the life of Cush, Ham, Shem, and Noah; The power of a Father belongs only to a Father; Such as enter into society, must in some degree, diminish their liberty; No man comes to command many unless by consent, or by force; The pretended paternal right is divisible or indivisible, if divisible it is extinguished, if indivisible universal; There was no shadow of a paternal kingdom amongst the Hebrews, nor precept for it; If the paternal right had included dominion, and was to be transferred to a single heir it must perish, if he were not known, and could be applied to no other person; The ancients chose those to be kings who excelled in the virtues that are most beneficial to civil societies; God, having given the government of the world to no one man, nor declared how it should be divided, left it to the will of man; If a right of dominion were esteemed hereditary according to the law of nature, a multitude of destructive and inextricable controversies would thereupon arise; Kings cannot confer the right of father upon princes, nor princes upon kings.

The sections of the second chapters have these titles: That it is natural for nations to govern or to choose governors, and

that virtue only gives a natural preference of one man above another, or reason why one should be chosen rather than another: Every man that has children, has the right of a father, and is capable of preferment in a society composed of many: Government is not instituted for the good of the governor, but of the governed; and power is not an advantage but a burden: The paternal right devolves to, and is inherited by all the children: Freemen join together and frame greater or less societies, and give such forms to them as best please themselves: They, who have a right of choosing a king, have the right of making a king: The laws of every nation are the measure of magistratical power: There is no natural propensity in man or beast to monarchy: The government instituted by God over the Israelites was aristocratical: Aristotle was not simply for monarchy, or against popular government; but approved or disapproved of either according to circumstances; Liberty produces virtue, order, and stability; slavery is accompanied with vice, weakness, and misery: The glory, virtue, and power of the Romans began and ended with their liberty: There is no disorder or prejudice in changing the name or number of magistrates, while the root and principle of their power continues entire: No sedition was hurtful to Rome, till through their prosperity some men gained a power above the laws: The empire of Rome perpetually decayed, when it fell into the hands of one man: The best governments of the world have been composed of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy: Good governments admit of changes in the superstructures, whilst the foundations remain unchangeable: Xenophon, in blaming the disorders of democracies, favours aristocracies, not monarchies: That corruption and venality which is common to courts, is seldom found in popular governments: Man's natural love to liberty is tempered by reason, which originally is his nature: Mixed and popular governments preserve peace and manage wars better than absolute monarchies: Commonwealths seek peace or war, according to the variety of their constitutions: That is the best government, which provides best for war: Popular governments are less subject to civil disorders than monarchies, manage them more ably, and more easily recover out of them: Courts are more subject

to venality and corruption than popular governments: Civil tumults and wars are not the greatest evils that befal nations: The mischiefs and cruelties proceeding from tyranny are greater [evils] than any that can come from popular or mixed governments: Men living under popular or mixed governments are more careful of the public good, than in absolute monarchies; There is no assurance that the distempers of a state shall be cured by the wisdom of a prince: A monarchy cannot be regulated unless the powers of a monarch are limited by law: The liberties of nations are from God and nature, not from kings: The contracts made between magistrates and the nations that created them, were real, solemn, and obligatory.

The sections of the third chapter are as follows: Kings, not being fathers of their people, nor excelling all others in virtue, can have no other just power than what the laws give; nor any title to the privileges of the Lord's anointed. The kings of Israel and Judah were under a law not safely to be transgressed. Samuel did not describe to the Israelites the glory of a free monarchy, but the evils the people should suffer, that he might divert them from having a king. No people can be obliged to suffer from their kings what they have not a right to do. The mischiefs suffered from wicked kings are such as render it both reasonable and just, for all nations, that have virtue and power, to exert both in repelling them. It is not good for such nations as will have kings, to suffer them to be glorious, powerful, and abounding in riches. When the Israelites asked for such a king as the nations about them had, they asked for a tyrant, though they did not call him so. Under the name of tribute, no more is understood than what the law of each nation gives to the supreme magistrate for the defraying of public charges; to which the customs of the Romans, or offerings of the Jews have no relation. Our own laws confirm to us the enjoyment of our own native rights. The words of St. Paul, enjoining obedience to higher powers, favour all sorts of government no less than monarchy. That which is not just is not law, and that which is not law ought not to be obeyed. The right and power of a magistrate depend upon his institution and not upon his name. Laws were

made to direct and instruct magistrates, and, if they will not be directed, to restrain them. Laws are not made by kings, not because they are busied in greater matters than doing justice, but because nations will be governed by rule and not arbitrarily. A general presumption that kings will govern well is not a sufficient security to the people. The observation of the laws of nature is absurdly expected from tyrants, who set themselves up against all laws; and he that subjects kings to no other law, than what is common to tyrants, destroys their king. Kings cannot be the interpreters of the oath they take. The next in blood to deceased kings cannot generally be said to be kings, till they are crowned. The greatest enemy of a just magistrate is he who endeavours to invalidate the contract between him and the people, or to corrupt their manners. Unjust commands are not to be obeyed; and no man is obliged to suffer for not obeying such as are against law. It cannot be for the good of the people, that the magistrates have a power above the law; and he is not a magistrate who has not his power by law. The rigour of the law is to be tempered by men of known integrity and judgment; and not by the prince, who may be ignorant or vicious. Aristotle proves that no man is to be entrusted with an absolute power, by shewing that no one knows how to execute it, but such a man as is not to be found. The power of Augustus Cæsar was not given but usurped. The regal power was not the first in this nation; nor necessarily to be continued, though it had been the first. Though the king may be entrusted with the power of choosing judges, yet that by which they act is from the law. Magna Charta was not the original, but a declaration of the English liberties. The king's power is not restrained but created by that and other laws; and the nation that made them can only correct the defects of them. The English nation has always been governed by itself or its representatives. The king was never master of the soil. Henry the First was king of England by as good a title as any of his predecessors or successors. Free nations have a right of meeting when and where they please, unless they deprive themselves of it. The powers of kings are so various, according to the constitutions of several states,

that no consequence can be drawn to the prejudice or advantage of any one, merely from the name. The liberty of a people is the gift of God and nature. No veneration paid, or honour conferred upon a just and lawful magistrate can diminish the liberty of a nation. The authority given by our law to the acts performed by a king de facto, detracts nothing from the people's right of creating whom they please. The general revolt of a nation cannot be called a rebellion. The English government was not ill constituted; the defects more lately observed proceeding from the change of manners and the corruption of the times. The power of calling and dissolving parliaments is not simply in the king. The variety of customs in choosing parliament-men, and the errors a people may commit, neither prove that kings are or ought to be absolute. Those kings only are heads of the people, who are good, wise, and seek to advance no interest but that of the public. Good laws prescribe easy and safe remedies against the evils proceeding from the vices or infirmities of the magistrate; and when they fail, they must be supplied. The people for whom and by whom the magistrate is created, can only judge whether he rightly performs his office or not. The person that wears the crown cannot determine the affairs, which the law refers to the king. Proclamations are not laws. A people that is not free cannot substitute delegates. The legislative power is always arbitrary, and not to be trusted in the hands of any, who are not bound to obey the laws they make. The coercive power of the law proceeds from the authority of parliament.

Such are the topics of argument in this great work on Government. Those, who will read it through will probably agree with distinguished men, who have declared that the loss of Cicero's work in nine chapters "De Republica" is, to all the ends of liberty, well repaired by Sidney's Discourses. When its principles shall be well understood and honestly carried out, earth will keep jubilee. Of Sidney, Burnet has said: "He had studied the history of government, in all its branches, beyond any man I ever knew." A new and handsome edition of this work is called for and would do great good to the youth of this country, not that our people have

any considerable tendency to monarchy, much less to absolutism; but many are republicans for reasons unknown to themselves, and avowed friends of liberty, without knowing the difference between liberty and licentiousness. The editor of Milton's Eikonoklastes, says, that "Algernon Sidney's Discourses concerning government are the most precious legacy to these nations." The nations that are here mentioned are those under British rule. But much that is valuable in the British constitution is also found amongst us. We are concerned to know the history of our liberties, the price paid for them, the perils they have encountered, and the victories they have achieved. If these topics shall ever cease to be interesting subjects of inquiry to Americans, our liberties will be gone and probably forever. Already influences, hostile to our institutions, are at work. If met and opposed in time with fearlessness and ability, they will prove harmless in the end as to the great cause. But if they shall be connived at for a while, and the nation lulled into security, they will hasten to subvert the fairest fabric of political wisdom the earth ever saw.

The work to which Sidney's is an answer, is entitled, "Patriarcha," and was written by Sir Robert Filmor, who seems to have reguarded absolute monarchy as the only lawful or desirable form of government on earth. We had intended to give one or two of Sidney's sections entire, but find that they would make this article too long. Every intelligent reader of this work must be struck with the fact that it is the great arsenal, whence the friends of freedom in Britain and America, have drawn their weapons for the last two hundred years. Many of the very words, phrases and propositions, which have become consecrated in the war of freedom, are here found laid up as in a storehouse. We do not say that Sidney was the first, who presented them to the world. Many of them we know he did not. Indeed, it has been our belief for a long time that the political tracts written against the house of Stuart were the ablest the world has ever seen. Men wrote at the peril of their liberties and lives. Their opponents, in some cases at least, were giants in learning. Royal gold was showered upon the defenders of arbitrary power. The stake

on both sides was immense. England never had men of more solid learning than in the seventeenth century. Milton has well described his country when he says: "Lords and Commons of England behold now this vast city; a city of refuge, the mansion house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection; the shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleaguered truth, then there be pens and heads there sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas, wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching Reformation; others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement. What could a man require more from a nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there to such a toward and pregnant soile, but wise and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people, a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies?" Warburton too has said that in the middle of that century, "the spirit of liberty was at its height, by a successful struggle against court oppression, and it was conducted and supported by a set of the greatest geniuses for government the world ever saw." It was in the days of such men, that Sidney thought out his great work on government. In reading it nothing strikes the mind more than his prodigious learning. Not an author of any note seems to have escaped his examination. Moses and all the prophets, Josephus, Philo, Aristotle, Plato, Xenophon, Livy, Tacitus, Cicero, Plutarch, in fine, poets, historians, lawgivers, metaphysicians and patriots of all ages and countries seem to have brought iron and stone and timber and gold and silver and precious stones to strengthen or adorn this splendid edifice. The great maxim pervading the whole work and giving it unusual value in the eyes of sober men is that suggested by Livy—Potentiora legum quam hominum imperia. The will of men, the king not excepted, must bow to the majesty of law. The closing sentence of the whole work is in these words: "If we examine our history, we shall find, that every good and generous prince has sought to establish our liberties, as much as the most base and wicked to infringe them."

One cannot but notice in the history of the world how mankind are affected by examples both good and evil. Nero, Caligula, and Domitian filled the Roman empire with petty tyrants. Pope Alexander VI. and his son Cesar Borgia had myriads of imitators. The Duke of Alva and Aquaviva breathed their spirit into thousands. Charles IX of France had thousands greedy to do the work of blood at his nod. Evil example is peculiarly contagious. But the history of the world is not without instances of the power of example for good. In literature what a constellation of bright stars appeared in the days of Queen Anne. Their light shines to this day. In love of country what illustrious men were our own fathers of '76. It is true that times make men. But it is more true that men make the times, that is, they stamp upon each succeeding age its peculiar features. Great as was Washington it cannot be doubted that he often kindled his torch light of liberty at the fires of his compatriots, as all of them did at his. If Washington had never been born, these states would have been free and independent, perhaps not so soon, perhaps with not so little loss of life and treasure, but with as much certainty as ever attends events of that nature. The millions of free hearts, surrounding him, made Washington, under God, what he became. Just so in the days of Sidney, patriots took counsel together and roused each other's noblest thoughts and emotions to a higher pitch. John Hampden, who fell in defence of the liberties of his country; John Milton, who has immortalized himself no less by his political than by his poetical writings; Coke, who with all his oddities will ever be recognized as a great constitutional lawyer; Selden, who yet stands unrivalled in the range and accuracy of his knowledge, in all matters touching human rights and obligations; Matthew Hale, who deserves to be surnamed the Just, were of that age and poured streams of light on the most important subjects of inquiry. In the same age lived Pym, Vane, St. John, Ludlow, Philips, Bradshaw, Fairfax, Eliot, Seymour, Thomas Scot, Challoner, Neville, Henry Marten, Sandys, Haselrigge, Fleetwood and hosts of others, whose names are never to be mentioned, but with a profound obeisance to their abilities and worth. Had Sidney been but half a man by nature, and

yet mingled freely with such giants and patriots, he could not have been unworthy of notice. But bringing with him into the world more genius than commonly falls to the lot of even able men, and having such stimulus to study as his age and country gave him, he became a terror to tyrants and the idol of freemen.

Nor will his name ever cease to be honoured by the good and wise. Hume indeed with characteristic adroitness speaks of him as "this gallant person," yet soon after calls him "this singular personage." He says he had too much "greatness of mind" to deny his participation in the conspiracy of Charles II. Macaulay says but little of him, and strangely adds: "He died with the fortitude of a stoic." Clarendon gives not his character at all. Burnet says: "He was a man of most extraordinary courage," and adds, that "he seemed to be a Christian." He also says a good deal to his disparagement. But Burnet had two great faults. He wrote too much, and had very little discrimination. Whether Sidney's magnanimity were stoical or Christian, let candid men judge by his prayer when the brutal Jeffreys pronounced with brutal ferocity, the cruelest sentence we ever read: "Then O God, I beseech thee to sanctify these sufferings unto me, and impute not my blood to my country nor the city, through which I am to be drawn; let no inquisition be made for it, but if any, and the shedding of blood that is innocent must be revenged, let the weight of it fall upon those that maliciously persecute me for righteousness sake." So also in the paper which he delivered to the sheriffs on the day of his death, he says: "The Lord sanctify these my sufferings unto me! and though I fall as a sacrifice to idols, suffer not idolatry to be established in this land! Bless thy people and save them, defend thine own cause, and save those that defend it. Stir up such as are faint; direct those that are willing; confirm those that waver; give wisdom and integrity unto all. Order all things so, as may most redound to thine own glory. Grant that I may die glorifying thee for all thy mercies; and that at the last thou hast permitted me to be singled out as a witness of thy truth." If this be the fortitude of the stoic, may all be stoics.

It relieves the mind of a good man to know that England

has done all that was in her power to repair the wrongs done to Sidney. He was executed December 7, 1683. In 1688, the detestable Stuarts were spurned out by the whole kingdom, and then began a better state of things. One of the first acts of parliament under William and Mary was to repeal his attainder in an act the preamble of which set forth that "by means of an unlawful return of jurors, and by denial of his lawful challenges to divers of them, for want of freehold, and without sufficient legal evidence of any treasons committed by him; there being produced a paper, found in the closet of the said Algernon, supposed to be his hand-writing; which was not proved by the testimony of any one witness to be written by him; but the jury was directed to believe it by comparing it with the other writings of the said Algernon; and besides that paper so produced, there was but one single witness to prove any matter against the said Algernon; and by a partial and unjust construction of the statute, declaring what was his treason, he, Algernon Sidney, Esq., was most unjustly and wrongfully convicted and attainted, and afterwards executed; therefore that the said conviction and attainder be repealed and reversed, and to the end that right be done to the memory of the said Algernon Sidney, deceased, be it further enacted, That all records and proceedings relating to the said attainder be wholly cancelled and taken off the file, or otherwise defaced and obliterated to the intent that the same may not be visible in after ages: and that the records and proceedings relating to the said conviction, judgment and attainder, in the court of Kings-bench now remaining, shall, and be brought into the court this present Easter term, and then and there be taken off the file and cancelled." We suppose every lover of truth and righteousness will approve of this *expunging*. True, Algernon Sidney, himself, could not be called from the dead, nor is it proof of any high virtue to praise the virtuous dead. The old murderous Jews built and whitened the sepulchres of their martyred prophets. Still, when a great and irreparable wrong has been committed, nature would seem to dictate no less than putting the names of the murderers where they hoped to put the names of martyrs—in perpetual infamy. To Hampden, to Cromwell, to

Bunyan, monuments have been erected in their native land. We have heard of none to Algernon Sidney. His name is happily united with that of Hampden in one of the old and honoured institutions of our country—a school founded in all the ardour for liberty generated by the American revolution. We refer to Hampden Sidney College in Virginia—Virginia, pronounced by Lord Cornwallis as he marched through it, "THIS UNTERRIFIED COMMONWEALTH." It has been with peculiar pleasure that we have noticed the regenerated vigour of this venerated school, may it flourish more and more, not merely for the honour of the memory of two so illustrious men, though that is by no means to be undervalued, but more for the good and honour of our happy country, and still more for the spread of the knowledge of the great salvation. For that college was founded not only in the glow of pure patriotism, but in the tears and prayers, the faith and self-denial of some of the best Christian men Virginia or the world ever saw. It has educated a President of the United States, many able statesmen, many excellent physicians, and a great body of liberal and distinguished planters and merchants. But, perhaps, the most important service it has rendered, is to be found in the scores of godly ministers it has furnished to edify the church of God.

ART. II.—*The Thirteenth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church:* 1850.

THE work of Christian Missions involves many practical questions of serious moment; to one of which we wish now to call the attention of our readers, viz. the return of missionaries from their field of labour, either for a limited time, or as a permanent measure. We find examples of both referred to in the last Report of our Foreign Board, and similar cases have been reported almost every year. These are recorded with a brief but explicit statement, in each case respectively, of the reasons which led to the temporary or final withdrawal from

the post of previous labour. The Report does not enter into a discussion of the general subject to which we would devote this article. In a document like the Annual Report, which is mainly a narrative, a report of the year's work, no extended remarks on general questions of duty would be expedient. It is assumed that the Assembly, to whom the Report is made, is as well acquainted with the principles on which such questions should be determined as the Board; and there are other and more appropriate channels, through which these questions may be reached by the public sentiment of our body—of which the General Assembly itself is one and the chief. In our view, it is one of the advantages of our system, that the Committees or Boards are not required to enter into any formal or elaborate argumentation concerning the principles involved in their respective departments of work. They are executive bodies, whose official duty it is to carry into effect the will of the Church; but while their members, or individuals, are deprived of no common right to discuss questions of every description, the Church does not wish them in their official character to enter the arena of controversy, nor to trouble themselves with any of the vexed questions of the times. We do not wish even to see our Committees occupied with questions of slavery, polygamy, or any matters of discipline that belong to our church courts. We have a better way of settling these things. The regular action of our ecclesiastical system can readily secure their thorough examination and their happy issue. And yet in the Magazines published by the Boards, while it may not be expedient to open their pages to the discussion of doubtful or controverted matters, our respected brethren entrusted with the charge of these mighty interests may well record their experience and the results of their observation as to the practical conduct of their work. This, we have observed, has been repeatedly done in the pages of the former Missionary Chronicle, and more than once in regard to the matter now under our review, the return of missionaries. Our own pages, also, have shown that this subject has been brought before the General

Assembly by the Corresponding Secretary of the Foreign Board.

Careful observers of the foreign missionary work have doubtless often reflected on this matter, though perhaps few persons have considered it in all its bearings. There are also many who stand in doubt of a missionary's returning to his own country. When he goes forth to the foreign field, they would never allow him to leave it. Rather let him give his dying testimony to the heathen of the preciousness of the Gospel, and leave his bones among them, like Joseph, in faith that they shall be carried up to the promised land. They consider it wrong in principle for a missionary to leave his field of labour,—if he is a true missionary, he has been called to his work by the Spirit of God; and they point to the great expense of such returns; the loss of service to the heathen; the discouraging effect on the churches. Nor are these things brought forward in a censorious spirit; they are the honest convictions of some who are sincere friends of Christian Missions. It would give us cordial pleasure, if what we are writing in these pages should lead to remove the difficulties of these brethren. And the subject viewed apart from any special objections, is one which our churches generally should understand in its leading aspects.

The agency by which the head of the Church is pleased to carry the gospel to all nations, is now well understood. It is not by angelic voices that good tidings of great joy are now to be proclaimed to all people, nor by the spirits of just men made perfect. They would doubtless be willing messengers in such an errand, and they could pass with impunity through sickly climes, fulfilling their commission without weariness or any hinderance from the feebleness of their own nature. If a missionary goes from a healthful to a less salubrious country, his health will probably become impaired, his years will likely be fewer in number than if he had continued to live in his native land. But the Church must not abandon the work, because her messengers may be laid aside by sickness, or removed by death. This were to display less devotion to her calling, than is every day shown by men of the world in the ordinary business of life. They do not abandon a profitable

branch of commerce, because it is necessary to send their ships to an African coast; nor do they shut up their work-shops and factories, because their labourers are therein confined for many weary hours to work that is injurious to health, while they are breathing an atmosphere quite different from the air that refreshes the farmer in his fields. The frame work of society, and the employments of men in their every day life, prove that a perfect exemption from the risk of disease or even of death is not looked for by the men of this generation. Surely our Lord did not fail to consider the risk of health, the feebleness of human life, the certainty of many labourers passing early from their work to their reward, when he gave his commandment that the gospel should be preached to every creature. It is to be preached by men, with all their frailty and with their brevity of life. And the Church must consider this, in her work of missions, so that she may perform her duty humbly, faithfully, and wisely.

When a missionary goes abroad, especially if his destination be to one of the eastern missions—in China, Siam, or India, he certainly goes with the desire and expectation of spending his life in the service of the church among the heathen. He believes himself to be moved and called to this work by the Holy Spirit. By the leadings of Providence, an open door is set before him. By the church he is accepted, and sent forth, and supported. He goes forth willingly, though it may be with inexpressible feelings of grief at parting with friends, and going out of the hallowed circle of Christian society to take up his abode in a land of darkness and spiritual death. Yet he goes forth willingly, and not by compulsion or constraint; his is a purely volunteer service; the only constraint he feels is that of the love of Christ and a sense of duty to him as his gracious Lord. And it is his earnest desire that he may be enabled to devote the best energies of his life to the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom among the heathen. This is his solemn purpose, his most sacred desire.

It is a purpose fortified by the strongest reasons. The lowest of these is the expense involved in his outfit and passage to the mission field, which would seem to have been incurred in vain if he leave it. Far higher considerations are

those which bind the conscience of every true minister of the gospel, which would keep any faithful ambassador of Christ at his post, if he found himself connected with a vast community of ignorant, depraved, perishing people, requiring the gospel as their greatest need, and having no one but himself to make known unto them the way of life. If a godly, Christ-like minister would hesitate long before leaving such a congregation in this country, supposing such a one to be found any where in all our borders, how much more must the true-hearted missionary grieve at the thought of withdrawing from his work for Christ among the heathen. Our three missionary brethren who are the only ministers of the gospel among four millions of Pagans, Mohammedans and Sikhs in the Panjáb, could not, we are sure, contemplate the prospect of leaving their work, without having many a sleepless night—without feelings of sorrow which only those placed like themselves could understand. Their sense of obligation to the Redeemer, who has sent them to this work, and their feelings of gratitude to him who has counted them worthy, putting them in the ministry; their deep compassion for the poor, dying multitudes around them, whose perishing condition is daily before their minds and pressing heavily on their hearts; their hope of becoming instruments in the hands of God in the salvation of them that are ready to perish; their interest in the various methods and means employed by them to lead their heathen neighbours to the Saviour; their concern for particular families and individuals, with whom they have become personally and perhaps intimately acquainted; their raised expectation of seeing some young men of promise introduced into the holy ministry; their overflowing joy and tenderness in view of the Christian walk or the happy death of those who have been converted unto God through their labours; these things and others, growing with their greater knowledge of the native language, and making them more influential as ministers of good to the heathen in a precise ratio to the length of their residence among them, all combine to make their ministerial life every year more inseparable from their missionary work. None but the strongest and plainest reasons ought to take such men from their work, even though it were but for a brief

period. No other reasons would satisfy their own hearts, in view of leaving such a sphere of duty.

With these things premised we have yet no doubt that, in the light furnished by the developments of Divine Providence, some men ought to leave the missionary field altogether; while others, if not all, would eventually render greater service to the heathen by a temporary return to their native country. This is a conclusion reached after years of reflection and observation, and yet it is not one to be advocated with undue eagerness. We should be unaffectedly grieved to see it adopted by the churches, unless it can be commended to their best judgment.

We are not embarrassed by doubts as to the principle involved in a missionary's changing his field of labour, for sufficient reasons. His work is no more a work for life than is the work of a minister at home. As a general rule both the pastor and the missionary should continue at their respective posts as long as they can. Our church system and our best convictions are opposed to frequent changes of ministerial occupation. But the missionary must be governed by the same laws of duty as his brethren in the domestic field. There is nothing indelible in his orders as a missionary. Neither himself, nor the committee who appoint him to the work, are exempt from the danger at the very outset of making the greatest mistake of all—that of an engagement for a work to which he has never been called by the Head of the Church. The supposition is an extreme one but it tests the principle. He may find himself clearly convinced at the end of a year that he should never have become a missionary, nor have entered the ministry at all. This mistake may be lamentable, but it surely cannot be irrevocable. Or if his missionary character and qualifications be of the highest order, as were those of the Apostle Paul, the Providence and the Spirit of God may at any time change his field of labour, and assign him work at Jerusalem instead of Antioch—may call him to labour at home instead of abroad.

There are undoubtedly conclusive reasons for the return of some missionaries. A man may find after trial that he cannot acquire the language of the people to whom he has been sent,

and then he will be but a barbarian unto them. It is not every man who can learn a foreign tongue. The want of this talent may be but a slight disqualification for many kinds of duty in the sacred office, but in a missionary it is the most serious defect. Our foreign Committees can commonly guard against the mistake of appointing any one as a missionary, who is not likely to make this first attainment; and yet they are not infallible, and they must greatly rely on the recommendations of those who are best acquainted with the missionary candidate, but whose judgment on this point may prove erroneous. So important is this acquirement to usefulness, under the ordinary conditions of missionary life, that it should be a matter clearly understood, if not expressly stipulated, that no man should continue in the foreign field, who did not within a reasonable period acquire the ability to speak the language of the natives, and this both correctly and fluently. We refer not to excepted cases, occurring under peculiar circumstances, but to the general rule; and its application, whenever called for, would clearly decide the question af a missionary's returning home, inasmuch as the same deficiency would commonly prevent his engaging abroad in any other kind of ministerial duty.

The most frequent cause of the return of missionaries is the failure of health, sometimes of their own, and sometimes of their families. If we are correctly informed, this has been the sole reason for the return of missionaries connected with our own Board, in all but two or three instances. And we presume that the experience of other missionary institutions is not different from this.

It may not be apparent, at first view, why missionaries should leave their fields of labour for this cause. Why may they not use the best means of recovery within their reach, and then calmly commit the issue to the disposal of God, like their brethren at home when called to suffer sickness? The answer to this fair question hinges on the difference between the cases; though even at home a removal from a northern to a southern state, or a winter spent in the West Indies, is often advisable as a means of saving or prolonging life.

We are no advocates, however, of missionaries coming home

for illness of a slight nature or of a temporary kind; nor are we aware that such instances have occurred in connection with our missions. We do not advocate, moreover, the return of missionaries whose health is impaired, if, with little prospect of restoration at home, they could yet pursue certain kinds of labour usefully abroad. A man of dyspeptic or consumptive habit, for example, might receive injury rather than benefit by returning; and even if he could hope for some degree of advantage to his health by the change, we should doubt the expediency of his leaving a post where he might be very useful though having but a moderate measure of strength. Neither would we think it expedient for missionaries to seek a change of climate, where there was little hope of recovery or of prolonging life for years. How melancholy the lot of those amongst ourselves often, who are induced to leave the comforts of home, while labouring under fatal disease, to spend a winter at Havanna with the almost certain prospect of dying among strangers! "May you die among your friends," is the beautiful prayer of friends for each other in the East. And this feeling may sometimes have an undue weight with a suffering missionary family, leading them to long for their early home, and its beloved friends to minister around their dying bed, forgetting that Jesus and his angels are present as well in India as in America, and that the flight of the soul to heaven is not longer nor more difficult from the waters of Chapoo Bay than from the most favoured spot in any Christian land. Still farther, we are convinced that cases may occur, in which it is the duty of the members of a missionary's family to consent to a separation for a season; the afflicted wife or child, if suitable protection and comfort can be obtained, while seeking to renew health in a distant land, may leave the missionary at his work. It is a painful trial to both parties. But it is one which has been encountered by many, who have not their faith and hope for enduring it. And it is one which some of our own missionaries have not refused to meet. We call to sad but affectionate remembrance that beloved woman, the gifted and cherished daughter of a minister of our Church now entered into his rest, the devoted wife, the affectionate mother, the admirable missionary, who would not

consent to her husband's accompanying her on the long voyage to her own country. Trusting herself and little daughters to the care of Christian friends, whom a kind providence might raise up for her, she turned her face toward her native home. Her feeble step gave little hope that she would live to see those who longed to welcome her return; and so it proved at last. She was called to her rest from the sea that washes the Southern Cape of Africa. But she died in perfect peace, surely no less happy on the Saviour's breast, though surrounded by weeping strangers, than if she had departed from her father's or her husband's arms. And God took care of her children. He also supported her bereaved father in life and her many sorrowing friends. Often in reflecting on the last days on earth of the now sainted CHRISTIANA SCOTT, we have deeply and tenderly felt the power of her Christian piety. She has left us an example of priceless value. She has shown what the grace of Christ can enable his servants to do and to suffer; and how He can make them to triumph over all that the timid heart would fear. It is an example worthy of the martyr age of the Church. We do not doubt the wisdom of her decision to return without being accompanied by her husband. She could hope for necessary attendance and comfort, and she could trust in God for all needed grace. She would not take a true and able missionary from his work. She hoped to return to him again; but if not, their separation would have commenced but a short time earlier, and their reunion would be more happy in a better world. Jesus would richly reward his servants for their sacrifices in his cause. And yet owing to different circumstances all whose health becomes impaired cannot follow her example. Some have not the measure of strength with which she commenced her journey; others may require a more constant degree of attendance; some may be so wasted by disease that their friends could not leave them. Each case should be viewed in its own circumstances.

But the question recurs, Why should a missionary leave his field of labour at all for the sake of impaired health? Why not remain at his post, and there exemplify the power of religion under disease, imparting patience, resignation, confi-

dence in God, and other graces, which the poor heathen have never been taught by their own religious teachers to practice, and the exemplifying of which may greatly commend the religion of Jesus to their affections? As to this, the missionary will have many an opportunity of showing in his conduct the greater virtues of his religion, and its power to give him support and consolation. Death will enter the missionary circle. Trials must be daily endured by its members. But as to the general question, it can be answered in a few words.

It may be viewed as a question of economy, and commonly it will be found that it costs far less for the Board to defray the expenses of the invalid missionary's return, than of his support in the foreign field while incapacitated for his work. Some men, anxious to continue at their post, have remained for a period of two or three years after the failure of their health, unable to prosecute their work, and thereby have unavoidably subjected the missionary boards to a much heavier expenditure than would have carried them to their native land. In all chronic diseases, and in constitutional complaints likely to prove of long continuance, a wise economy would dictate the return of the missionary as soon as evidences of permanent illness are clearly established. A missionary without health, in most cases, is not only unfitted for his own work, but he is a heavy burden on his associates. They may be very willing and indeed most anxious to promote his comfort, but their attendance on his wants is given at the expense of other pressing engagements.

The question may be answered on higher grounds, those of the missionary's usefulness. He hopes to regain strength enough to return to his missionary field; this is his first desire. If this may not be granted, then his hope is, that he may serve the Board in some other department of labour. The results verify both, in the cases of different persons. The most celebrated, probably, of living missionaries was carried in 1835 by anxious persons on board a ship in an Asiatic port whose anchor was already weighed on her departure for Europe. His life was supposed to be trembling on the verge of the eternal world. Every means had been employed for his recovery, in vain; and as a last resort, his physicians

insisted on a long voyage at sea. But how could he leave his great work? What could his associates, then newly entered on the field, do without his counsels? These and other questions faded into insignificance in the apparent presence of death, and also in the eye of faith. The voyage was tried. The missionary was restored to health, honored in awakening a wide and deep interest in "India and Indian Missions" among the churches of his native land, and permitted to return to his chosen work, in which he is still labouring, and in which we trust he will yet spend many long years. The history of modern missions relates many examples of the same kind; and many, also, of missionaries unable to live in a tropical climate, whose lives were usefully spent in the gospel at home. We need not dwell on such familiar facts as these.

While these things cannot be gainsayed, there may remain a feeling of doubt whether sufficient caution is exercised by our Executive and Prudential Committees, in the appointment of those only whose prospect of health is decidedly good; and also a feeling of apprehension, whether missionaries have not themselves been too precipitate in resolving to leave their work. These doubts lie on the surface of the matter; they are among the first things to occur to the mind, in looking at this question. But a closer view of the subject presents different and deeper considerations, which tend to guard both the Committees and the missionaries from injudicious action. To the former, every motive of kindness to the missionary candidate and of consideration for his relations and friends, of regard for the confidence of the churches, of concern for the responsible work entrusted to their charge, enforces the exercise of all possible caution in the appointment of missionaries. The risk of mistakes in this matter cannot be lightly incurred by conscientious men. Nor are they likely to be made. A large amount of knowledge and experience is gradually acquired by our missionary officers on this subject, which is fully and anxiously brought to bear on the case of each applicant for the foreign work,—especially if the field of labour is in a tropical climate. Yet in despite of the best care, it will often be found that persons go abroad whose constitutions are unfitted for their new homes. Nor is this confined to the his-

tories of missionaries. All the caution of the most thorough medical examiners, fortified by every advantage in the immense establishments of the East India Company, does not prevent hundreds of soldiers being sent to India, who go there but to die, or to live but a short time. And to take another example from the same source, the death of scores of British officers does not check for a day the purpose of conquest. More men of distinction and of high social rank fell in the battles with the Sikhs than the American churches have ever sent as missionaries to India—each man mourned over by as wide a circle of personal friends as probably watch the career of any beloved missionary office-bearer in our foreign service. When their hopes are disappointed, our Missionary Committees will seldom have any reason for regretting their want of care in this matter; but they may often have to say, of the fall of labourers abroad as well as at home, "Even so Father! for so it seemed good in thy sight."

As to the missionaries themselves, the whole matter may in one view of it, be put in a nut-shell. A true missionary, one really worthy of being supported by the church, will never leave his work while he can help it. If he be unworthy to labour as a missoinary, of course the sooner he returns from the work the better. In another view of the matter, however, it is very difficult to convey an adequate idea of the feelings of disappointment and sorrow with which the missionary has at last to resolve on going home. The desires and hopes and plans of years resist this measure. The crowds of heathen round about him by their madness after their idols and their ignorance of the way of life, make the most impresssive appeals to every gracious feeling in his heart, not to leave them to die. His few brethren at the mission station, deeply sympathizing with him, and trying to support his faith and their own by speaking of the promises, yet disheartened at the threatened reduction of their small number; and their mingled tears often sway their judgment, and lead to his staying long after he should have taken his departure. The apprehension that the churches at home may not feel satisfied with the reasons of his return; the persuasion that many will stand in doubt of his integrity, or will give him credit only for

being fickle-minded: and still more the fear that the cause of missions itself, which he loves in the depth of his heart, will be injured by "so many missionaries returning;" these things will often prey keenly on a sensitive nature, and may prevent that course being followed, which the ablest medical advisers recommend as indispensable, which his missionary brethren cordially approve, and which his own best judgment dictates.

In this matter a man must throw himself upon God and the church. Let him do what he honestly believes to be his duty, and leave the consequences of his decision first to the judgment of his all-seeing and all-gracious Father, and then to the candour and intelligennce of the people of God. The end will be peace in his own mind, and no injury to the missionary cause. He may regret that he has not been permitted to continue in his chosen work, and may feel deeply humble under a conviction that he is not worthy of it; but the desire of it was in his heart, and this God will graciously accept. For the rest, what he knows not now, he hopes to know hereafter.

Before dismissing this point, we may add that the regulations of the Board in regard to it seems to be wisely framed. If a missionary finds his own health failing, or that of his wife, after using the best medical aid and obtaining medical counsel, he reports the matter to the Committee, with the action of the Mission to which he belongs. The parties immediately concerned, therefore, and those best acquainted with the object under consideration, are those who are called to act upon it; while their action in each case, must come under the review of the churches at home. This method seems to afford sufficient security against returns for insufficent reasons.

Connected closely with the general subject that has occupied the preceding pages, is another which we cannot now fully discuss. We refer to the opinion entertained by some of those who are most conversant with the missionary work, that it is expedient for missionaries to return home at the end of a given period, say ten or twelve years, on a temporary visit to their friends and the churches.

The objections to this, as a general measure of policy, are mainly two—the great expense involved by it, and the loss of

time to the missionary work. The expense would be nearly met by the missionary's salary during his absence being appropriated to the cost of the journey from his field of labour and returning to it. While in this country his expense would be small. The time taken from his direct missionary work is a more serious matter. These objections would seem conclusive, if such a return would not in the long run secure a larger amount of more effective missionary service. We are strongly inclined to think this would be the actual result. Experience teaches emphatically the frail nature of missionary life and health. This is not surprising. Most mission fields are in tropical climates, and most missionaries are from colder latitudes. Mental application, and Christian solicitude combine with the excessive and long continued heat, to prostrate the strongest constitutions. The missionary differs widely from most other foreigners in regard to the second of these things, and commonly in regard to the first also, while he has seldom the command of large pecuniary means that enables them to counteract in some degree the third. Other foreigners are comparatively men of leisure, free from exhausting solicitude, and able to live in the enjoyment of every comfort that money will command; and yet the European merchants and officers do not escape influences of an African or an Indian climate, though usually their residence in tropical countries extends to but a limited period. Between the wives of these gentlemen and the Christian women who adorn our missions, the comparison as to the probablities of health is still more unfavourable to the latter. But we cannot pursue this point; and we need only say that the wonder is not in such lands that so many missionaries sicken and die, but that they enjoy so large a measure of health and so long a lease of life. Still the brevity of the one and the uncertainty of the other have often forced on our minds the conviction, that it would be well for the church to try the effect of such a measure as the return of her missionaries on a visit, after a suitable period, to their native land. It would renew their youth, at any rate it would re-invigorate their constitution, and fit them to return to their chosen field, prepared to live longer and to work more efficiently in the vineyard of the Lord. If this should be the

result, then it would be a measure of economy instead of extravagance, and eventually the poor heathen would be gainers rather than losers by their temporary absence.

Other considerations recommend this line of policy. The intercourse of the returning missionaries with the churches would be mutually beneficial. It would enable our brethren to understand better the condition of the Christian community represented by them among the heathen, to keep abreast of the tide of public sentiment in the church and the country, to feel the mighty stimulus of intelligent and Christian mind after being wearied with the ignorance and stupidity of heathenism, to be cheered by the glow of Christian sympathy and affection after being in the solitariness of a vast multitude of aliens in thought and feeling; and on the other hand, it would spread among the churches an immense amount of missionary information, personal and particular, and it would bring the missionary work home to the minds and hearts of our church members as a common work for all, instead of a work for a few selected persons, as it is now too often considered. The result would be every way advantageous; or if otherwise—if in any excepted cases, "few and far between" we are sure they would be, it should be apparent that the returned missionaries were not well fitted for their work, it would be attended with comparatively little difficulty of arrangement or feeling to effect a change in their field of labour. In perhaps all cases, the churches and their missionaries would look for an increased interest in the Lord's work, from these seasons of missionary communion.

Does not a measure of this kind, moreover, throw a genial light upon the darkest feature of the life and work of a missionary, that which relates to the return of his children? It seems to be an unavoidable necessity that the children of missionaries in most heathen countries should be sent to a Christian land for their education, and in most cases for their permanent home. However wanting in parental affection it may appear to send away to a distant land, to dwell among strangers, the tender lambs of the flock, yet it is quite certain that no other principle than that same parental affection, with its depth penetrated and its warmth vivified by Chris-

tian feeling, would ever lead our missionary friends to consenting to make this greatest sacrifice of all. It is because they see and feel that it is essential to the temporal and spiritual well being of their beloved children that they send them to their fathers' home. In many heathen countries they cannot be so educated as at all to satisfy the judgment or the heart of a European or American Christian; it is with the greatest difficulty they can be saved from the contamination of a heathen example, the deadly blasts of a heathen atmosphere. It is almost impossible, moreover, indeed in the great majority of cases in India or China it is quite impossible to procure fitting employment for them when they grow up. The duty is plain, though it be inexpressibly painful, to part with them for their good—commending them to their covenant keeping God. It is a duty which has blanched many a mother's cheek, and unnerved the heart of strong men. It is a duty which an affectionate parent could perform only under the strongest convictions. Happy for such a parent—twice happy for the missionary mother, if when the last kiss has been given to the little ones on the beach, and the last look is taken of their dimly seen forms on the ship, she can say as she turns to her desolate home, in the heart-moving words of Mrs. Comstock, on the shores of Burmah: "O Saviour! I do this for thee." The missionary has hope that his children will be cared for by his friends and by the churches of his native land. And we are sure there is no other feeling here than that of sympathy and good will towards the children thus placed under the charge of our churches. But the feeling lies deep in every parent's heart, that if possible these separations should be so modified as not to be permanent. If the children become qualified to be missionaries, another door is opened in providence for their returning to their father's field of labour, there may be a re-union. Such instances have happily occurred, and will occur again; but they cannot become the general rule, any more than that all the sons and daughters of our ministers at home should become members of the tribe of Levi. Let it be the policy of the church, however, to welcome her missionaries back at the end of ten or twelve years, on a visit for the benefit of their health and

other worthy objects, and then parents can enjoy the satisfaction of making themselves the necessary arrangements for their oldest children, while if Providence spared their lives, another visit would keep up the acquaintance of parents and children, and afford the privilege of counsel and help in all needful plans for their future and common welfare.

With these views, we commend this important subject to the consideration of our readers.

ART. III.—*An Apology for the Septuagint, in which its Claims to Biblical and Canonical Authority are briefly stated and vindicated.* By E. W. Grinfield, M. A., Editor of the Hellenistic Greek Testament. London: Pickering. 1850. 8vo. pp. xii and 192.

We are more and more struck with the characteristic difference between the theological and biblical writers of Germany and England. We do not now refer to the great minds of either country but to the literary multitude in both. The difference of which we speak is that between the rigorous and formal method of the German and the desultory or colloquial freedom of the English school. Accustomed as we are to hear and speak of German speculation as the wildest that the world has known, we must not forget that even the abstrusest transcendentalism is propounded under formulas of systematic nomenclature and arrangement, which with us are only known in works of the severest scientific character. This fashion, in the hands of original and able writers, never loses its respectability. But when we get down to the third and fourth-rate men it often becomes quite bewildering, so that we gladly turn away from the formal treatise on some trivial subject, with its axioms, definitions, and endless subdivisions, to the desultory and colloquial style, in which the same theme is apt to be treated by a contemporary English writer of precisely the same calibre.

Any attempt to account for this diversity by tracing it to a

constitutional difference in the national mind, is forbidden by the fact that it has not always been so, and that even the most ordinary English theologians and interpreters of scripture in the seventeenth century were as formal and methodical as those of Germany are now. The true solution, we believe, is furnished by the different modes of education and of authorship which now prevail in the two countries. While the English candidate for orders, until very lately, might be said to have no systematic training for his work, nor any training at all beyond the course of his own desultory reading, the German student of theology is marched, with military rigour and precision, through a whole encyclopedia of "sciences" and "disciplines," primary, subordinate, and auxiliary. With the merits of the two modes of professional study we have nothing here to do, but only with their several effects on the externals of professional authorship; and these effects are obvious enough. They are rendered still more marked, however, by the concurrent action of another cause, closely connected with the one just mentioned, but still less remote. This is the difference in what a German would call the *genesis* of books in the two cases. As a general rule, all German works, on learned or professional subjects, are the work of teachers, and grow directly out of their instructions. The university professor prints his lectures, the gymnasial rector or conrector his synopses and collections. originally made for the use of his own pupils. So fixed and settled is this practice, that a work of any learning, or of much pretension to it, by a parish minister is always viewed with some disfavour, and the cases of such men as Bretschneider, Bähr, and Kliefoth, who have risen to high places in the church by literary no less than by clerical accomplishments, are perhaps mere exceptions to a general rule. This academic or scholastic origin of most learned German works affords a further explanation of the elementary preciseness and formality by which they are externally distinguished. Even where the name and outer garment of the lecture or the text-book is discarded, the simplicity with which the learned man begins at the beginning of his subject, and assumes the mind of his reader to be a *tabula rasa* with respect to it, and proceeds with measured step from

small to great, from known to unknown, often betrays the work-shop or the factory to which the *magnum opus* owes its existence. Take up a contemporary English book of corresponding character and equal merit, as to all substantial qualities, and the chances are that you will find it, even though composed in academical retirement, savouring less of the school or auditorium than of the parlour or the combination room, and exhibiting, instead of the elaborate and complicated methods which can scarcely be acquired without experience in teaching, the easy and meandering flow as well of thought as of expression which belongs to the spontaneous meditations of the scholar in his hours of leisure.

Of both these peculiarities there are numberless gradations, arising from personal or local causes, and it is only in extreme cases that either of them is absolutely ludicrous, a condemnation into which the German often falls when the Englishman escapes by his greater freedom from pretension. As to the comparative advantages and evils of the two modes, a reader's estimate is apt to differ at first view and after more mature consideration, and also according to the standard of comparison. At first sight, and ever after as a matter of mere taste, the German extreme strikes the cultivated reader as the error of a pedant or a pedagogue, the English one as that of an amateur or gentleman-scholar. After longer acquaintance, and when measured by a utilitarian rather than an aesthetical standard, the relative demerit of the two may assume a very different aspect. When the object is to while away an hour without wasting it, in a kind of scholarlike or learned indolence, an English book of the most desultory kind above described may be a truly welcome and agreeable companion. But when the object is to find out what the book contains, or what the author means, and why he thinks and teaches as he does, commend us to the most precise and priggish *Lehrbuch* with its infinitesimal divisibility of matter, but with every atom of the system in its right place and a place where you can find it, rather than to the most genteel and flowing allocution on the same theme, in which the whole appears to have no parts, or the parts, if any such there be, are, at the same time, everywhere and nowhere.

All this is by no means an ideal speculation, suggested by the name of transcendental Germany, but an experimental truth which, in the highest degree, savours of the realty. In other words, it is associated, in the closest manner, with the beautiful octavo now before us, which, in point of paper, ink, and press-work, is among the choicest products of the Chiswick press and of Pickering's Aldine book-manufactory. If the merits of publishers and printers could expiate the sins of authors, Mr. Grinfield might well claim to be acquitted without trial. But according to the common law of criticism, he must answer for himself, and of himself we know nothing beyond what we have gathered from this volume and the advertisements appended to it. From these we learn that he is a member of the Church of England; a Master of Arts, no doubt of Oxford or Cambridge; a classical scholar of no mean attainments; a devout believer in the inspiration and divine authority of Holy Scripture; a moderate and soberminded thinker upon all subjects which he touches except one; unusually free from all appearance of vanity or ambition; which is the more remarkable in one who has spent thirty years in a laborious and (to most men) uninviting study, the fruits of which he has given to the world in two works hitherto unknown to us, but of which we may hereafter give a more particular account. The first is a Hellenistic edition of the New Testament, in which it is explained by illustrations from the Septuagint; the other Hellenistic Scholia on the New Testament, derived from Philo and Josephus, the Apocrypha and Fathers. The almost exclusive study of Hellenistic Greek, for so long a period, while it must have placed him at the head of this his favourite department, has not failed to contract and distort his views of other subjects, and if not to originate at least to strengthen habits of weak and inconclusive reasoning, the more surprising because found connected both with learning and with moral qualities, which entitle their possessor to the most unfeigned respect. Of this logical deficiency, or intellectual disproportion, we have been painfully sensible in trying to obtain a clear view of the author's doctrine as propounded in the book before us, and of the grounds on which it rests, the result of which attempt, such as it is, we shall now proceed to lay

before our readers, with a few necessary comments of our own.

The title may be thought a misnomer by a superficial reader of the volume, because instead of being an *apology*, it really asserts a claim or pretension of the highest kind. But this is in strict accordance with the ancient and patristic usage of the Greek word, as applied to those intrepid arguments, in which the early champions of the Christian faith demanded for it, at the hands of heathen emperors and wise men, not toleration or indulgence, but submissive recognition, as of an infallible authoritative revelation. As the word *apology*, however, in its popular and modern acceptation, does not convey to the English reader the true character of Mr. Grinfield's doctrine, it is the more important that it be intelligibly stated, a service which it can hardly be said to have received at the hands of its respected author, but which even the humblest of his critics, who has ascertained his meaning, may, without the least presumption, undertake to do instead of him. That the reader may be in a situation to do justice to this statement and the comments which shall follow it, we beg leave to refresh his memory by a very brief preliminary statement, with respect to the history of opinion on the subject of the Septuagint Version.

The traditional history of its origin is well known. According to its most embellished form, the seventy-two translators, sent from Jerusalem to Egypt at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus, were shut up singly or two and two in cells, and produced as many independent versions, which were found on comparison to tally, word for word. The miraculous part of this account is wanting in the oldest narratives upon the subject. Whether either form of the tradition has respect to the Law in the wide sense as meaning the Old Testament, or in the strict sense as meaning the Pentateuch, is still a matter of dispute. That the whole was certainly not the work of the same hands, and probably not of the same age, is clear from the glaring inequality of the execution, and the difference of Greek style, idiom, and diction, in the several parts. Common to all accounts, and now universally admitted, are the facts, that this translation was completed long before the birth of Christ, and was in common use among the Jews at the time of his appearance.

The contemporary Jewish writers, Philo and Josephus, habitually quote it in their writings. The best historical critics are agreed that it was used even in the synagogues, wherever the Greek language was vernacular or generally known. In the New Testament itself it is continually quoted or referred to. Mr. Grinfield, whose protracted Hellenistic studies entitle him to speak with some authority, maintains that this is true to a far greater extent than is commonly alleged on one side or admitted on the other. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt, that the Hellenistic Jews, for many generations, received the Septuagint as an authentic version of their Scriptures. It is equally certain that they afterwards rejected it, and that between the advent of our Lord and the completion of the Babylonish Talmud in or before the sixth century of the Christian era, a feeling of hostility to this translation had begun to prevail among the learned Jews, and sometimes found vent in expressions still on record that are absolutely ludicrous. Such are the sayings often quoted, that darkness overspread the earth when the Septuagint version was completed, and that the sin of making it, if not of using it, was equal in atrocity to that of making or worshipping the golden calf.

This total change in the estimation of the Septuagint version by the Jews themselves is commonly ascribed to the virulence of anti-christian controversy. The advocates of Christianity after the first generation were familiar only with this form of the Old Testament, and their Jewish adversaries would naturally fall back on the inspired original, as well when the version really failed to give the true sense, as when worsted in argument and anxious for a pretext of retreat. At the same time, this effect would be promoted by the gradual disuse of the Greek language in extensive regions, where the Jews would naturally and most justly prefer the inspired original to a version never perfect and continually growing less intelligible. But whatever may have caused this revolution of opinion and of feeling in the Jews, there can be no doubt that it led, by a violent reaction, to the opposite extreme among the Christians. In proportion as one party learned to depreciate the Septuagint, and to insist upon the permanent and exclusive claims of the

inspired text, the adverse party, to whom that text was for the most part inaccessible, clung to the famous and time-honoured version which to them had so long held the place of an original. The honour which had practically thus been put upon it, now began to be even theoretically claimed for it. A version originally made in the noblest and most cultivated of all human tongues, and subsequently honoured by the composition of inspired books in the same dialect, and by the adoption of its religious terminology, as well as by direct quotations from it, might very plausibly be represented as itself invested with divine authority, and as having thereby superseded the original. This doctrine was not only soothing to the pride but indulgent to the ignorance and indolence of those who were familiar with Greek, either as their mother tongue or as the language of polite and learned intercourse, but who could only make themselves acquainted with Hebrew by laborious exertion, and who shared in the Greek and Roman prejudice against it as a language of Barbarians. From these and possibly from other causes, which we cannnot now stop to investigate, the Septuagint became established in the Greek Church, either in theory or practice, as the very word of God, to the virtual if not the nominal exclusion of the Hebrew text.

The next stage in the progress of opinion on this subject is one by no means difficult to trace. In proportion as Greek gave way to Latin in the western provinces, and Jerome's direct translation from the Hebrew supplanted the Greek version, there arose a party whose interest it was to deny the authority which had so long been conceded to the Septuagint. Many of these insisted on transferring the usurped pre-eminence to their own oracle, the Vulgate, while the more enlightened were content to claim it for the Hebrew text, as the inspired original. This claim was urged with new zeal at the time of the Reformation and the Revival of Letters which preceded it. Its advocates, however, still cherished a profound respect for the Septuagint, as a version venerable from its antiquity and signally honoured by our Lord and his apostles. The remarkable agreement, in a multitude of cases, between the New Testament quotations and this version, led some learned men to the conclusion, that although not inspired, it

presented the true sense of the original in a purer form than the existing Hebrew text, which they supposed to have been corrupted, either fraudulently by the Jews or inadvertently by others.

In opposition to this new view of the matter it was afterwards unanswerably argued, that in order to entitle any version to the preference above even a corrupted original, it must be proved to have been made before the alleged corruption, with strict correctness and fidelity, and to have been itself preserved from all corruption; requisitions which can never be complied with by this or any other ancient version. Whatever reasons, therefore, may exist for considering the Hebrew text corrupt, the very same reasons must forbid the substitution of a version for it. At the same time it was argued, that since the Hebrew text could not have been corrupted before Christ, or he would not have sanctioned it, both negatively, by his silence as to any such corruption, and positively, by appealing to the scriptures as they then existed; since the possibility of subsequent corruption was precluded by the mutual vigilance of Jews and Christians; and since the only motive of the Jews must have been the desire to expunge the proofs of Christ's Messiahship, which still exist, and are even said to be stronger in the Hebrew than in any ancient version; we have every reason to believe, that the Hebrew text has undergone less change than that of any ancient version, preserved in the ordinary way, without that extreme and almost superstitious scrupulosity, with which the Jews are known for ages past to have watched over their original scriptures.

The tendency of these considerations was to turn the tables, or invert the mutual relation of the Hebrew and Greek text of the Old Testament. Instead of alleging the corruption of the latter and the consequent necessity of appealing to the former, those who admitted the validity and force of the reasons just recited, but still cherished a traditional respect for the most ancient and most highly honoured of all versions, were obliged to harmonize their views on both points by maintaining that the Septuagint, although at first a perfect or at least a masterly translation, had itself been corrupted by the lapse of time, and was only entitled to

consideration so far as it could be shown to have escaped this alterative process.

From this ground the transition was an easy one to that extreme depreciation of the Septuagint, by which some modern schools of criticism have been distinguished and even characterized. Let it once be conceded that the advantage, not merely as to inspiration, but even as to purity of text, is on the side of the original, and the centrifugal force of these critics is so great as to forbid their stopping short of the opposite extreme. Their fundamental principle is All or Nothing. The Septuagint, if not an authoritative standard, must be absolutely worthless. If not a judge in the last resort, it cannot even be a witness. Such, when stripped of their sophistical disguises, are the shallow and precipitate reasonings, which have led some to the total and contemptuous neglect of this most ancient and important version.

But this ground is too hollow and factitious to be long occupied by candid and enlightened critics; and accordingly we find that in exact proportion as the strongest and the soundest minds of all schools and parties have been sensibly receding from other extreme doctrines in relation to the criticism of the scriptures, there has been a similar and simultaneous recession from this false position with respect to the Septuagint version. It may be regarded as one of the points on which the learned, after many oscillations of opinion, have at length subsided into an agreement, equally removed from the error of the Fathers who regarded the Septuagint version as a second revelation, by which the first had been legitimately superseded, and that of the contemporary Jews, who not content with rejecting its unauthorized pretensions to take precedence of the Hebrew text, repudiated and denounced it as an impious abomination. Individual exceptions there will always be; but the great majority of learned critics at the present day are just as unanimous in condemning both of these extremes, as in condemning those of Buxtorf and Parkhurst with respect to the vowel points, or those of the Hebraists and Purists with respect to the Greek of the New Testament.

Such is the wise and learned compromise, if such it may be called without awakening unfortunate associations, in which

the violent disputes and extreme doctrines of preceding ages have been forgotten but which the author of the work before us now seeks to disturb by the new and startling doctrine here propounded, which is neither simply an advance nor simply a recession, but a monstrous mixture of the two, combining one of the most antiquated forms of opinion on the subject with an inconsistent and incongruous extravagance never before heard of. The doctrine of the work before us is, that the Septuagint version is inspired, and precisely equal in canonical authority to the Hebrew text, or rather paramount to it, on account of its close affinity to the New Testament, arising from community of language, dialect, and diction, and from its being directly quoted in the New Testament itself.

We have called this a new and startling doctrine. Of its novelty, we think, there can be no doubt. Without pretending to assert, of our own knowledge, that it never has been broached before, we rely upon the absence of any such intimation by the author, who is not the man to seek a poor distinction by suppressing such a fact, if known to him. Without directly claiming it, so far as we remember, as his own, he does so indirectly by propounding it, not as a mere curious speculation, but as a practical remedy for evils which he thinks inseparable from all former views, or at least such as none of them has ever yet availed to cure. We call the doctrine startling on acount of the effect which it must have, if true, or if received as true; on the whole work of translating and interpreting the scriptures, and the obvious necessity of some contrivance by which interpreters may steer between a version and original alike and equally inspired, but in a multitude of cases quite irreconcileable.

For these reasons we propose to state, as briefly and clearly as we can, the grounds of Mr. Grinfield's theory, so far as we can ascertain them, scattered as they are throughout his volume, with an incoherence so extreme, that, to use a most expressive German figure, they might almost seem to have been snowed into it. From the first page of the text to the last page of the notes, there is a constant iteration of his theme, without ever seeming to satisfy himself by clear and full expression of his own ideas. The effect of this is aggravated by

a very helpless and inartificial style, rendered still more obscure by a peculiar mode of punctuation, which the author has invented for himself, with the usual result of rendering his sentences almost unreadable by others. These facts we are obliged to state in justification of our not attempting to give the author's arguments and reasons in his own words, which would either be impossible or useless, but with all fidelity, as if we were speaking for ourselves.

1. In the first place, Mr. Grinfield seems to think it a priori probable, that before the change from a local and temporary dispensation to an ecumenical and final one, the revelation which had been originally given in the language of the chosen people, and thereby sealed up from the world at large, would be transfused, under Divine direction, into a language more extensively known and common to all civilized and cultivated nations. Such a transfusion would at least make the analogy between the Word and Church of God more perfect. As the latter was to undergo a total change of form before the change of dispensations and in order to it, why should not the former undergo a like change for precisely the same purpose? Now there was such a version of the Hebrew scriptures made, in the interval between the Old and New Testament, into what was then becoming the κοινὴ διάλεκτος of the civilized world, and under circumstances certainly remarkable, even when stripped of all mythical embellishment. Can this coincidence be purely accidental or without significance? Such seems to be the a priori argument for Mr. Grinfield's doctrine, ever present to his mind, though nowhere very clearly stated.

2. This antecedent probability, arising from the mutual relation of the old and new economy, our author seems to think confirmed by the fact, that when the New Testament was written, it was written in the very language of this ancient version; not merely in Greek, but in that very kind of Greek, that strange local or provincial Greek, the earliest specimens of which are furnished by the Septuagint version. Why was not the New Testament, as well as the Old, written in Hebrew? Because it was no longer meant to be a local but a universal revelation? Why then not in Attic Greek, or in the Macedonian dialect, to which the conquests of Alexander had

imparted such extensive currency? Our author's answer to this question, if we rightly apprehend him, is, because the Old Testament had already been translated into Greek, and thus provided an appropriate idiom and vocabulary for the new revelation.

3. In accordance with this view of the matter, it is urged, that the whole religious terminology or theological nomenclature of the New Testament, instead of being borrowed from the classics or invented *de novo*, is derived in mass from the Septuagint version. This is one of the most interesting points of Mr. Grinfield's argument, and one which his peculiar studies must have specially prepared him to illustrate. But we look in vain for any detailed statement of the facts in this book, and can only hope to find it in one or the other of his Hellenistic works already mentioned. His argument derived from it appears to be, that this use of the version by inspired writers puts it on a footing of equality with the New Testament itself.

4. The grand argument, however, upon which our author seems to rest, is the use made of the Septuagint in quotation. Why should inspired writers quote it, even where it differs from the Hebrew, if it was not a part of scripture, and as such entitled to be so used, as a matter not of mere convenience but of right and duty? Mr. Grinfield strives to fortify this argument, which is in fact his main defence, by urging that this use of the Greek version is far more extensive than has usually been imagined even by its advocates. For the detailed proof of this general statement he seems to refer to his Hellenistic edition of the New Testament. But whether it be true or false, is a question which can only affect the force and not the validity of the argument. For this reason we shall not dispute it, but allow it all the weight which Mr. G. considers it as adding to this part of his ratiocination.

5. We hardly know whether we should mention, as an independent argument, a reason upon which the author lays great stress, and of which he speaks repeatedly with great excitement, as a new and wonderful discovery, imparted to himself, he almost seems to think, by special revelation. This is the supposed fact, that our Saviour, in his childhood, was taught

to read the Septuagint version. However interesting such a fact may be historically, we are wholly at a loss to understand the weight attached to it by Mr. Grinfield in this argument. It seems to have occurred to him after he began to write the work before us, and to have so affected his religious sensibilities, that without attempting any proof of the alleged fact, or showing how it is to be applied, he merely dwells upon it in a kind of rapture, which is much more edifying than convincing.

6. Subsidiary to these arguments is one derived from certain practical effects which have resulted and, according to our author, must result from a refusal to regard the Septuagint version as canonical and equally inspired with the Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament. We were struck, in our perusal of the volume, with the number and variety of evils, which the author, sometimes quite ingeniously, derives from this unsuspected source. The greater number we have quite forgotten, having taken no pains to record them, and are not disposed to go back now in search of them. Two of the most important, which we still retain, may serve as samples of the rest. The first is what the author more than once describes as German and American neology, for which "bad eminence" our country is indebted to the learned skepticism of Mr. Norton. This neology is traced, we scarcely know by what means, to the neglect of Hellenistic learning and exclusive study of the Hebrew scriptures. A more plausible deduction of the same sort is the one that traces to this origin the Judaizing spirit of the Puritans and Millennarians. These however are mere adjuncts to the main arguments before recited, with which they must either stand or fall, and to which the comments which we have to offer will be consequently limited.

Our first remark is, that the arguments adduced by Mr. Grinfield either prove too little or too much. If, as he quietly assumes, "things must be as they may," if possibility, necessity, and certainty, are all identical or mutually presuppose each other, then he has certainly demonstrated, that an inspired translation of the Hebrew Scriptures not only might but must be made before the change of dispensations, and that only such a version could have possibly supplied the terms required to express the peculiar truths of Christianity, and that

from such a version only could our Lord and his apostles possibly have quoted. But if all this, though admitted to be possible, and therefore credible when proved, cannot be proved at all; if an uninspired and imperfect version, providentially provided, would have answered all the purposes in question; if from such a version the inspired writers of a later date might be led to draw their terms and their quotations, under a divine direction shielding them from error; then the fact that all this really took place is no proof that the Septuagint version was really inspired, but only that it was employed in the promotion of a great and glorious providential purpose, which we heartily believe and are as ready to maintain as Mr. Grinfield can be.

If, on the other hand, it be assumed, that an inspired Greek version was essential to the end proposed, the argument proves too much for our author's purpose, since it proves that the Hebrew text was thenceforth useless, being superseded by a version equally inspired, and therefore really a new revelation, adapted and intended to succeed and do away the old; which is precisely the old doctrine held by some of the Fathers, and the practical belief of the Greek Church at this day, against which Mr. Grinfield here protests with more solemnity than logic.

But the fatal objection to this doctrine is, that the inspired text and the inspired version do not agree. It is in vain that Mr. Grinfield tries to overcome this difficulty, by maintaining that the Hebrew must be interpreted according to the Septuagint. There are cases in which this would be as hopeless as to make one verse in the translation determine the sense of an entirely different verse in the original. Our author strives indeed to do the impossible, by pretending that our knowledge of the meaning of Hebrew words is derived from the Septuagint version. He might almost as well say that our knowledge of Homer is derived from Virgil. The meaning of most words in the Hebrew Bible is as well ascertained by tradition, usage, and analogy, as those of any other ancient writings. This notion belongs to a system or a school which we had fondly believed to be long since exploded, but which seems to linger still in England. Its resuscitation here is only one of many proofs, that Mr. Grinfield has no very profound knowledge of the Hebrew

language. If he had, this book must have contained at least some incidental proof of it. If he had, he could scarcely have confounded the Samaritan Pentateuch with the Samaritan Version, as he seems to do on p. 169. If he had, he could not possibly have entertained such superstitious notions as to the terrible obscurity and difficulty of the language, upon which his doctrine with respect to the necessity of an inspired version seems to rest. All these erroneous prepossessions would be instantly dispelled by the most elementary knowledge of the language itself. If our suspicions as to this point are well founded, we cannot regard it as a proof of Mr. Grinfield's wisdom, that he should have spent thirty years in studying the version without ever seeking to compare it with the original, which he admits to be equally inspired. We can only explain this by supposing, what is probable for other reasons, that his recognition of the Hebrew text is merely nominal, and that to all practical intents and purposes he looks upon the Septuagint version as complete in itself and all-sufficient.

If, on the other hand, he really believes, that the Hebrew and Greek texts are co-ordinate parts of the inspired canon, how can he account for the irreconcileable discrepancies between them? That such discrepancies exist is as notorious to all who have compared them, as that Greek and Hebrew are written in opposite directions. If their existence is accounted for by assuming a corruption of the text, on which side are we to assume it? Why should the inspired original be suffered to become corrupt any more than the inspired version? Or why should a version be inspired and then abandoned to corruption, so as to defeat its very purpose? And if either is essentially corrupted, what assurance have we that the other is not? If it be said that the truth sometimes lies on one side and sometimes on the other, then as wide a door is opened to the discretion or caprice of the interpreter, as by any of those systems of neology which fill the mind of Mr. Grinfield with horror.

Little as we have said, it is enough, we think, to show, that of all conceivable hypotheses, in reference to the mutual relation of the Greek and Hebrew text of the Old Testament, this is the most improbable a priori, as well as the most destitute

of proof a posteriori; the most irrational in theory, as well as the most inconvenient, useless, and unsafe in practice. We are far from denying that our author's arguments, though loosely and confusedly expressed, have some plausibility and force; but in the same degree that this is true, they tend not to establish his belief but to refute it. They all prove either nothing or too much. The shafts of his logic either fall short of the mark, or shoot beyond it towards the very point which he was anxious to avoid. So far as they have any force, they all go to demonstrate that the Hebrew text of the Old Testament is either sufficient or superfluous.

A more inventive or less candid writer might have framed, out of the very same materials, a theory which, although false, would not have been so easily refuted. By alleging that the Septuagint text was not a version but a new and improved form of the Old Testament revelation, designed to supersede the Hebrew text forever, every one of the absurdities and contradictions which embarrass Mr. Grinfield's mongrel system might have been avoided, and every one of the important ends at which he aims accomplished. It is to this conclusion, though he does not seem to know it, that his a priori argument legitimately tends. For this he might have urged the analogy of the Hebrew and Greek Matthew, as now explained and held by many eminent authorities. In this way too he would have freed himself from the necessity of reconciling two co-ordinate but inconsistent revelations, a necessity which now hangs like a millstone round the neck of this beloved but predestined whimsey.

But while such a doctrine would have been exempt from most of the objections which are urged against the one before us, it would still have been exposed to one, extremely simple but extremely fatal. The captivating theory which we have sketched has every thing to recommend, embellish, and confirm it, if it can only be proved to be true. But alas, this is precisely what cannot be done. The common-sense view of the matter to which all judicious critics, and indeed all plain men who investigate the subject, will still come back at last, is, that if we once admit the divine origin of the Hebrew Scriptures to be fairly proved—and this hypothesis is common to all the theories of which we have been speaking—we are bound by every law of

reason and religion to hold fast to it, until it can be shown to have been abrogated, not by an ingenious array of probabilities and plausible analogies, but by direct conclusive evidence, as clear and strong as that which demonstrates the original inspiration of the Hebrew Bible. But how immeasurably far short of such evidence does that fall, which consists in showing that a Greek Old Testament was greatly needed, and that Christ and his Apostles used it as a storehouse of religious phraseology and a source of illustrative quotation. All this might have been done with an inspired and faultless version; but it might also have been done with a human and imperfect one; and therefore the bare fact that it was done can prove nothing, either one way or the other.

From the publication of this volume we should be happy to anticipate two benefits. The first is the confirmed belief of the true doctrine, which it labours among others to demolish. The second is a general return to the enlightened, rational, and diligent study of the Septuagint version, not apart from the Hebrew text and in a kind of opposition to it, which can only lead to such results as those developed in the book before us, but in such connection with it and subordination to it, as will furnish the best safeguards against both extremes, that of ignorant or prejudiced depreciation, as well as that of overweening admiration and idolatrous attachment.

ART. IV.—*Communion—The difference between Christian and Church Fellowship, and between Communion and its Symbols; embracing a Review of the arguments of the Rev. Robert Hall, and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, in favour of Mixed Communion.* By G. F. Curtis, A. M., Professor of Theology, Harvard College, Ala. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, in Arch Street. 1850.

WE are not surprised that the subject of Free Communion is beginning to attract the attention of the American Baptist brethren in this country, as it has of the churches of that de-

nomination in England. Booth and Fuller laboured hard to support the sectarian principle of close communion: but by the arguments of Robert Hall in favour of free communion among all true Christians, a great change has come over the ministers and members of the Baptist churches in that country; so that it is said, the practice is likely to be prevalent through that respectable and orthodox body of Christians, especially since the Rev. Baptist Noel has come out so strongly in its favour.

The subject has been but little agitated, publicly, by the Baptist Churches in America. They have continued to maintain great unanimity and conformity with one another on this point. But we venture to predict that the time is rapidly approaching, when this subject will agitate the church from the centre to the circumference of the body. The wave is already in motion, which threatens, at last, to sweep away this exclusive schismatic principle of restricted communion from the face of the Protestant world.

This is a principle which sets up an exclusive barrier between the communion of real Christians, who cannot but love one another. Sooner or later, it must come down. The religious spirit of our age has a strong tendency to free communion among all who love the Lord Jesus Christ; and this current is so strong, that it is bearing the pious Baptist along with it; at first, against his principles; and next, by leading him to renounce those narrow views which restrain him from communing with those whom he acknowledges to be his brethren, and whom he sincerely loves as belonging to Christ, and bearing his image.

Although this subject has not been much agitated in this country, many pious members of the Baptist Church have often been troubled and perplexed in regard to it. They have not been able to understand why the disciples of Christ, who recognise each other as such, should be kept apart from Christian communion and fellowship, on account of a difference of opinion and practice, relative to another ordinance, which both parties acknowledge to be a divine institution, and obligatory on Christians. There is, doubtless, a strong undercurrent of such sentiments, among many of the most pious and ex-

emplary members of the Baptist Churches. Their hearts say it ought not to be so; and even if they cannot answer the arguments which are brought to convince them, and therefore continue quiet, yet, when the subject comes to be agitated, this under-current will in many places break forth into a resistless torrent, and, when a good opportunity offers, the tide of brotherly-love will sweep away, as was before said, these sectarian barriers.

It has appeared to us, that the new invented distinction between the theology of the understanding and the theology of the feelings, is wonderfully applicable to this case. A pious Baptist happens to be present among Christain friends, when the Lord's Supper is about to be celebrated. He has joined with them cordially in social acts of prayer and praise, and received the word as dispensed by them, with comfort and edification. But now, he must withdraw. These Christian friends, though they esteem themselves baptized, yet have never been immersed. His heart is with them, but his adopted creed says, "Touch not—handle not;" you must not commune in the Lord's Supper, with these lambs of Christ. No wonder, that the feelings of the heart, on some occasions, cause the pious to break over the sectarian restraints which have been laid on them.

That any persons, who are acknowledged to be the disciples of Christ, can with propriety be excluded from the Lord's table, is a thing so strange and so opposed to all those feelings of fervent brotherly-love, which belong to the Christian temper, that the arguments to establish it should carry with them the force of demonstration. Whether they do possess this force, we shall not at present inquire. Whatever they be, the Baptist churches in these United States have generally been satisfied with them; and have resolutely and almost unanimously shut the door against the Christains of all other denominations. The practical inconvenience of such exclusion is not considerable, except in those cases where pedobaptists live among them and are far removed from the churches of their own creed. In the case of such, there is a real hardship, as these persons, separated from their own communion, would rejoice in the privilege of remembering the death of Christ

at his table, in the use of those symbols which he has instituted. But in regard to the great body of Christian people, who have churches of their own where they can and do resort, periodically to celebrate the Lord's Supper, they suffer no privation in consequence of the close communion of their Baptist brethren. For they seldom commune in other churches than the one of which they are members, even of the same denomination and situated near them; and if the communion of the Baptist churches were ever so free, they would seldom see Christians of other denominations coming to their communion. The subject, in this practical view, is quite unimportant. It is on account of the great principle involved, that it becomes a matter of real consequence.

To exclude from the communion of the church any of the real disciples of Christ, is, in our view, inconsistent with the clearest principles of Christian duty. It violates the best and warmest feelings of piety; and often when from argument or it is believed to be necessary, it is difficult to keep a heart warmed with brotherly affection from rising in revulsion against the exclusive principle.

The following facts, known to us, will serve to illustrate what has now been said. A distinguished preacher,* in Virginia, who had been imprisoned for many months in a loathsome jail for preaching the gospel, happened to be present when the Lord's Supper was administered in a Presbyterian church, in which he had been brought up. It was a time of love. The hearts of God's people were melted together, and drawn out in love to the Saviour; this pious minister participated in the blessed, uniting feeling; and when the table was spread and the invitation given by the pastor to all that loved the Lord Jesus to come forward and commemorate the love of a dying Saviour, he could not resist the impulse of his Christian feelings, and came forward with the other communicants and took his seat at the table of our common Lord. And who that understands the nature of the union which subsists among real Christians can blame the act? He obeyed the command of his Master, and held sweet communion with persons, whom

* Rev. John Weatherford.

he believed to be the genuine disciples of Christ. But he violated the law of his church, and was in due form cited to answer for the offence. On being arraigned, he candidly confessed that, overcome by his feelings, he had acted contrary to his cool judgment of what was proper, and expressed sorrow for the offence given to his brethren. Oh what a humiliation! He never could repent of the feelings which impelled him, nor of the act of obeying the command of his Saviour. But he had transgressed the rules of the Baptist church; and the good man felt bound to give satisfaction to his complaining brethren. It would be hard for any one to persuade us, that his conduct in this case was disapproved by Jesus Christ, the Master of the feast.

The following event occurred in the same part of the country, and not far from the same time with that just mentioned. A very pious young Presbyterian, and a candidate for the ministry, happened to be present at a Baptist meeting, when the Lord's Supper was about to be solemnized; and when the table was spread, hearing the officiating minister inviting all persons of regular standing in sister churches to come forward and join in the communion, he supposed, that by sister-churches, were meant, professing Christians of other denominations; and he accordingly came forward among the communicants; and the deacons had not the resolution to prevent the desecration of the ordinance, by removing him! But when, afterwards, he learned his mistake, he was greatly mortified at having obtruded himself on the communion of a church, which viewed him as altogether unworthy to partake with them of the emblems of the Saviour's broken body and shed blood; and yet this young man, as he then appeared, and as he has since proved by half a century of holy living, was as dear to Christ as any one of the company of believers with which he by mistake communed.

When the Baptist missionaries to the heathen are visited by their brethren of pedobaptist communions, they find it very difficult to carry out their exclusive principles. The late Captain Wickes, of Philadelphia, informed us, that when he carried to India, the Rev. W. Ward, and several other missionaries, some of whom were sent by the London Missionary

Society, he spent some time at Serampore, the principal station of the Baptist missionaries. When the time of administering the Lord's Supper came round, the Baptist brethren were put to a severe trial. They had treated Captain Wickes, a man of eminent piety, and the London missionaries, with the utmost cordiality and kindness, as beloved brethren, and should they now sit down at the Lord's table in the midst of the heathen, and exclude two beloved brethren from their communion! No: they could not do it. Brotherly-love broke over the barriers of sect, and although in England Carey and Ward and all the rest had been strong in favour of close communion, they, on this occasion, gave it up, and these brethren all sat down together as became good Christians; and, in our opinion, this cordial reception of beloved Christian brethren engaged in the same missionary work, by the Baptist church of Serampore, will never be imputed to them as a sin by the great Head of the Church.

The Rev. Dr. Cox, one of the most distinguished Baptist preachers in London, in a late speech informs the public, that on a certain occasion, when he happened to fall among Christian brethren of another denomination, when they surrounded the table of the Lord, he felt it to be his duty to withdraw; but he announced, that now his views on that subject were entirely changed, so that he felt free to hold communion at the Lord's table with all true Christians.

About the same time, without any concert or knowledge of each other's design, two of the greatest preachers living, the one in the Great Britain, the other in the United States, took up their pens to defend the doctrine of free communion among Christians. It will readily be understood that the reference is to Robert Hall and John M. Mason of New York. The latter of these clergymen, at that time, was a minister of the Associate Reformed Church, which maintained close communion, gives us the following account of the circumstances which led him and his flock into the practice of communing with Christians of another denomination: "In August, 1810, a combination of circumstances wholly providential, being unsought and unexpected by all concerned, led the third Associate Church in the city of New York, then recently formed

under the ministry of Dr. John M. Mason, to hold their assemblies in the house belonging to the church under the care of Dr. John B. Romeyn, a minister of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in North America. As the hours of service were different, the one congregation succeeding the other in the same place on the same day, the first effect of this arrangement was a partial amalgamation of the two societies in the ordinary exercises of public worship—the next, a mutual esteem growing out of mutual acquaintance with each other, as united in the same precious faith; and, finally, after a very short time, invitations on both sides to join in commemorating, at his own table, the love of that Saviour, who gave himself for them an offering and a sacrifice to God of a sweet smelling savour. The invitations were as cordially accepted as they were frankly given. The bulk of the members of both churches, as well as some belonging to correlate churches, mingled their affections and their testimony in the holy ordinance. The ministers reciprocated the services of the sacramental day, and the communion thus established has been perpetuated with increasing delight and attachment, and has extended itself to ministers and private Christians of other churches."

This departure from the custom of his church by Dr. Mason, did not pass without censure from many who belonged to that denomination, which gave occasion to his writing and publishing his treatise in defence of free communion. We have given this brief account of the origin of this treatise, because, instead of forming an argument for ourselves, we choose to adopt the language of this eminent man, in exhibiting our views on this subject.

Dr. Mason deems it expedient, in his argument, to go to first principles; and begins by stating the doctrine of the unity of the Church of Christ. In proof of this he adduces one scriptural argument, "As the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ. For by one spirit we are all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have all been made to drink into one spirit. For the body is not one member but many.

In these words, Paul lays down certain indisputable principles, concerning the natural body.

1. That the multitude of its members does not destroy its unity, nor their relation to it as a whole.

2. That their union with the body is the foundation of all the value, beauty and excellence of the members in their respective places.

3. That the efficiency of the members consists in their united co-operation, as parts of a common whole—that there should be no schism in the body.

4. That from their union with the body, there result, by a divine constitution, a communion of interests, a sympathy of feeling, and a reciprocation of benefits—that the members should have the same care one for another, and whether one member suffer all the members suffer with it, or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it.

"The use of this similitude Paul declares to be an illustration of the unity of the church, and of the intimate communion of believers. Now ye are the body of Christ and members in particular.

"It is true that the apostle turns his argument directly against the contentions in the Corinthian church, about the superiority or inferiority of public offices and spiritual gifts; and it is also true that the principles of his argument are general, and equally applicable to every thing which tends to cherish among Christians a party feeling, at the expense of weakening the sense of their union; or of interrupting their communion as members of the body of Christ; are never intended to be so applied. Moreover, the apostle himself extended his argument to matters, which without affecting the substance of our faith, hope, or duty, do yet produce great diversity of opinion and habit, and has shown that they ought not to infringe on Christian union; nor consequently upon the expression of it in Christian communion.

"Finally, the apostle opposes the spirit of ecclesiastical faction to the spirit of Christian love. This heavenly grace is above prophecies, tongues, knowledge, the faith of miracles, the most magnificent alms, the very zeal of martyrdom. Now this love, the only cure for the gangrene of party strife—the

most characteristic feature of Christ's image in a renewed man—the most precious fruit of his grace, and yet the fruit which the bulk of his professed followers seem to think themselves under hardly any obligations to cultivate—this love is said to originate in the love of God shed abroad in the heart, and to be drawn out to the brethren precisely on this account because they are the children of God—the disciples of Christ—and therefore not on account of their adherence to one or another denomination, however sound it may be in the faith. Hereby, said the Saviour, shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love to one another. Every one, adds the beloved John, who lay in his bosom and drank deeply into his spirit, Every one that loveth Him that begat, loveth him also that is begotten of him. And surely, the description which Paul has given of Christian love, corresponds to any thing else as well as to that gloomy distance and sour disdain, which are cherished by some professors towards others, of whose graces the light at least is equal to their own; and which, by a hardihood not easily attained or equalled, are converted into testimony for Jesus Christ." The eloquent author having considered the analogy which the apostle draws between the natural body and tht church, gathers from it the following results, viz.:

"1. The body of Christ is one.

"2. Every member of this body has, by a divine constitution, utterly independent of his own will, both union and communion with any other member, as infallibly as hands and feet, eyes and ears and nose, are by the very constitution of the physical body, united together as parts of a whole, and sympathize with each other accordingly.

"3. The members of this body of Christ have a common and inalienable interest in all the provision which God has made for its nutriment, growth, and consolation; and that simply and absolutely because they are members of that body. Therefore;

"4. the members of the church of Christ, individually and collectively, are under a moral necessity, i. e., under the obligation of God's authority, to recognise each other's character and privileges, and consequently, not to deny the tokens of

such recognition. Sacramental communion is one of these tokens: therefore the members of the church of Christ as such are under obligation of God's authority to recognise their relation to Christ and each other, by joining together in sacramental communion. Nor has any church upon earth the power to refuse a seat at the table of our Lord to one whose 'conversation is as becometh the gospel.'

"This general conclusion, flowing irrefragably from the scriptural doctrine of the unity of Christ's body, and the union and communion of its members, is illustrated and confirmed by a consideration of the *tenure* by which all Christian churches and people hold their Christian privileges.

"None whom these pages address will pretend that there are no true Christians in the world but themselves, and no true church but their own—that all others are mere heathen; and all their churches synagogues of Satan. The very idea of such arrogance is abhorred by those whose feelings and practice are most adverse to free communion. They profess to acknowledge and honour other churches—to rejoice in the gifts and graces of other Christians—to account them as 'dear children of God,' as 'brethren beloved' in the common Redeemer. This is all right—Christian like—just as it should be. But does it never appear to these good men so much as incongruous to decline taking a family-meal with any of the household of faith, who do not happen to occupy the same apartment with themselves; to own them as 'saints,' and 'precious saints,' and yet deny them the provision which belongs to saints? And at the moment of greeting them as brethren, *beloved* brethren, to tell them, 'You shall not have at the table where we sup, one crumb of the bread nor one drop of the wine which Jesus, your Lord and ours, has given to you as well as to us?' This is certainly an original way of expressing *love!* But to press the matter a little closer, these true churches and Christians, have a right to the holy sacraments, or they have not. If not, it is a contradiction to call them true churches; the rightful possession of the sacraments being essential to a true church. They have then such a right. How did they obtain it? By a grant from the Lord Jesus Christ, unquestionably. He gave all church privileges

to his church catholic; and from this catholic grant do all particular churches derive their right and property in whatever privileges they enjoy. Other true churches hold their right to all church privileges by the very same tenure by which we hold ours; and consequently the members of those churches have the same right to the table of the Lord as our own. By what authority then does any church undertake to invalidate the right bestowed by Christ himself? And what less, or what else does she attempt, when she refuses to admit Christians from other particular churches to the participation of any ordinance which Christ has established for common use? The sacramental table is spread—I approach and ask for a seat. You say, no. Do you dispute my Christian character? Not in the least. Why then am I refused? You do not belong to our Church. *Your* church! What do you mean by *your* church? Is it any thing more than a branch of the Christian church? Whose table is this? Is it your Lord's? If yours and not hers, I have done. But if it is the Lord's, where did you acquire the power of shutting out from its mercies any one of his people? I claim my seat under my Master's grant; show me your warrant for interfering with it. Methinks it would require a stout heart to encounter such a challenge; and that the sturdiest sectarian upon earth, not destitute of the fear of God, should pause and think before he ventured on a final repulse. The language of such an act is very clear and daring. 'You have indeed, Christ's invitation to his table; but you have not *mine;* and without mine his shall not avail.' Most fearful! Christ Jesus says, '*Do this in remembrance of me.*' His servants rise to obey his commands, and a fellow-servant, acting in the name of that Christ Jesus, under the oath of God, interposes his veto, and says, 'you shall not.' Whose soul does not shrink and shudder! Place it in another light. Is it, or is it not the *duty* of Christians in all true churches to show forth the Lord's death in the sacrament of the supper? If it is their duty, how should an act of communion in 'the body and blood of the Lord' be lawful and commanded in our church, and be lawful and forbidden to that same person in another? How should two persons both honour the Redeemer, by communicating in their

respective churches, and both dishonour him in the very same thing, if they should happen to exchange places?"

The foregoing argument of Dr. Mason was not written with any special relation to the opinions and practice of the Baptist society; but they bear with equal weight upon them as on the Seceders, against whose opinions they were directed.

Hitherto, we have made no remarks on the arguments employed by the author under review. It is pleasing to find that he writes in a Christian spirit, and acknowledges the Christian character of those who, he labours to prove, should not be admitted to the communion of the Lord's Supper, by the Baptists. Indeed, he maintains, that it is the duty of all Christians to hold some kind of communion with all the true followers of Christ. He occupies a whole chapter in the inculcation of this duty; that is, "Fellowship with Christians as such, and not as members of any particular visible church." His object, he says, "is to illustrate what will hardly be denied; that as Christians we must and ought to have fellowship with those whom we esteem Christians, as such, though they may not be members of our own, or of any particular visible church, but of Christ's mystical body, the church universal."

After this liberal concession it will appear difficult to reconcile these opinions with the close communion of the Baptist churches. But this the author attempts by taking a distinction between Christian and Church communion. While he admits and maintains the former as the duty of all Christians, he insists that the latter properly appertains to members of the same particular, visible church. Or, if occasional communion be ever held with members of other churches, it should be with such only as they could admit to full membership. The author has much to say about the symbols of communion; all of which, in our judgment, has no tendency to establish the distinction which he makes. Indeed as this distinction is entirely new, it is also arbitrary, having no foundation in scripture, or in the nature of the case. It will be forever impossible, while it is admitted that certain persons are the real disciples of Christ, and that we are bound to maintain Christian communion with them, lawfully to exclude them from the

Lord's table; which is an institution intended for all Christians. Let us suppose a case. A pious Pedobaptist resides in the midst of a Baptist population, but remote from any church agreeing with him on the subject of baptism. He is well known to his Baptist brethren, and they cannot doubt his piety, because his whole life and conversation are such as become the gospel. When the Lord's Supper is about to be partaken of, he applies to the Baptist Church for the privilege of sitting down with them at the table of their common Lord; but he is refused, and informed, that unless he will agree to be immersed he cannot be admitted. He may expostulate and plead that they admit him to be a brother, a disciple of Christ, and join with him in other acts of worship, and why not in this, which seems to have been appointed as a communion of saints. But the refusal is peremptory. This church of professing Christians takes upon them the responsibility of preventing an acknowledged disciple of Christ from obeying his dying command. They take upon them to prevent a real servant of God from receiving edification and comfort, by an attendance on an ordinance instituted by Christ for this very purpose, and greatly beloved of God for the promotion of these very ends. Christ has renewed this man, and has given him his Spirit to dwell in him, of which he exhibits all the evidence which can be demanded by any church; him whom Christ receives and acknowledges as his disciple, his professed disciples refuse to admit to Christ's table! Can any reasoning about symbols of communion, and the necessity of preserving the primitive doctrine of baptism, prove this to be right? Impossible.

But we shall be met here with the *argumentum ad hominem*, that the Baptists act in this matter on precisely the same principles as the Pedobaptists; for these will not admit any person to the communion of the Lord's Supper who has not been baptized. This argument, at best, proves nothing; for if Pedobaptists in similar circumstances, act on the same principles as the Baptists, it only proves that they are illiberal too; and debar from the Supper persons whom they acknowledge to be his disciples. But let us look at the argument. Pedobaptists have no occasion to act on the principle adopted

by the Baptists; for a case can scarcely occur in which a person will apply for admission to the Lord's Supper, who is not also willing to submit to baptism; and as a matter of *order* they will baptize the applicant before he is admitted to the Lord's Supper. The case of the Quakers is commonly brought forward. But it is irrelevant; for Quakers repudiate all sacraments, and never apply for admission to the Lord's Supper. The author reports a case of a Quaker applying to Bishop White for admission to this ordinance, of which we never heard, nor of any one like it; and until we see the evidence of its reality, we cannot give it the least credit. But it should be considered that the Quakers not only reject the Sacraments, but maintain such opinions concerning the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, and concerning their own inspiration, that holding such errors, they could not commonly be received into orthodox churches; if no difficulty respecting baptism stood in the way.

Moreover, the Quakers do not pretend that they have ever been baptized with water, but the Pedobaptists conscientiously believe, that true infant baptism is agreeable to the Scriptures; and this puts them in very different circumstances from the Quakers, and those who repudiate all the Sacraments of the church and the ministry also. We will, however state a case which recently occurred, which will serve to illustrate what has been said. A convert from Romanism applied to be received into a Presbyterian church. The minister and session of the church had adopted the opinion, now very prevalent, that Romish baptism was not Christian baptism, and they proposed to the applicant, of whose piety they entertained no doubt, to be re-baptised; but to this he resolutely objected, alleging that his baptism in the Romish Church was valid, and of course refused to be re-baptised. There was a case, similar to that of a Pedobaptist applying to a Baptist church. They think that he has never received Christian-baptism; but he is confident that he has. Now, in the case mentioned, the applicant was admitted, after all arguments to convince him proved unavailing.

And here, it may be remarked, by the way, that those learned Italians, who have recently forsaken the Roman

Catholic Church, and some of whom have taken refuge in this country, do commonly believe that their baptism is valid. A learned Capuchin, who had been a public preacher in Italy for twenty years, assured us, that this was his decided opinion; and he expressed some indignation at the idea of being required to be re-baptised.

But let us now try to make out what would be considered a parallel case by the Baptists; although it can scarcely ever occur. A person, who appears to be sincerely pious and desires to obey all the commandments of the Lord Jesus Christ, applies to a Pedobaptist minister for admission to the Lord's table. And being interrogated, whether he has been baptized, he declares that while he believes the Lord's Supper to be a permanent ordinance, he is persuaded that baptism was temporary, and only applicable to Jews or Gentiles entering the Christian Church. Ought such a person to be admitted without baptism?

To this, our answer would be in the affirmative. Because the omission of a compliance with one command of the Saviour through misapprehension, ought not to prevent a sincere disciple from obeying another; when he does not feel that the obligation of the first binding, but is convinced of his duty to obey the second. And if it is the duty of this disciple to remember Christ at his table, no man has a right to hinder him. Though his knowledge be defective and his opinion erroneous respecting the one institution; yet he is clear respecting the other, and needs this means of sanctification and comfort as much as others. Them that are weak in the faith we are commanded to receive. The appeal of the Baptists to our practice, has, as it relates to us, no solid foundation. We would receive to the communion such true believers as conscientiously think that they have been baptized; and such as never presumed that baptism was not now obligatory. And, we believe, that the only safe ground on which the Baptists can place their practice of close communion is to maintain, that all who refuse to be immersed are no true Christians.

Our author, however, is far from embracing this opinion. His heart seems to overflow with brotherly kindness, which is

not confined to his own denomination. As is found in many other cases, he does not follow out his own principles. He is happily inconsistent with himself. He admits that other denominations may be a part of the true church, though not regularly constituted. They may have the blessing of God in their assemblies, and in their attendance on the ordinances of God. But though real members of Christ's body, and of his visible Church, they cannot be admitted to the Lord's table! It is wonderful that such glaring inconsistency is not at once evident to a mind so perspicacious and candid as that of Mr. Curtis! But that we may not be suspected of misrepresenting his opinions, hear his own words. "In a former part of this work, we have said that we did not unchurch other denominations. Nor do we. We will not deny the claims of any body of evangelical Christians, organized for maintaining social worship, to be considered a Christian Church. Not a regular church indeed. Still we do not doubt that such assemblies realize many church blessings, particularly this, that when they gather together, though but two or three, in the name of Jesus, He is with them." And in the participation of the Lord's Supper, how many thousands by the aid of the Holy Spirit have been enabled by faith to eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man? And if they had no right to come to the Lord's table, can we believe, that this ordinance could have been made to them the channel of such rich communications? The Baptists, who exclude all Pedobaptists from this ordinance, ought for consistency's sake, to maintain, that the Lord's table ought never to be spread in their churches. For if they have no right to partake of the ordinance, it is evident that they ought not to attempt to celebrate it. And when they do, they cannot be acting in accordance with the will of the Lord, but all their delightful communions, in which they affectionately remember Christ and his sufferings, are nothing else than mere will worship! It is a point, not yet settled among our Baptist brethren, whether Pedobaptist ministers are to be considered as really ministers of the church of Christ. Usually, they have been freely admitted into the pulpits of the Baptist churches, and treated as brethren, authorized to preach the

gospel: but if they have never been baptized, and on this account are excluded from the Lord's table, it is hard to conceive how they can be lawful ministers of the church. Certainly, if excluded from the Lord's Supper, they ought to be from the ministry. This has of late been felt so strongly by the Baptists, in the South West, that recently when two Presbyterian ministers, regularly ordained by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, were induced by some motives to join the Baptist church, they were not only re-baptized, but were both re-ordained. Now, this is consistent. But what will Mr. Curtis say to it? who admits that the Presbyterian is a true, though not a regular church. The truth is, if Pedobaptists have no right to the privilege of the Lord's Supper, their Churches are no true churches; their ministers are not the ministers of Jesus Christ; and all their doings and all their worship is without the stamp of divine authority. There is no other true church in the world but the Baptists; and for more than a thousand years, when there were no Baptists, there was no true church of Jesus Christ in existence. And how the Baptist church obtained a beginning—who had the right to commence baptizing, by immersion, is a subject which has greatly perplexed their Doctors; and can even now be scarcely considered as settled on a stable foundation.

Although our author is commonly frank and candid, and manifests amiable feelings towards his brethren of other denominations, yet we have met with one paragraph in his book of very different character. "The system of Pedobaptism," says he, "as a system, has been the embodiment, and is now the main support of some of the most cardinal errors, that have ever afflicted Christendom; such as baptismal regeneration and an unconverted Church membership and ministry, &c." Here, the author's usual candour forsakes him. As to baptismal regeneration, it is repudiated by almost all evangelical Pedobaptists, and has no necessany connexion with infant baptism. And we are of opinion, that adult baptism by immersion has, among the Campbellites, been an occasion of as much evil as the baptismal regeneration of infants. And it would be as just to attribute to the Baptist church the doctrines of adult regeneration by baptism, as held by Alex. Campbell

and his followers, as to connect the Puseyite doctrine of baptismal regeneration with all Pedobaptists. As to the purity of the Pedobaptist churches, though the New Testament teaches us that absolute purity was neither to be expected nor arrived at in the church on earth yet we are willing that the Presbyterian churches in this country, should be impartially compared with the Baptist churches as a body; and if their members are less consistent and holy in their lives, we are exceedingly mistaken. As to unconverted ministers, we believe there are such, in every communion; but we are again willing, that our ministers should be brought into a fair comparison with those of the Baptist churches, and we fear not the issue. Although we differ from the Rev. Mr. Curtis and his close-communion brethren, yet we are pleased with the friendly spirit which he manifests, and should not be at all surprised, if before many years, he should be found among the zealous advocates of free communion between all the sincere followers of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Art.—V. 1. *Martin Luthers geistliche Lieder, mit den in seinen Lebzeiten gebrauchlichen Singweisen. Herausgegeben von* Philip Wackernagel. Stuttgart. 1848, 8vo. pp. 194.

2. *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied, von Martin Luther bis auf Nicolaus Herman and Ambrosius Blaurer. Von* Dr. K. C. J. Wackernagel. Stuttgart. 1841. 4to pp. 895.

3. *Paulus Gerhardts geistliche Lieder, getreu nach der bei seinen Lebzeiten erschienenen Ausgabe wiederabgedruckt.* Stuttgart. 1843. pp. 216.

4. *Geistliche Gedichte des Grafen v. Zinzerdorf, gesammelt und gesichtet von* Albert Knapp. Stuttgart u. Tübingen. 1845. royal 8vo. pp. 368.

5. *Evangelischer Liederschatz für Kirche and Haus. Von* M. Albert Knapp. Stuttgart and Tübingen. 1837. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 682, 912.

6. *Stimmen aus dem Reiche Gottes. Eine auserlesene Samm-*

lung alter und neuer evangelischer Kernlieder, mit beigefugten, vierstimmig gesetzten, Choralmelodien. Von Kocher und Knapp. Stuttgart. 1846. 12mo. pp. 746.

In this formidable series of titles we have included none of the common church collections: these are in number legionary. Three of the books are edited by Dr. Wackernagel, who is noted for his learning in all that relates to the archaeology of the German language. The first contains all the extant hymns of the sixteenth century; republished with scrupulous collation of all accessible texts, and with an apparatus of critical notes, which may well surprise those who know how the corresponding department of English literature has been allowed to languish; so that we have no single repository of our early sacred poets. The second work is venerable indeed; giving us not only the incorrupt text of all Luther's hymns, but the very airs and harmonies which accompanied them during the Reformer's lifetime. The edition of Gerhardt's Hymns is complete and critical. Mr. Knapp's collection of Count Zinzendorf's poetical works, including his numerous improvisations, is as full as it is elegant, and is followed by a life of the author. To the same lover of sacred song, we are indebted for the fifth in our list; the 'Evangelical Hymn-Treasury,' a work widely known in America; containing three thousand five hundred and ninety two hymns. The same editor has part likewise in the last book named above, which has both text and music, arranged in four parts for the organ and piano-forte: the number of hymns is six hundred and ninety five. To these works, we acknowledge our obligation for a large part of what we shall now offer on the fruitful subject of German hymns. It is a topic too nearly connected with the growth of piety in the soul and its spread among mankind, to need a word of apology. These products of continental piety, in its brightest hours and heavenliest moods, are infinitely remote from the latitudinary and neological errors which are justly dreaded from German writings. Of this we need offer no surer earnest, than by beginning our sketch of German Hymnology, with the great Saxon reformer.

There is scarcely anything more familiar to the readers of Luther's life than his love of music. He was himself a per-

former on more than one instrument, and wont to break forth among his friends in bursts of passionate psalmody. The passages in his works and correspondence which express the high value which he set on spiritual song, as a means of promoting knowledge, furthering grace, and driving away the evil one, are too numerous to be quoted at length; but some of them are too important and characteristic to be wholly omitted.

Luther led the way in providing Christian hymns for the evangelical world. The number of his metrical compositions, as now extant, is thirty-seven; of which some have acquired great celebrity. Wherever his name is known, men are acquainted with his trumpet-like version of the forty-sixth psalm, *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.* Besides this he versified the 12th, 14th, 67th, 124th, 128th, and 130th psalms; the decalogue, Lord's prayer, Creed, and Te Deum; also Luke ii. 30–32, Isaiah vi. 1–8, Rev. xii. 1–6, and the church hymns, *Veni Redemptor gentium, A solis ortus cardine, Veni Creator Spiritus, Veni sancte Spiritus, Media vita, the Sanctus, Da pacem, and O lux beata Trinitas.* This may rebuke the flippant and ignorant strictures of a Puseyite writer on Hymnology, who has lately brought it as a charge against Protestant churches, that they have retained but one of the old ecclesiastical metres in their services. It would be easy to show that not only Luther, but every poet of the reformation period, drew largely from this very source. Indeed if there was an error it was that of ascribing undue importance to some inferior Latin hymns.

Modern editors have with great pains restored the ancient text of Luther's hymns, and Wackernagel has annexed the original melodies and harmonies, with abundance of critical apparatus. The earliest edition, which contained only a small number, appeared at Wittenberg in 1523. During the Reformer's lifetime, editions containing his hymns appeared in 1524, 1525, 1526, 1528, 1529, 1531, 1533, 1535, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1541, 1542, 1544, 1545. As early as 1524, we find Luther addressing his friend Spalatin in a letter, with entreaty that he would try his hand at vernacular hymns, and laying down the principle, so remarkably exemplified by him-

self, that they should not be in learned diction but in the plain idiom of common people.*

How costly and welcome a gift these effusions were, may be learnt from the enthusiastic language of contemporaries. Michael Styfel, in a preface to one of them, calls Luther that 'Christian, angelic man.' The people rejoiced to have their mouth opened in congregational singing. Luther's first preface appears to be that of 1525, prefixed to the Wittenberg hymn-book. It is simple but pregnant. "That the singing of spiritual songs is good and pleasing to God, methinks is known to all Christians; since every man is aware of the example of prophets and kings in the Old Testament, who with voice and joyful noise, with poetry and all manner of harping, praised God, and more especially the psalms of common Christendom from the beginning. They are set for four voices, because I greatly desire that the youth, who should and must be brought up in music and other proper arts, may have something to do away the foul songs and carnal ballads, and at the same time be learning somewhat healthful, while they enter on what is good with the delight which becomes their time of life. For I am far from thinking that the gospel is to strike all Art to the earth; but I would have all arts, and especially music, taken into that service for which they were given and formed."

It appears from several of these ancient advertisements, that not a few spurious hymn books were hawked about under Luther's name. The popularity of the new art is apparent from this fact, as well as from the remarkable number of collections produced by other friends of the reformation. These prefaces dwell much on the importance of teaching children to sing God's praise. In the Strasburg hymn book of 1534, Catharina Zell earnestly exhorts mothers to this work, inviting them to use hymns at dead of night to still the waking babe, and as lullabies beside the cradle; and she commends the same to "the journeyman at his work, the servant-maid at her kitchen, the husbandman in the field." Eminent musicians, such as Hoffman and Heintzen, organists at Mentz and Magde-

* Luther's vermischte Schriften; v. Gerlach. Stuttgart. 1848. vol. i. p. 116.

berg were employed, to adjust the music. The perversions of worldly song and of superstition only gave an edge to reforming zeal, and so good John Walters, in the preface to the Wittenberg hymn-book of 1537, says: "But in order that the beautiful art be not altogether abolished, I have, blessed be God, in despite of the devil and all his contempt, set the spiritual songs, heretofore printed at Wittenberg, mostly with correction, and augmented with certain little pieces for five or six voices."

It would be interesting to trace the connection between the hymnology of the ancient Bohemian Brethren and that of the Lutherans. This is alluded to in a collection by John Varnier, Ulm, 1538. In the rhyming address to the reader, mention is made of the grace shown to the churches of Bohemia and Moravia.†

The excellent Mathesius of Joachimsthal, the biographer of Luther, united with the musician Herman in a volume of sacred music and poetry, which has a preface by the latter, containing many things illustrative of the popular condition in regard to this subject. "When I look back, (says the *old Cantor*, as Herman calls himself), and consider how it was in my youth, fifty years and more ago, in churches and schools, and what sort of teaching there was therein, my hair stands on end, and my flesh shudders, nor can I refrain from sighs and lamentation; and it were to be wished that the young people and scholars of our time knew but the half of what those poor school urchins endured, of toil, misery, frost, and hunger. In the common schools there were such barbarism and inaccuracy in learning, that many were twenty years old before they learned their grammar, or could speak a little Latin, which, when they got it, sounded in comparison with our Latin like an old rattle-pipe or rebeck beside the noblest and best tuned organ. The poor children [Luther had been one of them,] who went about serving as waits, were no better than martyrs. If they were tortured in school and frozen, they

† Inn Behem vnd Merrher landt,
Wo ich Gottes sinn hab erkannt,
Von leüten die man bisper veracht,
Vnd verfolgt hat mit voller macht.

must then go about through streets with their wallet." He then recites the old superstitious ditties which they were taught to sing, and compares them with the sacred instructions and holy hymns introduced by the reformers.

The diction of Luther's hymns is that common, rugged, idiomatic High German, which has made itself felt in the national literature, and has contributed to form the national thinking. No one man on record has ever laid his hand with so much power on the moulding of a great language. Though some will lament the loss of a certain sweetness which still lives in the Low German, none can overlook the bone and muscle of the dialect of Luther. It yields more readily to the sublime and vehement than the beautiful, but it can be passionate and touching. The use of so familiar and homely a speech in the early hymns doubtless gave a precedent, which no one can mistake in the later compositions of Gerhardt and Schmolck. A number of these hymns are still used in German worship after the lapse of three centuries; a fact which has no parallel in British Hymnology.

It was the congregational singing of the Hussite brethren which, we are told, suggested to Luther the labours which he bestowed on this reform. His efforts succeeded in spreading a peculiarity of worship which has reached as far as the German tongue, and which we would fain emulate, if we may not envy: "By means of a single hymn of Luther, *Nun freut euch liebe Christengemein*, many hundreds were brought to the faith, who otherwise would never have heard Luther's name." And it was observed by the Cardinal Thomas a Jesu, "that the interests of Luther were furthered to an extraordinary degree, by the singing of his hymns, by people of every class, not only in schools and churches, but in dwellings and shops, in markets, streets and fields." They found entrance even among adversaries. Selnecker relates that several of the hymns having been introduced into the chapel service of the duke Henry of Wolfenbüttel, a priest made complaint. The duke asked what hymns those were against which he protested. "May it please your highness, they are such as '*O that the Lord would gracious be.*' "Hold!" replied the duke,

"must the devil then be gracious? Whose grace are we to seek, if not that of God only?" And the hymns continued to be sung in court. In 1529 a Romish priest preached at Lubeck, and just as he ended, two boys struck up the hymn of Luther, "*O God from Heaven, now behold;*" when the whole assembly joined as with one voice; and continued to do the same as often as any preacher inveighed against the evangelical doctrine. At Heidelberg the reformation made its way by singing. The Elector Frederick, from fear of the emperor, had delayed suppressing the mass. On one occasion, a priest was about to begin the service, standing at the high altar, when a single voice led off the beginning of Paul Speratus's famous hymn, *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her.* The vast congregation immediately joined, and the elector, taking this as a sufficient suffrage of his people, proceeded to introduce the communion in both kinds.

But these effects would not have been produced by hymns alone, however excellent. Luther's knowledge of music led him to bestow equal care upon the tunes. "It is the notes," said he, "which give life to the text." It is interesting to enquire from what sources these tunes were derived. Some of them were very naturally taken from the familiar Latin melodies of the church. This is true of the versions of church-hymns, mentioned above. Others were already in use, as connected with vernacular hymns. These have been carefully traced to their origin, by musical antiquaries. A portion of these consisted of original melodies. Eminent among these is *Ein fester Burg*, which still holds its place in German churches, and was composed, as Sleidan testifies, by Luther himself.

We have spoken of Nicholas Herman, 'the old cantor,' of Joachimsthal in Bohemia. This quaint and genial old man died in 1560. He was the author of the tune of *Lobt Gott, ihr Christen*, which is still happily in use. John Kugelmann, *maestro di capella* of Albert of Prussia, Joachim von Burgk, Cantor at Mühlhausen, Selnecker of Leipsick, and Dr. Nicolai of Hamburg, were all noted in the same way, during the sixteenth century. In order to make sacred song universal among the people, singing in parts was encouraged by every

means. The production of new melodies continued during the whole of the seventeenth century, under such men as Praetorius, Schein, Alberti, Erstger, Winer, Neander, Rosenmüller, Severus, Ahle, and Neumark. After this there was a great stagnation.

The music of the church in Germany, at the time of Luther's reform, had become painfully elaborate, and the solemnity of the old Gregorian chant, which certainly had many excellencies, was overlaid with a burden of artificial difficulties. It was the merit of Luther to restore the ancient simplicity, without rejecting the aids of learned harmony. "When natural music," says he, "is elevated and polished by art, we first see and acknowledge with admiration the great and perfect wisdom of God in his wondrous creation of music, wherein this is especially strange and astonishing, that a single voice utters the simple air or tenor,* as musicians name it, and then three, four, or five other voices join, who as it were play and leap exultingly about this plain tenor, and marvellously deck and beautify it with manifold change, and sound as if leading a heavenly dance, meeting one another in good will, heartily and lovingly embracing; so that those who understand a little, and are hereby moved, have to marvel, as thinking there is nought in all the world rarer than such a song with many voices." The result of this is the German CHORAL, in which the congregation sing one part, while the singers of the choir, and in later times the organ, furnish a full and manifold harmony; a method which is infinitely remote from the American abuse of having a handful of singers in the gallery to act as proxies of the great congregation and praise God by committee. The musical composition of the reformation period was carried forward by Henry Fink, George Rhaw, Martin Agricola, Balthazar Resinarius, Sixt Dietrich, Benedict Ducis, and others, whose lives may be read in the histories of music.

We have dwelt long on Luther, because beyond question he was the founder of the incomparable German psalmody, in regard as well to text as music, so that no one can enter a well

* The musical reader will not mistake this for the part so called in modern scores.

appointed German service at this day, without breathing the air of the sixteenth century. But Luther though first was so far from being alone, that our difficulty now is how to make a selection. When it is considered that the mere names of German hymnists would occupy many pages, we shall not be expected to go into details. A very convenient division of evangelical hymnology is that which makes Paul Gerhardt the limit between two periods; the first of these begins of course with Luther. But he was only the leading star of a brilliant constellation.

HANS SACHS is one of the darling names of Germany. He is often called the last of the bards or master-singers. We must leave it for literary annals to record his secular achievements. Hans was born at Nuremburg, in 1494. He sang his first piece of minstrelsy at Munich, in 1514, being then on his 'wandering' as a journeyman shoemaker. His collected effusions would amount to more than six thousand. They are in the highest measure expressive of the national mind at that era of transition; abounding in humour, naïveté, strength, imagination and pathos. He is among his people at once a poetic Bunyan and a religious Burns. He threw himself into the reformation at the very earliest period, and gave an impulse which was perhaps second only to Luther's. After having been forgotten for a time during the reign of mediocrity and rationalism, Hans Sachs was restored to general admiration by the admiring eulogies of Wieland and Goethe.* Some of Hans's hymns are still in use: more than twenty may be consulted in Waekernagel. His 'Christian Ballad against the ruthless ire of Sathanas' is remarkable for its keenness and satiric strength. A 'Dialogue between the Sinner and Christ,' adapted to a popular song tune, is an admirable epitome of saving experience which probably did more for the reformation than scores of sermons. He likewise versified thirteen psalms. We observe with pleasure that his *Warum betrübst du dich mein Herz* is incorporated in Kocher's delightful collection.

PAULUS SPERATUS merits the next place. In time, he might even be earlier. He was one of the Prussian Reformers, who

* See Goethe's Poetic Mission of H. Sachs.

died in 1554. On hearing his hymn "*Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*, onee sung under his window, Luther is said to have been deeply affected and to have thanked God for the wonderful diffusion of the truth. His hymns are remarkable for eondensed doetrine: this was indeed strikingly true of the eompositions of the day, to a degree whieh we regard as not to be imitated; but it was inseparable from the great religious movement, as pre-eminently a doetrinal reformation. The people sang themselves into a gospel ereed.

Justus Jonas, the bosom friend of Luther, imitated him in this work: his pieces are versified psalms. There were numerous contributions from Agricola, Spangenberg, Paul Eber, Mathesius, Herman the Cantor, and Deeius. But an aceumulation of names is unsatisfactory, and the eurious reader must be referred to the exhaustive repository of Waekernagel. A goodly number of these venerable hymns, with some alterations, is found in modern evangelical selections. They are rude but impressive, giving no uncertain sound as to protestant testimony, and eontributing inealculable help to the forees of the reformation. A version of the twenty-third psalm, by Museulus, (Wackernagel 269) is an exquisite pastoral. Many of the hymns were in the soft Low German, and several are extant in both dialeets.* Some had all the graees of the proper ballad, as for example No. 276, by von Wortheim. Some eontained the full history of our Lord's passion. A truly poetic hymn by Henry Müller was eomposed in gaol. Some were quaint and ludicrous to a degree unknown among ourselves: as No. 295, by Erasmus Alberus.

Turning aside for a little to the progress of Christian poetry in the other braneh of the Reformation, we naturally expect less of German nationality and less of musieal enthusiasm. Zwingle was the declared opponent of all instrumental music

* We subjoin a specimen from the first psalm in Niederdeutsch:

"Wol dem, de neene gemeinschop hat
Mit der Godtlosen Rade und dadt.
Noch up den wech der Sünders tritt,
Dar spotters sitten ock nicht sitt.
Wol dem, de thom Gesett des Herrn
Heft lust und de syn wordt hört gern,
Der sulfft mit vlite und ernst betracht."

in the worship of God; yet he was himself a religious poet. Other eminent men in the Reformed Church contributed to the treasury of German song. It will suffice to name Symphorianus Meyer who was also an organist, Leo Judae, Zwick, the Blaurers, and Waldis. In Zwick's hymn-book, 1536, he urges the importance of congregational singing. We postpone the French hymnology for another occasion. Quite an interesting chapter might be filled with notices of the Hymns of the Martyrs, which had in that age a peculiar sacredness. Such were those of Hans Schlaffer, a converted priest, beheaded at Schwartz, in 1527; of Jörg Wagner, burnt at Munich, the same year; of Hans Hut, who suffered at Augsburg, in 1528; of Schneider, beheaded there, in the same year, and of seven brothers imprisoned at Gmünd. It is scarcely necessary to observe that of the reformation hymns, a large portion can be referred with certainty to no particular authors.

To trace the stream of metrical composition in the seventeeth century would be much more difficult. The work went on during its early years with an impetus derived from the preceding period. We must content ourselves with brief notices, especially as we here miss the skilful guidance of Wackernagel. Paul Flemming, who died in 1640, is the author of the favourite *In aller meinen Thaten*, which he composed on the eve of an expedition to Persia. During the horrors of the thirty-year's war, John Heermann was a prolific hymn-writer, and of his productions about forty have had continued favour. Two or three of these are in the very first rank. Herberger and Rinkart might here be named. Simon Dach, professor of poetry at Königsberg, where he died in 1659, was remarkable for the contemplative serenity and literary correctness of his hymns. Rist, of Holstein wrote a large number. But in regard to these and others whom we do not find space to name, we must refer to collections like that of Knapp, in which, by a most laudable method, the authorship of every hymn is given, with the dates and biographies in a valuable appendix. Of this whole period, it may be observed that the gracious doctrines of the reformation constitute the warp and woof of the texture: among great diversities of literary and poetic merit, this character is maintained.

In rare instances, the points of angry contest between the Lutherans and the Reformed stand out offensively; but one might peruse hundreds of hymns without ever having these differences brought to his mind. It is time however to dismiss this first period; which we do the more willingly, because the next opens with so great and venerable a name.

Paul Gerhardt stands clearly at the head of German hymn-writers; if indeed we may not ascribe to him an influence on religious sentiment more strong and extensive than is due to any uninspired psalmist. He was born in Saxony, in 1606, and was brought up by pious parents in the good old ways of the Reformation. In 1651, we find him Probst at Mittenwalde, and in 1651, Diaconus at Berlin. The only great public event which has much connexion with his life was the Brandenburg controversy between the Lutherans and the Reformed. The Great Elector, as well from education as from long residence in Holland, was devotedly attached to the Reformed Church. In the bitter conflicts which ensued, Gerhardt fell into the party of the warm Lutherans, but escaped most of the rancours of zealotry. We can scarcely enter however into those scrupulous judgments which led this good man to endure troubles, as he apprehended, little short of persecution. These inward trials led to some of his deepest experiences and most memorable writings. He fled to the patronage of Christian, duke of Saxe-Merseburg, and, was made Archidiaconus of Lübben, at which place he died, in 1675. His last utterance was in words from one of his own hymns:

"Death no more hath power to kill,
He but sets the spirit free
From the weight of earthly ill,
Though its name should legion be;
Shuts the gate of bitter woe,
Opens wide the heavenly way,
That our willing feet may go
To the realms of endless day."

But it is as a Christian poet that we are concerned with Gerhardt. Of one hundred and twenty hymns, eighty-eight appeared from time to time in different ways, some having been first printed with his funeral sermon. The earliest com-

plete edition appeared in folio at Berlin, in 1666, 1667. The best is unquestionably that of Wackernagel, at Stuttgart, 1843.

A separate treatise would be required to point out the traits of Gerhardt's sacred metres. If we might judge by the effects, nothing of Tyrtæus was ever more awakening. For facility, vivacious sparkle, a cheerfulness almost mirthful, a pathos that melts in sighs, the purest evangelical matter, and the flame of sanctified passion, all in the most nervous, heart-reaching idiom of the market place and the hearth, we have never seen anything equal to Paul Gerhardt. Harris, the author of Hermes, once induced a friend to learn Spanish, solely that he might read Don Quixote in the original; we should think any man repaid for learning German, by reading Paul Gerhardt. The very excellencies of his verse forbid translation. The attempt to use English idioms as strong and familiar as his, results in coarseness and vulgarity; we cannot reproduce his felicitous jingle, nor the clink of his double endings.

The merit of Paul Gerhardt is akin to that of Luther, after whom and Hans Sachs he may be said to have formed himself, but with a facility, melody and fancy, altogether unreached by those great men. He deserves a place among national bards; for neither Burns in Scotland, nor Beranger in France, was ever more truly the minstrel of the people. Rich and poor, learned and simple, sung his songs. When Winckelman was in Italy, and even after his perversion to popery, his favourite hymn was one of Gerhardt's.* The mother of Schiller brought him up under the influence of these hymns, especially *Nun ruhen alle Walder.*

The traits which meet in Gerhardt's poetry might seem incompatible. To the rustic plainness of Chaucer he adds the liquid versification of Ovid or Moore. He is quaint, he is sublime. Some of his effusions are mere doctrine, and some are mere passion. Everywhere he uses the language of the people, but with a curious felicity of selection which saves him from all grossness, while it makes him untranslateable. As to the inward contents, these hymns are in the highest and

* 'Ich singe dir mit Herz nnd Mund.'

best sense evangelical, and under God have done much to keep alive true piety among the humble, even where the learned clergy have gone astray. Lutheran peculiarities stand out in certain hymns, but by no means offensively.

Reference to any hymn-book of German Protestants will show how largely they have been indebted to Gerhardt. In this respect he has been to all Germany what Charles Wesley was to the Methodists. The greatest hymns in the language are confessedly those of Gerhardt; his place is as indisputable as Shakspeare's among dramatists, and for reasons which make him quite inaccessible by means of any version. Of his spiritual compositions, a large number continue to be sung, in no respect obsolete after two centuries.* Nowhere do we find deeper lamentations over sin, more tender and believing and elevated addresses to Christ as dying and reigning, or a richer variety of consolations for sufferers of every class. The influence of Gerhardt was felt even till the days of rationalism, in restraining later poets from substitution of cold elegancies and rhetorical flights for the scriptural pathos and power of simple heart-speaking truth.†

After so great a name we must content ourselves with briefer notices. JOHN FRANK, a contemporary of Gerhardt, died in 1677, and was the author of more than a hundred hymns, some of which have high value. The tendency of the period was however towards a dry didactic style. Few had Gerhardt's art of conveying solid doctrine in the language of evangelical emotion. Some notion of our meaning may be derived from comparing Doddridge with Watts. And this evil grew with the prevalence of dead orthodoxy. There was however a strong reaction against this tendency, in certain writers of the mystical school, such as Scheffler, or ANGELUS SILESIUS, who became a Romanist, and HENRIETTA OF BRAN-

* Among such treasures it is hard to make selections. The following will carry all suffrages: "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden—Wie soll ich dich empfangen—O Welt, sich hier dein Leben—Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld—Was Gott gefällt—Gib dich zufrieden—Befiehl du deine Wege—Nun ruhen alle Wälder—Geh aus mein Herz und suche Freud."

† See Wildenhahn's Paul Gerhardt, in English, Lond. 1847. 2 vols. 12mo. also Victor Strauss's 'Leben des P. Gerhardt,' Bielefeld, 1844, 12mo.; with a preface by Tholuck.

DENBURG, a princess whose name is embalmed in the immortal hymn, *Jesus meine Zuversieht.* The same peculiar expression of personal love to Christ appears in the passionate verses of SCRIVER.

As might naturally be expected, the Halle School of Pietism was productive of sound and spiritual hymns. Both SPENER and FRANCKE made contributions which are still esteemed. Among the latest eminent poets of the church in the seventeenth century must be named JOHN CASPAR SCHADE, who died at Berlin, in the year 1698, and ARNOLD, who lived until 1714.

The sacred poets of Germany in the former half the eighteenth century must be treated in near connexion with what is called the pietism of that period; which indeed was nothing else than the revival of true religion after the long trance of stupid formalism. There was a breaking forth of emotion, and a corresponding utterance in spiritual songs, exactly such as took place about the same time or a little later, among the Methodists of England. The Halle school of experimental religion was spreading its influence widely. Hence arose a few hymn-writers, more warm and striking than any since Gerhardt.

The first place is undoubtedly due to BENJAMIN SCHMOLCK, born in 1672. His labours were chiefly in Silesia. Bereavements in his earlier domestic life and blindness in his old age, gave him trial of many Christian conflicts and consolations, which he loved to express in verse. The profusion of his labours was wonderful, for he wrote more than a thousand hymns. Among so many, it is enough if a small proportion are excellent; and a few of Schmolck's take the very first rank, and are cherished in the memory and worship of all pious Germans. They are after Paul's Gerhardt's model, have much of his simplicity and piety, without his genius: but with a remarkable adaptation to church-use. It is pleasing to learn from Dr. Alt, that to this day Schmolck's hymns are commonly sung in families of Silesia.* In theological sentiment he leaned rather more to Lutheran orthodoxy than

† Noted hymns of Schmolck are 'Seele sei zufrieden'—'Weine nicht Gott lebet noch—'Ein neuer Tag ein neues Leben'—'Hier ist Immanual'—'Der beste Freund ist in dem Himmel.'

to the peculiarities of the Halle school; but the flow of evangelical affection was common to both. He died in 1737.

More exactly representing the Halle school was JOHN ANASTASIUS FREYLINGHAUSEN, son-in-law of Francke. The singular fact has often been mentioned that some of his best hymns were dictated during fits of severe toothache. He edited several valuable collections of hymns; his own were not very numerous, but some of them are admirable.*

CHARLES HENRY VON BOGATZKY is known to our readers, not by his hymns so much as by his 'Treasury.' He was born 1690. His father's family was Hungarian, but settled in Lower Silesia. While his father, who was an army officer, was away in the wars the boy was under the instructions of a pious mother. Dr. Hagenback remarks that it was an age in which more than in ours children of early years were favoured with heavenly communion. Bogatzky's soul was thus drawn out to devotion, praise and poetry. His youth was moulded by the writings of Arnd and Scriver. After once perusing a sermon in Scriver's 'Soul-Treasury,' he was overcome of heavenly joy so that he had to fall on his knees and pour out his heart in praise. "A true light," says he, "streamed into my soul, and I was made to see, that true Christianity is something living, powerful, blessed, and altogether different from what the world thinks. I learned the difference between a mere moral, virtuous disposition, and a work of grace by the Holy Ghost, or those divine virtues which are wrought in us by the Holy Ghost, and flow from faith and joy in the Holy Ghost." At the university of Jena, he received much advantage from the pious influence of the celebrated Buddeus. At Halle he became fully under the preaching and example of Franche. Freylinghausen was his spiritual adviser. Though he was not a professional man, but a gentleman of fortune, living on his estate, he was much in visiting the sick, doing good among the poor, and leading souls to Christ. He was eminently happy in his married relation, and records the advantage derived from the prayers he offered with his wife. Frequently also he held what we should call prayer-meetings.

* 'Wer ist wohl wie du,' 'Kommt ihr Menschen,' 'Mein Herz gib dich zufrieden.'

O that our beloved German brethren would consent to study more closely the example of these pious, happy men, in regard to family worship, sabbath devotion, and social religion! His hymns are nearly four hundred, and are more remarkable for affectionate piety, agreeably expressed, than for extraordinary flights. Prosaic turns, and some taint of the prevalent bad taste, especially in diction, are observable. The little stanzas in his 'Treasury' have probably done more good than his regular hymns. But his memory is blessed in thousands of families, of almost every Protestant land.

Gerhard Tersteegen is a beloved name among evangelical Germans, He was a Westphalian, born in 1697. Though somewhat educated, he was a man of the people, by trade a ribbon-weaver, leading a quiet humble life. The influence of his cheerful, lovely graces was felt all over his country; at length this plain, secluded Christian had visits from Holland, Switzerland and England. "From Amsterdam to Berne," says Stilling, "the adherents of Tersteegen are to be found among the people." 'Father Tersteegen' was his common appellation. He sometimes watched whole nights in prayer beside the sick and dying. He was never married, and died in 1769. The number of Tersteegen's hymns is one hundred and eleven. The new school of German hymnology is supposed to have culminated at this point. Simple tenderness with sweetness of versification are united in this gentle poet.* Of this school the Germans consider subjectivity, as contrasted with the objectivity of the ancient writers, to be characteristic: the terms, though unusual, are expressive.

The name of Rambach has a twofold connexion with our subject. The elder of that name, an eminent dignitary and poet, is the author of some admirable hymns. His grandson, who falls within another period, wrote a well-known work on hymnology.

Ernst Gottlieb Woltersdorf, belongs to this part of the series; a clergyman's son, born near Berlin, 1725. After studying at Halle, then the chief seat of vital religion, he became a preacher in Silesia. He was a devoted friend of youth,

* See his 'Gott ist gegenwärtig.'

and founded an orphanhouse at Bunzlau, in imitation of that at Halle. "I hope," he once wrote," that by means of the children, we shall drive the devil out of Bunzlau: God grant it!" He died early, in 1761. According to his own saying, his verses flowed out of his heart. "Often," said he, "nothing was further from my thoughts than making verse; but something dropped suddenly into my mind, and set me on a train, so that I had to seize the pen. It was frequently like a burning in my heart, urging me to sing to the Lord and his people, on some weighty matter. If I undertook to write two or three verses, I sometimes ended with twelve, fifteen, or even thirty. There were times when the pen could not keep pace with the thought." The result was, that many of his hymns are too long for public use. They are censured as sometimes unfinished in point of art; and many of them fall far below the elevation and fire of Gerhardt and Schmolck; yet Woltersdorf has produced many noble hymns.* He deplored the substitution of secular elegance for devotion, in such writers as Günther; and used to say, "The day will come, when many an old village parson, many an old schoolmaster, or peasant, or shoemaker, who has made two or three halting stanzas from his heart, shall have the crown on Mount Zion, as a true poet, before those masters of verse." But he modestly added: "I should rejoice at heart, if as a moaning dove I could give occasion to many a nightingale, to utter so penetrating a voice, that the sacred groves might resound, and I might creep into my covert."

Both Woltersdorf and Bogatzky belong to the authors of what were called the Köthen Hymns, so named from the place of publication. Most of the other writers degenerated still more into prosaic reflection. According to Rambach, these authors produced only a feeble imitation of the old pietistic verse. Among them were ALLENDORF, LAU, and LEHR.†

At this point we are prepared to turn aside for a little to consider one of the most marked portions of German hymnol-

* For instance: 'Der für mich am Kreuz gehangen,' 'Abermals ein Jahr verflossen.'

† To whom respectively we owe 'Nun, Kindlein bleibt am Jesu kleben'—Ach Herr, du wollst die Wehmuth stillen—and 'Der schmale Pfad führt doch gerad ins Leben.'

ogy. If the United Brethren have any one grand peculiarity in their worship, it is their sacred music. This is characteristic, fascinating, and influential. Wherever their missions have gone they have carried this means of impression. Not by the voice merely but by a diversity of instruments, they have given a prominence to this part of worship which has sometimes threatened to encroach seriously on the rest. We have seen one of their venerable bishops, who was a distinguished organist, and we have known of well-toned instruments shipped to missionaries in Africa and New Holland. No one can read their periodical accounts without being continually reminded of the stress which they lay on hymns as a means of edification, and this is not less apparent in all their communities. This very remarkable trait is due in a great measure to Zinzendorf. A man of fortune, a nobleman, and a scholar, he was also a poet. His published compositions in this kind amount to many hundreds; beginning with the twelfth year of his age and extending to the sixtieth. Not only was he fertile and rapid with his pen, but he possessed the singular faculty of extempore versification; so that a great number of his hymns were not merely composed but actually sung by him in public worship. As might have been expected from a consideration of the circumstances, these are not the productions which have most merit. Indeed it must be owned, that amidst all the Count's fervours, he usually fails in the highest poetic inspiration. Many of his stanzas are measured prose, with the disadvantage of an affected diction which prevailed for a time in the period of his labours. Yet there are a number of his hymns which maintain their place in good German collections. The most serious fault of his sacred poems is derived from the fondling expressions and nursery endearments employed in regard to the Lord Jesus, and his wounds and sufferings. Not content with a close and adventurous imitation of the Canticles, the Moravian hymn writers indulged in familiarities of figure and blandishments of affection, which are without parallel or approach. We should not dare to produce in English some of these passages.* In

* See Hymns 645, 646, of the ed. Gnadau, 1824. But more particularly, Bost's Histoire des Freres, vol. 11. p. 305 sqq.

spite of these, however, which occur only here and there, the hymns of the Brethren could have proceeded only from profound love to the Redeemer; nor can they be read without emotion.

It is important to observe that hymns alone, however attractive, would not have produced the powerful effects which we observe among the Moravians, if together with a poet, they had not also possessed a musician. It is a fact sometimes overlooked. He was, as we learn from M. Bost, the son of a Franconian peasant. His musical talent might have opened a door for every worldly temptation, but he was providentially brought to acquaintance with the Brethren in 1722, when as yet only thirteen years old. When he was eighteen he was already a wonderful organist. He was employed in various useful offices for the community; but was chiefly valuable as director of the music at Herrnhut. "His equal" said Zinzendorf, "has never been found in the church, since he departed to join the Assembly above." TOBIAS FRIEDRICH, so was he named, was probably the composer of many charming airs, breathing a passionate softness, which are still heard in the Moravian service. There was in the history of Herrnhut a strange period of hallucination, from 1741 to 1751, which the Brethren have themselves denominated the time of child's play, *Spielzeit*, "a time (says Kranz) of disorder in doctrine and practice." The sensuous mysticism which threatened them made itself apparent in the poetry of that period. All the riches of the German in diminutives was brought into request, and the child-like play did not avoid the awful names of Christ and his Spirit.* "They came at length," adds Kranz, to refine so much about the sacred pierced side of Jesus, and so to cover it with poetic figures, that the precious merits of Jesus were almost entirely sup-

* In speaking of diminutives, we must not be indiscriminate in one censure. Though we cannot say 'Jesulein,' yet it is Luther who sings sweetly,

"Merk auf, mein herz, und sih dort hin:
Was ligt doch in dem krippelin,
Was ist das schöne Kindelin?
Es ist das liebe Jesulin."

No English version can ever render the first line of that incomparable hymn, 'Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld.'

planted." Zinzendorf justifies the child-like style, but admits that it led to serious abuses.* He retracted some of his own hymns, which, to use Spangenberg words, have long been committed to the grave.

The judgment of Knapp—a high authority on this subject—is more favourable to the Count's rank as a poet, than that of Lange and Hagenbach. One merit his effusions unquestionably have; they are alive from beginning to end with love to Christ. Almost their sole topic is communion with the crucified Redeemer, and life from his agonies, and death. Zinzendorf was assisted in the preparation of hymns by several brethren, whose names should not be omitted. FREDERIC DE WATTEVILLE died in 1777. CHRISTIAN DAVID, a remarkable missionary, made celebrated by Montgomery.† MARTIN DOBER wrote some beautiful hymns.‡ With some blemishes which might easily be removed, the German Hymn Book of the United Brethren is a collection worthy of special note. The history of the society is interwoven with their sacred song, in a very remarkable manner, as might be shown by citing hymn after hymn, in connexion with the circumstances in which these compositions had their rise; but the limits of this article forbid such details.‖

The progress of free thinking in Germany, during the reign of Frederick the Great could not fail to make itself felt in hymnology. Even Klopstock, by needless and hypercritical alterations of ancient hymns, led the way to greater evils than he ever could repair by his numerous but academical effusions in this department. Bolder and less reverent spirits did not conceal their contempt for the venerable stanzas which were sung in churches. The king made himself merry with Schiller's favourite, *Nun ruhen alle Wälder.* The philosophers sneered at the ignorant declaration "all the world rests;" and their sapience showed its inconsistency with the revolution of the globe. It was to be read thus, "Now half the

* Knapp: Leben v. Zinzendorf.

† 'Ich will es kindlich wagen.' ‡ 'O dass ich der Sünde sterben.'

‖ Of hymns thus historically connected notices may be found, in Bost's History, at the following places: Vol. I. pp. 298, 354; Vol. II. 208, 236, 247, 249, 255, 309.

world doth rest." We have seen similar emendations among ourselves. A rhyming prose was more congenial with rationalism, than the fervours of obsolete piety; so the wine was mixed with water. This flattening and diluting process, to which the church hymns were extensively subjected, is known by a most expressive term.* The age produced, however, some poets, worthy of a better audience. Among these was GELLERT, into whose literary merits, in other respects, we are not called to enter. The spiritual songs of Klopstock and Cramer were rhythmical, correct and elegant, but in the judgment of many cold and stilted. Gellert attempted to reproduce the emotions of evangelical piety in the language of the day, but with simplicity and fitness for common use. If his hymns are far below the rapturous joy or tearful penitence of Gerhardt and Schmolck, they are expressive of genuine experience, and immeasurably above the measured dulness of his coeval. His friend and biographer, Cramer, relates, that Gellert never addressed himself to composition without a serious preparation of heart. His hymns were soon introduced into the Bremen and Leipsick collections, and formed the best part of them. But his morning hymn, 'My earliest feeling, gratitude and praise,' was altered to 'My earliest *business*, gratitude and praise.'† Gellert's hymns found favour among Roman Catholics, in Bohemia, Austria and other countries. Hagenbach admits that these productions are not always adapted to singing, or better suited to the parlour than the church; and he finds them, though free from doctrinal error, yet rather moral than evangelical; but he pronounces Gellert to be the benefactor of his generation. Many of his hymns are still sung with delight. The tone of these is in contrast with the coldblooded correctors of the old hymns, among whom were Spalding, Dicterich and Teller. The indignation of Herder at their wanton changes has already been recorded by us.‡

* 'Gesangbuchsverwässerung.'

† Thus we have known the too homely verse of Watts, 'The little ants for one poor grain, Labour and tug and strive,' amended into modern elegancy, '*Exert themselves* and strive;' and so printed.

‡ See antea pp. 373, 374.

There was no one who after these beginnings of decline made a more real contribution to evangelical hymnology than PHILIP FREDERICK HILLER, an excellent minister of Wurtemburg, who died in 1769. Next to the Bible, his little volume of hymns was the most common book in his native kingdom. His hymns are not at all of the Gellert school, but are coloured with the oriental imagery of scripture, and are utterances of just the feelings proper to Christian worship.* In Knapp's collection a judicious prominence is given to the hymns of Hiller.

Among the many names which arise for our consideration we must give the preference to the eccentric LAVATER. Following Dr. Hagenbach, we may place him between Tersteegen, Freylinghausen, Woltersdorf and Hiller on one side, and Gillert on the other. Fancy and feeling play their part in his verses, even though he sometimes trips for a moment into the rhetorical gait of Klopstock and Cramer. The remark has often been made, that Lavater's poetry is at times as prosaic, as his prose is poetical; but he was true to his character, verifying Buffon's saying, *Le stile c'est l' homme.* Whether he wrote letters, sermons, poems, dissertations, journals, or any thing else, or communed with God, with his friends or with his own soul, Lavater always acted out himself; not without affectations, but always with a basis of naturalness, candour, and honesty, which were the charm of his character and the secret of his influence.†

Our readers scarcely need to be guarded against the thought that we make any pretence to record the names of all German poets who have adorned the sanctuary with their gifts in the last century. A glance at any German hymn-book will show how endless such a task would be. The difficulty increases as we come down to our own times. Adventitious causes have given eminence to many names, and currency to many productions. Stars have arisen which will soon disappear. To which may

* A few of Hiller's hymns may be cited: 'Ich glaube das die Heiligen'—'Gott gieb mir deinen Geist'—'Mir ist Erbarmnng'—'Wie gut ists von der Sünde frei'—'Die Gnade sei mit aller'—'Herr, meine Lebenshütte sinkt'—'Was sind wir arme Menschen hier.'

† Kgschte d. 18. Jahrh II. 509.

be added the difficulty of learning the history of contemporary and living authors. We may be permitted rapidly to gather the names of a few whose compositions have given pleasure to the Christian heart, during the last period, which includes our own times.

Professor ARNDT, of Bonn, who illustrated the subject of German poetry by his works, is the writer of some good hymns. NOVALIS, a brilliant genius of fascinating enthusiasm, verging to mystical darkness, poured out some wild characteristic strains. DOERING and KRUMMACHER, both of Elberfield, wrote in the peculiar vein of old-time piety which has never ceased to be cultivated in that happy valley. HARTMANN is known to be the author of a most striking hymn, which has appeared in English.* SCHOENER, of Nuremburg, though paralytic, and forced to use a mechanical aid in writing, has left some warm spiritual songs. HAHN, a retired and scarcely learned Christian of Wurtemburg, gave to the public several hymns which will live. Professor ESCHENBERG, of Brunswick, added sacred verse to his other learned and elegant labours. ANNA SCHLATTER, who died in 1826, produced tender religious verse, which has won general acceptance. LODER, of Gotha, deserves notice for about forty hymns. LANGBECKER, wrote on hymnology, to which he also contributed; but his eminently pious songs are thought to lack correction. MENKEN, of Bremen, a Reformed minister, was also a sacred poet. BARTH, of Calw, is still, we believe, casting popular and pious verses into the stream of publication which issues from that fountain of beneficent literature. GARVE, of Neusaltz, on the Oder, has published more than six hundred hymns. A more distinguished place is due to SPITTA, of Hameln, whose productions rise to the higher poetry; his works in this department are much admired.* Last, but not least, we ought to name one to whose labours German hymnology is as much indebted as to any man living, ALBERT KNAPP, the editor of Zinzendorf, the *Liederschatz*, and other works, but also the translator of numerous hymns from the Latin and

* 'Endich bricht der heisse Tiegel.'

* See the new Lutheran Hymn-book, No's. 213, 225, 274, 550, 551, 636, 667.

English, and the author of many original ones which hold a respectable place among those of the modern school. Mr. Knapp was born at Tübingen, in 1798, but has occupied a distinguished clerical post at Stuttgart. And here, lest we be lost in the maze of contemporary fugitive writers, we close our recital, already lengthened, we fear, to tedium.

In order not to interrupt the progress of our sketch, we have turned aside very little from our path to speak of church-music, which nevertheless exerted an undeniable influence on the hymnology of the Germans. It would be a large and pleasing topic by itself. When we leave the stage of those early solemn masters of the reformation-period, whose type of church composition still predominates among their descendants, we arrive at periods in which powerful influences of the same kind are brought in from the advancing musical world. Not to mention Handel and Sebastian Bach, the Lutheran church possessed musical resources in a number of church-composers. Homilius, Schicht, and Berner were noted in their day. Schneider, Zumsteg, Fasch, Zetter and Klein are great musical names. Later still we arrive at Rungenhagen, Grell, Neukomm, and Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. Indirectly they modified the ecclesiastical taste, and added richness and accuracy to harmonies, even when they did not supersede the venerable melodies of public praise. More directly they produced a great, and more doubtful change, by the substantive addition of motetts, cantatas, chants, and anthems, in which they vied with the Scarlattis, Pergolesi, and Jomellis, of the Romish schools. Yet it must be owned, that the mighty impression of German hymns, as sung for three centuries, has been made by the slow, solemn, swelling, often pathetic movements of the congregational tunes, which need be heard but once, in favourable circumstances, to explain all that we mean. The people sing. They sing the same tunes to the same words. From childhood to age, the hallowed association is unbroken. Every year adds to the strength of attachment. The sacred airs, instead of being changed with the fashion of every new teacher or publisher, abide in massive dignity, little less mutable than the clustering piers and fretted arches of their stone cathedrals. Whatever aids can be derived there-

fore from imagination, memory, and reverent affection, are here combined in behalf of the national religious song. Hence the rigorous demarcation, even among a most musical people, between the music of God's house, and the music of the stage and the drawing-room. The two operate only in an indirect way on each other. The church borrows no lilting measures from the opera or the streets, and never violates the sanctity of communions or funeral rites by the intrusion of song-tunes redolent of secular or licentious remembrances.

How far the riches of German hymnology has been transferred into the Dutch and Scandinavian languages, we are unprepared to say; but many of their favourite productions have been translated into English. The deep impressions made upon John Wesley, in favour of German piety, first by his voyage to Georgia and residence there among the Salzburgers, and then by his visit to Herrnhut, in 1738, may have had a more direct bearing on the musical zeal of the early Wesleyans, than is commonly thought. Of those who sing the Methodist hymns, in different parts of the globe, there are few who know that some which they most approve are early translations from the German. Thus, for example, 'Commit thou all thy griefs,' is Paul Gerhardt's famous *Befiehl du deine Wege;* and 'O God thou bottomless abyss,' is Lange's *O Gott du Tiefe sonder Grund.* It is a most interesting fact, little known by our foreign brethren, that twenty-two of the Methodist hymns were translated from the German by John Wesley.* They include some of the most touching effusions of a collection as widely used as any in the world.

With all our predilections for the poets of our own tongue, we are forced to admit that our treasury of sacred song is less ample and varied than that of our neighbours. We could single out hymns in English, which in our judgment are fully equal to the best ever produced abroad; in matter, spirit, unction and lyrical completeness. In a purely literary view, the proportion of excellence is on our side. Correctness, elegance, and a certain pomp of verse, not without fire of passion, exist in the master-pieces of Watts, Wesley and Steele. But

* These are given in detail, in Creamer's Methodist Hymnology, p. 103.

in the union of tenderness, penitent, beseeching, and lamenting love, with a simplicity equal to the childlike naïveté of the old ballad, we admit that we are surpassed. German hymns, at the time of the Reformation, were, as we have said, to a great extent doctrinal; they were religious tracts in verse, and vehicles of the revived truth in every land. At a later period, especially under Gerhardt, while there were still many didactic pieces, often of inordinate length, the church hymn took a new form, which became normal. Hence the spiritual songs of Germany are characteristically emotional; and abound in direct addresses to God, and especially to the Lord Jesus Christ, expressive of the warmest evangelical feeling, and contemplating the Redeemer in all his offices, but chiefly as dying for our sins. Some of these are touching beyond expression. Sometimes they involve the peculiar tenets of the old Lutherans, but seldom offensively. All our indignation at Gerhardt's zeal against Calvin vanishes, when we sing one of his Passion-hymns. Such strains could have issued only from a spiritual church, and hearts filled with genuine emotions of grace. Even those too familiar expressions, which severe taste would reject, are products of unfeigned attachment; and are not without parallel in the stanzas of Watts and Hart. Generally speaking, the best German hymns concerning the person and sufferings of our Lord are marked by pure and reverent and spiritual affection. If German Christianity of the old stamp lays more stress than is common in America, on personal love for the Lord Jesus Christ, and on the sorrowing contemplation of his cross, it is only because we have too deeply felt the influence of northern theology, and the balance of advantage is clearly against us.

We rapidly indicated certain derelictions of the old manner. In the progress of modern innovation and theological development, new hymn-books, as a matter of course, were made. Though the popular habits of mind would resist an entire omission of the savoury old evangelical hymns, great changes really took place, and many additions by later hands have been in a spirit utterly foreign to that of Luther, Hans Sachs, Gerhardt and Schmolck. Our commendation of German hymns must not be extended to these, which show a beautiful

moonshine, instead of day, or a corpse decked with flowers instead of rosy life. They are Blair's sermons compared with Baxter and Bunyan, or Robert Montgomery by the side of Milton. What they gain in nicety and scholarship they lose in popular effect. They forsake the dialect of the people.

In a comparison of hymns as to number, we must at once abandon the field. We should be afraid to state the number of German hymns as sometimes given. On certain topics, a little aside from the common track of public worship, they have scores where we have one or two. Not to speak of their church-year, which is celebrated even to profusion by appropriate compositions, they abound in hymns for every season of the year and day, every station of life; and a little volume might be filled with Dying Hymns. The following titles, in Knapp's Treasury, include no less than seven hundred and forty-two articles: Hymns for New Year—the Four Seasons—Morning—Trades—Table—Evening—Birth-day—Week-days—Children—Youth—School—Charity-houses—Marriage—Household—Cradle—Juvenile education—Government—Servants—Widows—Orphans—Old age—the Sick—the Traveller—the Seaman—the Soldier—Times of famine—Tempest—Pestilence—Conflagration—Harvest. Of these, the morning and evening hymns alone amount to more than three hundred.

In order to account for this extraordinary number of hymns, we must adduce a fact which, so far as our observation extends, has never been placed in the strong light which it deserves. Hymnology is almost two centuries older in Germany than in Great Britain. In the English language, original hymns are of comparatively recent date. Recurrence to our books will show how few we employ further back than Dryden and Merrick. Both in England and Scotland the Psalms of David were sung almost exclusively for a large part of two centuries; and this is true of most churches in Scotland at the present day. There were unquestionably many sacred lyrical effusions, from private Christians, in both countries; such as some of Blackmore's, the celebrated hymns of Bishop Ken, and in Scotland "Jerusalem my mother dear," and Erskine's Gospel Sonnets; but these were not heard in public worship, and so never became the common property of the people. The gen-

eral and popular use of lively gospel hymns in England does not date much further back, than the labours of Watts and Doddridge, and the great revival of religious feeling under Hervey, Whitefield and the Wesleys: and it is remarkable how large a portion of the hymns now current among ourselves is derived from these very collections. In the Anglican Church, which best represented the English mind, the prevalent psalmody was first that of Sternhold and Hopkins, and then that of Tate and Brady. There are thousands of Presbyterian worshippers who to this very day content themselves with the rough, bald and scarcely metrical prose of Rous; and some, though their number is happily decreasing, who think it a sin against God to use any praises in his worship which contain the name of Jesus.

How greatly in contrast with this has been the state of things in Germany, we have sufficiently shown, Long before the Reformation, German Christians possessed a store of spiritual songs, partly from the Latin hymns of the Breviary, and partly the product of original pious feeling; since that time, we have attempted to trace the progress. We have seen in Luther himself a prince among Christian poets; and none can tell how much the great religious movement of the sixteenth century owed to those strains of his, of which one might say, as did Sir Philip Sydney, concerning Chevy Chace, that they "stir up the soul like the sound of a trumpet." There has been no time for three hundred years, in which German Christians have not been praising God in the words of original hymns. These have passed from mouth to mouth, and from father to son, and being connected with the freshness and dearest experiences of a most vital Christianity, as yet untainted by rationalism, have become part and parcel of the national inheritance. In this respect, they possess all the traits and influence of the English or the Spanish ballad. Indeed they bear a close resemblance to those popular and soul-stirring compositions, in vigour of thought, simplicity of structure, and homely raciness of diction.*

* In addition to the works named at the head of the article, and others noted in the margin, there are two to which our debt is so great that we cannot omit their titles; viz. *Hagenbach's* 'Kirchengeschichte des 18 u. 19, Jahrh, and *Alt's* Christlicher Cultus.'

ART. VI.—1. *The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany.* March, 1850. *On the Geographical Distribution of Animals:* July 1850. *On the Diversity of Origin of the Human Races.* By Prof. Louis Agassiz.

2. *The Unity of the Human Races, proved to be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason and Science.* With a Review of the Present Position and Theory of Prof. Agassiz. By Rev. Thomas Smythe, D. D. New York: George P. Putnam. 155 Broadway. 1850.

3. *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind.* By James Cowles Prichard, M. D. F. R. S. &c.

4. *Atlas Ethnographique du Globe*, ou Classification des Peuples Anciens et Modernes d' apres leurs Langues, Par Adrien Balbi, Prof. et cet: A Paris.

5. *Mithridates:* oder Allgemeine Sprachenkunde et cet: Von Johann Christoph Adelung, und Dr. Johann Severin Vater.

6. *Philological Proofs of the Original Unity and Recent Origin of the Human Race.* Derived from a comparison of the Languages of Asia, Europe, Africa and America. By Arthur James Johnes, Esq. London: 1846.

We think the protracted controversy touching the Origin and Unity of the Human Race is rapidly approaching its substantial settlement. This opinion is founded, not so much upon the earnestness with which it is now waged, as upon the progress which has been made, in shifting the grounds of the dispute, from the question of the diversity of species, to that of the diversity of origin, of the races of men, as well as upon the direct and inevitable issue which is now joined in regard to the bearing of the Scriptures upon the present state of the main question. This change in the whole aspect and bearings of the discussion, has been unexpectedly brought about chiefly by the agency of Prof. Agassiz, whose name and authority are so justly influential in questions of Science.

We shall not enter into the curious and instructive history of this controversy in its earlier stages; except to say that the

battle was waged, ever since the modern revival of the subject by Voltaire and his coadjutors in France, Germany and England, on the question of the Unity of Species in the Human Race. No one unacquainted with the subject, has any conception of the amount of learning and labour drawn into the discussion.

The work of Dr. Smythe, the latest on the subject, owes its chief value to the fact, that it is a general index, under the form of a resumé of the argument, to a large portion of what has been written on both sides of every view that has ever been taken of the question. It is a summary of the literature of the subject. Of its merits we have already spoken in general terms, in a former number of our Journal. Besides the extraordinary display of bibliographical research, which we think must add to the reputation, which Dr. S. has already achieved in this department of study, he may well congratulate himself, if his learned work has contributed to precipitate the change of ground, which the question has undergone in the hands of Prof. Agassiz. We look upon this change as matter of congratulation, for two reasons: 1. Because it is a concession that the position first assumed, and hotly maintained by the opponents of the Unity of the Human Race, is wholly untenable; and secondly because the new position of Agassiz, or rather his revival of an old exploded dogma of Mythology, is much less formidable, as we think he will soon find, than that from which he has drawn off his defence. If, therefore, Prof. Agassiz has turned the flank of the opposing argument, by a sudden and masterly change of his tactics; it is only because it was impossible, any longer to bear the resistless charge which modern scientific research, combined with modern ethnological learning, had precipitated upon the feeble and recoiling centre. And although, a certain class of persons, have set up a shout of applause, as if the manœuvre, which is really an abandonment of the old position, in order to escape the overpowering onset of truth and humanity, of science and religion, were the achievement of a victory, or at least the precursor of one; they will soon find that they are still equally within the range of the same artillery, so soon as its direction can be altered to bear upon the new line of

defence, and with no breastwork of protection, except a gratuitous hypothesis, resting upon a mere rhetorical analogy.

The unity of species may now be assumed as the established doctrine of natural history and of science, as well as of scripture and of christianity. The argument to which so much and so varied learning has been contributed, may at last be considered as scttled;—and settled notwithstanding the intense and often fanatical hostility to revealed religion on the part of those who raised it, in accordance with the plain teaching of Revelation. The claim of victory in regard to this point. rests not solely upon the concession of Prof. Agassiz, but upon the notorious fact that, at the present time, scarcely a single author of any considerable repute in science, can be named, upon the other side of the question; unless we except Doctor Morton of Philadelphia, whom we do not yet understand to be committed to that view, or Mr. Gliddon, who, notwithstanding his pretensions, and notwithstanding a certain amount of a certain sort of learning, has hardly vindicated for himself a clear title to rank above the charlatans of the age. It is possible that Dr. Nott (of Mobile we believe), or his friends, may claim on the ground of social or professional standing, to be a respectable exception to the combined voice of science and religion; but for ourselves we must candidly confess, that his gross and almost grotesque scientific blunders, the absence of all pretension to a knowledge of branches of learning indispensable to the determination of the question, and the open avowal of social and moral conclusions, which would shock the moral sense of any right-minded or humane person, place him in that class, on whom argument would be wasted, and for whom we have no other feeling than that of settled contempt. Against a few names of this sort, of very questionable authority, (by far the most influential of whom is Voltaire,) our readers may see in the work of Dr. Smythe, whole pages filled with the names of authors and their works, including the founders and modern cultivators of every branch of natural science which bears upon the question,—of Natural History, Anatomy and Physiology, Ethnology, Philology, and general Antiquarian Research.

It is but simple justice to our countryman Dr. Bachman to

say, that after the exceedingly elaborate and able works of Dr. Prichard, and his friend and colleague Mr. Johnes, which would have settled the question in the judgment of the great majority of candid scholars, the crowning contribution to the argument, in favour of the unity of the Human Species, is the clear and conclusive elucidation, contained in his work, of the characteristics of species in the animal kingdom. We do not hesitate to say that he has demonstrated beyond the possibility of overthrow, that the fundamental idea of species necessarily excludes the possibility of all permanent commingling of different species, by the process of reproduction. This conclusion, which he establishes from the widest induction of known facts, possesses an almost self-evidencing light. It is not only in strict analogy with all our ascertained knowledge of the constitution and laws of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, but it is obviously a necessary condition of the perpetuity of the plan of creation embodied in those kingdoms. On no other condition would the classifications of natural history be possible. On no other could there be any system at all; and if the living world had originally been created in specific forms susceptible of classification, it would have been impossible on any other principle to have perpetuated the original scheme; and the world as we now have it, would have become one vast chaos of shifting forms, an inextricable and incalculable commingling of species in all conceivable proportions—a world of unclassifiable hybrids. If therefore Dr. Bachman has seized upon the true fundamental principle by which species are distinguished, and on which alone they can be classified, viz: the constant law of specific reproduction, the question of the unity of the human species is now finally settled, on philosophical grounds, as well as by general consent of the learned, and by the authoritative teachings of divine revelation.

The doctrine of Agassiz then is, that while all mankind are of one species, yet the varieties of men did not originate from one source or parentage, but are separate indigenous creations, originating in the several localities in which they prevail respectively. This is the general fundamental postu-

late of the hypothesis: its details and consequences may come before us as we proceed.

The line of argument adopted by Professor Agassiz is simple, but ingenious. In the first place he avoids the resistless evidence for the unity of the species, which had been accumulated in the course of the previous argument. In the second place he endeavours to evade, by making a new issue, the overwhelming testimony of the Mosaic record, to the essential and specific unity of mankind. This he fully admits.

In the third place, he tacitly assumes, that upon the other question—the diversity of origin of the different races of men—the scriptures are silent. He claims it therefore, to be purely a question of science, on which neither history nor tradition casts a ray of light, and with which neither revelation nor the social or religious condition of the race, has the slightest connexion. Having thus cleared the ground of all previous hypotheses and of all a priori probability and testimony in the case, he proceeds to lay down his own hypothesis. In doing so he again quietly and adroitly assumes, that the diversities existing among men, though compatible with the unity of the race, are too great to be explained by the operation of physical agencies, and therefore require a different origin to be assigned, at least to their most marked peculiarities. And then finally, the great and indeed the only positive argument in favour of his hypothesis, is drawn from the analogy which he assumes to exist, between the creation of man and that of the animal and vegetable kingdoms.

"We can see but one conclusion from these facts, that these races cannot have assumed their peculiar features after they had migrated into these countries, from a supposed common centre. We must therefore, seek another explanation. We would remind the reader of the fact, that these are not historic races, that there are not even traditions respecting their origin, to guide us in the investigation, that some of the most different races are placed in parts of the world most similar in physical circumstances, and that we are therefore left to unravel the mystery of their origin, by the light induction may afford us. Under these circumstances we would ask, if we are not entitled to conclude that these races must have originated where they occur, as well as the animals and plants inhabiting the same countries, and have originated there in the same numerical proportions, and over the same area, in which they now occur; for these conditions are the conditions necessary to their maintenance, and what among organized beings,

is essential to their temporal existence, must be at least one of the conditions, under which they were created. We maintain, that, like all other organized beings, mankind cannot have originated in single individuals, but must have been created in that unmeric harmony, which is characteristic of each species; man must have originated in nations, as the bees have in swarms, and as the different social plants have at first covered the extensive tracts over which they naturally spread." *Christian Examiner, July* 1850, pp. 127, 128.

The *proton pseudos* of this whole hypothesis, lies in the assumption that there is no historical or authentic solution of the question; or in other words that the Bible is either not entitled to be heard upon it, because it is unworthy of credit as an authentic or inspired record, or because this is a question of science, on which the Bible was not intended to pronounce, any more than upon questions of astronomy or geology, or else because the language of the Mosaic narrative is so loose, and its teaching so indefinite, as to furnish no determinate solution.

We are happy to acquit Prof. Agassiz of any intention to impugn either the authenticity or inspiration of the sacred scriptures. The earnestness with he disclaims this purpose, as well as that of deprecating the political condition of the servile races, is honourable to his heart, and stands in marked contrast with the coarseness, and brutality, as well as the absurdity, of those who have seized upon his name and reputation, to shield and justify their puny assault upon the Bible, and the ill concealed joy with which they trample on humanity and riot in the ruin of their degraded fellow-men. We are sorry to add, however, that Prof. Agassiz does repeatedly sanction, and sometimes we think neither in good temper nor in good taste, those slang phrases which jar upon our ears, and sound to us as inconsistent with his accustomed courtesy, as well as that refinement and liberality of feeling, which true science ought to generate.

The changes are rung for example in endless variety of irony and sarcasm, upon the inability of the friends of Revelation to "conceive that the Bible is not a text book of natural history," and we are reminded *ad nauseam*, of the groundless fears entertained by the theologians of the church of Rome, three hundred years ago, in regard to the influence of

"the brilliant discoveries of Galileo," &c. Now we should be glad, once for all, to set this matter in its true light. We are not claiming, nor do we know of any true theologians who do, that the Bible is a text-book in natural history, or astronomy, or geology, or any other purely human science. But are the propounders of this new hypothesis incapable of seeing, that it is not on the ground of natural history at all, but because it meddles with the high questions of revealed religion, the history of the introduction of sin and evil, the origin of depravity and death among the human race, the plan of redemption by Jesus Christ, the diffusion of the blessings of Christianity, the highest earthly consolations and the everlasting spiritual hopes of the majority of the human family, the great springs of human brotherhood, and the reciprocal duties and relations of humanity; it is because it involves, as Agassiz himself shows, these high moral and religious questions, and not from its connexion with questions of natural history, that the friends of revelation and the church feel called upon to interfere in these discussions. Are these points to be settled by the naturalists on the principles of pure science? Surely it cannot be expected that we should keep silence, while these gentlemen are overturning, however scientifically it may be done, the foundations of society, and extinguishing the immortal hopes of a moiety of the race.

The question of the origin of mankind, it will not be denied, is a question of fact, and therefore a question to be settled not by a priori or inductive reasoning, but by evidence. The question is not how mankind could have originated in accordance with the laws of science, but how they did originate in point of fact. In other words, it is a question of history, and not of science; and the only relation which science can hold to it, depends upon the evidence which it is capable of furnishing, touching the question of fact. That this is the true state of the case is clear, not only intuitively, but by the admission of Prof. Agassiz; because he specially confines the application of his argument to what he terms the "non historic races." Now, although we believe and are sure that his assumption, that there are no historical indications, "not even traditions respecting their origin, to guide us in the investigation," is exaggerated and

untrue, yet we will not enter into an argument on this point at present. We allow this entire class of historical and traditionary evidences to go by default, and take up our defence on the position that God has revealed to us in his inspired word, the true and genuine history of the origin of mankind, and that in that inspired record all mankind are derived from one common origin;—in other words, the Bible teaches that all nations are descended from Adam and Eve.

The authority of the record, let it be remembered, is not disputed; the only questions are these two:—1. What is the subject matter of that record; and 2. What does it teach in regard to that subject. These surely, are not questions in natural history: and it will take all the logic, and all the sophistry besides, of our opponents, to twist them into such.

The truth is that Prof. Agassiz, has strangely confounded two entirely distinct questions. The real question in dispute, is, did all mankind spring from one origin: but the question which he argues, is this, how did the diversities between the different races, the African and the Caucasian, for example, arise. That these are radically different questions, and not merely different aspects of the same question, if it is not intuitively evident, can easily be made apparent. Suppose for the sake of argument we grant the assumption of Prof. A. that the causes to which philosophers have ascribed the varieties characteristic of the different races, are inadequate to account for those diversities;—what then? Does it follow from this, that those races did not spring from one common ancestry, as the Bible has been universally understood to affirm? By no means. The utmost that would follow, is that the causes of those diversities was still a mystery; but it would not follow that other agencies, might not have produced them. What is there, for example, to prevent our ascribing them to special supernatural agency. Our inability to explain the philosophy of a fact, does not disprove the existence of the fact. Prof. Agassiz may controvert, to his satisfaction, the solutions which have been offered to explain the varieties of colour, features and form, existing among men. These are questions of science about which the Bible is no text-book; but when he proceeds to deny the unity of their origin, he is passing be-

yond the proper domain of science, and joining issue with the authority of the inspired record, about a question of fact. None of the known agencies, collectively referred to what we term climate and civilization, may be adequate to account for the differences of the races, and yet they may have originated from the same source notwithstanding.

The utmost that can be required of us in holding fast to the doctrine of the scriptures, is to suggest a hypothesis by which the diversities of men may be conceived to have arisen, on the supposition that they are all children of the same primeval pair, and not to explain the agencies by which they have been actually produced. Indeed in strictness even this is not indispensable to our belief of the fact, if its evidence be clearly made out. It may, like the darkening of the sun on the day of the crucifixion, or the occurrence of the deluge, transcend all analogy, and yet it may be true.

This leads us to say that besides misapprehending the true point at issue, and confounding two distinct questions, Prof. Agassiz has inverted the true order of the topics involved in the argument. Instead of inquiring what the Bible actually teaches about the facts of man's origin, as he should have done after admitting its authority, and then proceeding to inquire how far the facts accord with the existing laws of the human constitution, how far the changes involved are referable to natural agencies, and how far they transcend or contradict our present knowledge of those agencies, he first sets himself to prove, or rather assumes, that existing or known causes are inadequate to explain these changes; and then hastily infers that the changes could not have occurred at all, as the history affirms. In other words instead of applying his philosophy to the facts, resting as they do upon inspired testimony, he undertakes to square the facts to his imperfect philosophy; or which amounts to the same thing, he forces the Bible to utter a language in contradiction to the uniform interpretation of the Christian world.

His mode of argument is precisely analogous to the fallacy by which the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, has been assailed and rejected on scientific grounds, viz: because it is incompatible with all the known laws and agencies of

nature. Who does not see that this is inverting the order of these truths: and that the friends of revelation are not required to explain how the dead are raised, or tell with what body they come, but simply to vindicate the possibility of the doctrine; or in other words to suggest a hypothesis, consistent with the analogies of nature and providence, by which the power of God can accomplish the result in question. Indeed we could easily construct an argument, on the very principles of Prof. Agassiz, against the doctrine of the resurrection, or against a hundred historic facts in the history of Israel, like the crossing of the Red Sea, or the capture of Jericho, a thousand fold more plausible than that by which the unity of origin of the races of men, has been assailed. The truth is the process is false in its logic; no wonder therefore that the result is a fallacy. It is this same method of reasoning which has proved the prolific source of the error and infidelity which has overrun the theology and the church, of both Germany and France, under the imposing name of rationalism.

The argument of the naturalists resting as it does upon the alleged impossibility of accounting for the extreme diversities of men, supposing them to spring from the same stock, falls to the ground of course, if we can suggest a hypothesis, by which the possibility of the result becomes conceivable. What would Prof. Agassiz say if we should persist in denying that the butterfly had ever been a chrysalis, or a moth or a larva, because none of the known laws of vital mechanics, or of vital chemistry will account for the transformation. Is it not abundantly plain, that the primary and fundamental question in all such cases, is not a question as to the manner or the means, but a question of fact; subject only to the single condition that the fact does not involve a palpable impossibility, or rather contradiction; for in all cases depending upon the purpose and power of God, there can be no impossibility, except that which involves a contradiction. Scepticism has, in all ages, built its ramparts and constructed its batteries upon this very foundation, the determination to reject as false in fact, what it cannot comprehend in philosophy.

We think, therefore it is clear, whatever line of argument we take up, that if we have a revelation at all, whose author-

ity is admitted in regard to the origin, the character and the destiny of the race, the true method of procedure is to ascertain whether that revelation has spoken at all, and if it has, what is the purport of its teaching.

We have already shown the fallacy and futility of the reasoning, which would rule out the testimony of the Scriptures, on the ground that they were not intended to be a text-book of science. The only question that remains upon this point, is the fundamental question, What is the doctrine of the Scriptures?

The exegetical hypothesis of Prof. A. is, that the Bible professes to give only "the history of the white race, with special reference to the history of the Jews," and that "nowhere, the coloured races as such are even alluded to." All the general statements of the Bible are interpreted on this assumed hypothesis, and we must do the author the justice to say, that it is consistently and fairly carried out. "Do we," asks the writer, "find in any part of the scriptures, any reference to the inhabitants of the arctic zone, of Japan, of China, of New Holland, or of America?" "We challenge those who maintain that mankind originated from a single pair, to quote a single passage in the whole scriptures, pointing at those physical differences which we notice between the white race and the Chinese, the New Hollanders, the Malays, the American Indians, and the negroes, which may be adduced as evidence, that the sacred writers regarded them as descended from a common stock."

There is nothing in these passages of the obscure inuendos, or sneaking equivocation, characteristic of the scriptural references made by other writers, whose insincere, as well as shallow columns we have recently waded through. We are met with a frank and open challenge to produce the doctrine of the scriptures. This is a fair issue; and though we are startled at the boldness with which the glove is thrown down, we cannot hesitate to take it up.

That the Scriptures do really and unequivocally teach, that all mankind are descended from one primitive pair, may be argued 1. from that class of passages which directly affirm their unity. It would be alike impossible and useless to

attempt to exhaust this division of our argument; because the doctrine underlies and pervades the whole Bible. We can, therefore, present only a selection of the passages which affirm the doctrine, and treat them as specimens of their class.

We naturally turn first to that explicit and remarkable declaration of the Apostle Paul, in his address to the learned and philosophical Athenians,—"God hath made of one blood, all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him." This passage is too comprehensive and explicit in its statements, to be interpreted under the Canon of Prof. A., which restricts the import of the historic scriptures to the Jewish, or at most the white races of men. He therefore attempts to break the force of its testimony, by maintaining that it imports merely, "that all men are men, equally endowed with the same superior nature, inasmuch as this figurative expression applies to the higher unity of mankind, and not to their supposed genital connexion by natural descent." We greatly fear from this specimen, that Prof. A. would cut as bad a figure in expounding Greek, as in playing the theologian. He surely knows that the phrase ἐξ ἑνος ἁιματος in uniform Greek usage, as well as the analogous expression in Latin, denotes with idiomatic precision, the very "supposed genital connexion by natural descent," which he repudiates: and if we may venture to throw back a challenge, we invite him to produce a single passage, from any Greek author, whether Classical, Hellenistic, or patristic, in which this expression "applies to the higher Unity of mankind." We fancy he will find that questions in Greek philology, cannot be settled to the satisfaction of scholars, by investigations in natural history, any more than questions in theology, and the social history of man. If this passage be conceded to include all the races of men, as it must, it settles beyond the reach of debate, that their relation is one of consanguinity, (the very idea can hardly be expressed without using a synonym for "one blood,") and not of those higher intellectual moral qualities which ally us with angels, just as much, and often more, than with the degraded nations of the earth.

Another class of texts which affirmt he same truth, are those which deseribe our first parents by name, as the actual progenitors of all mankind. Some of these refer to Adam and some of them to Eve; some of them are explicit, others implicit only, in their testimony. In Genesis iii. 20, it is said, Adam called his wife's name Eve; *because she was the mother of all living.*" We really feel much the same diffieulty in reasoning on such a text, as in attempting to prove that two and two are four, or that the simplest declaration in history means just what it says. How can the meaning of sueh a statement be made plainer? On what ground can it be pretended that it means that she was the mother of the white race alone? Were there no other races known to Moses, when he penned the passage? Was he not familiar with the African races in Egypt and Ethiopia? We do not mean to meddle now with the question whether the Egyptians and Ethiopians of the Bible were Africans or Caucasians. However this may be, it is notorious from the paintings and inscriptions of the Pyramids and temples, that the negro race were no strangers to the Egyptians. Were they not recognized as human beings, at least in a sense that would class them under so general a phrase as that used by Moses, when he says "she was the mother of all living?" What idea must this expression have conveyed to readers who were as familiar with the negro race in social life, as we are? Or had some philosophie naturalist already demonstrated, on physiologieal prineiples, that all the coloured races were of distinct and inferior animal origin; so that this comprehensive statement of the inspired historian, was in no danger of being understood as including any others than the white races. How can we treat such reasonings with soberness or patience.

Again, in Deut. xxxii. 8, the "divided nations," are expressly called "the sons of Adam." And by the Apostle Paul, who will hardly be thought ignorant of the existence of the coloured races, or guilty of excluding them from the promises and blessings of the gospel, Adam is called "the first man;" not simply, as the connexion shows, because he was the first in point of time, but first as the head of the race, including all its varieties so far at least as they are interested in the

salvation of Christ; who accordingly is set in contrast with the first Adam, as "the second man, the Lord from heaven."

Not only does the sacred historian assert this doctrine in naked general statements, but he expressly undertakes to trace down the re-peopling of the earth after the deluge, from the sons of Noah, to his own cotemporary period. As we are hampered at every turn for the want of space, we shall pass entirely the intermediate varieties of men, and give our opponents the utmost advantage of controverting, if they can, the extreme position that the negro races are deduced in Scripture, expressly from the progeny of Ham.*

We shall not argue the question, whether the Egyptians belong to the Caucasian or African divisions of the race. It will not be disputed that they are descendants of Ham, and not of either Japhet or Shem. "The sons of Ham," says the sacred writer, (Gen. 10 : 6.) "were Cush and Mizraim, and Phut and Canaan." That Mizraim is Egypt, is not disputed. That the term Cush, uniformly rendered Ethiopia, not only in our version but most others, both ancient and modern, describes the home of a coloured race, we presume no one will have the boldness to deny. A portion of the Cushite race, it is well known, inhabited the south of Arabia, and so belonged to the Asiatic and not African geographical divisions of the race. This is the source of the confusion in the use of the word Ethiopia by Herodotus and other secular historians and ethnologists. On this it is unnecessary to dwell. The only point upon which we now insist, is that the scriptural patronymic Cush, is used to designate a coloured African race, and that race is expressly declared to be descended from Ham. In this sense it was understood by almost every ancient authority known to us. In this sense it is used by the Prophet in the proverb, "Can the Ethiopian (*Cushite*, in the original), change his skin."† In this sense Champollion found it uni-

* There is no chart comparable for explicitness and authority in unfolding the mazes of ancient ethnology, with the 10th and 11th chapters of Genesis.

† By the way, could any more explicit reply be given to the remarkable challenge of Prof. A. to produce a single passage in the whole Scriptures, pointing at those physical differences which we notice between the white race and the Chinese negroes, &c., and the equally remarkable assertion, that "there is no where any mention of those physical differences characteristic of the coloured races of

formly used upon the hieroglyphic monuments of Egypt, and Lepsius has traced it back as far as the monuments of the sixth dynasty, B. C. Even our Mr. Gliddon admits that "the hieroglyphical designation Kesh is exclusively applied to African races, as distinct from the Egyptians, for 3000 years before Christ," and therefore long before the great influx of Negro and Mulatto races into Egypt as captives.* That this term designates not only an African but a Negro race, is proved not only by the genuine negro skulls being found among the Egyptian mummies, but by the monumental paintings, where they are portrayed in unmistakable limning, as in the conquests of Rameses II. on the Temple at Beit-e-welle. It can hardly be necessary to reply to the feeble remonstrance of Mr. Gliddon, against the contribution he had accidentally made to the cause of truth, by alleging that the Cush of the monuments is not identical with the Cush of Scripture. If other scriptural terms are used in great numbers and in the same sense,—"If, for example, the KHeM of the monuments is the Ham of the Scriptures, and the Ka Na Na of the monuments is the Canaan of the Scriptures," and if innumerable other names both of countries and persons are identical, as the Egyptologists admit with one voice, when there is no point to be carried, "why is not the monumental *Kush* also the Cush of the Bible." Let Prof. A. and his friends answer the question if they can; and when they have made a show of reasoning upon the negative of the question, we may have something farther to say.

Truly our opponents must count largely upon our patience. While they assume merely on remote analogical grounds the most extravagant and radical hypotheses, upturning the whole

men, such as the Mongolians and negroes, showing that the sacred writers considered them as descended from a common stock." This is another proof, if any were needed, that Prof. A. has ventured on ground which does not belong to him, and from which he can hardly hope to escape without broken bones. And if he does, we advise him to study Hebrew, before he ventures back again. He will then ascertain that the Ethiopian, who certainly "points at those physical differences," &c. between the white and coloured races is none other than a Cushite; and that Cush was the oldest son of Ham. Is it necessary for us to go farther, and tell the Professor who Ham was?

* See a copious abstract of this argument and the authorities from whom it is compiled in the learned work of Dr. Smyth, chap. ii. and appendix A.

foundations of the social relations of the race, they require us to prove the most elementary propositions, even though they may have formed unquestioned portions of the universal belief of mankind in all ages. And when we produce the explicit declarations of cotemporary records, we are coolly told that language has changed its meaning, and we are expected to believe, without proof, that when Moses, born in Egypt and educated "in all the learning of the Egyptians," uses the name of a prominent country, he means an entirely different country, inhabited by a totally distinct race of beings, from that which the same name uniformly designated among the Egyptians at the same period, and for centuries before.

The force of these considerations is all the greater from the undisputed fact, that the coloured races of men certainly were known to the sacred writers, even if we grant that they were not included in their historic narrative. The silence of the scriptures with regard to them, especially in view of the concession that "they were men equally endowed with the same superior nature," strikes us as a most violent and unaccountable supposition, while using language so comprehensive and particular. In view of the admitted unity of the races of mankind is it not incredible that such studied language should be intended to be restricted to a single division of that race, in defiance of "that general bond which unites all men of every nation," so strongly that "the physical relation arising from a common descent is entirely lost sight of, in the consciousness of its higher moral obligations." If such was the clear consciousness of unity pervading mankind, we ask whether such language and such statements would not have been so liable to misapprehension, as to call for a caution or a limitation. If the interpretation now set up be the true one, have they not in point of fact been misunderstood in all ages, and by those most, who have most studied them. Is it credible that a revelation from God covering such great and momentous themes, would be couched in a phraseology, which it requires the comparative physiology of a few naturalists in this remote age of the world, to interpret to us, by applying the disputed hypotheses of natural science? We really can hardly refrain from replying to those grave inquiries by the belittling but expres-

sive monosyllable—pshaw. Seriously we submit that the silence of the scriptures as to the existence of other races of men, is itself conclusive proof that no such races exist.

But it is contended by our opponents that these are vague general statements, like the language of the Bible on all matters of science which have no necessary relation to the great moral lessons which it was intended to inculcate. Now although this certainly has no appearance of being loose popular language, we shall find the same doctrine clearly taught, in forms demanding the rigorous interpretation of careful logical statements, and woven into the whole fabric of the scriptures in such a way that it can neither be separated from them, nor misunderstood in its connexions.

It will hardly be denied by Prof. A. that the moral character and condition of the human race, is a fundamental theme in the revelation of the scriptures, and that they intend to explain the origin and history of sin and evil in the world. This, at least, will not be claimed to be a question in natural history. Here then at last we seem to have found a fulcrum on which our scriptural lever may rest. It has been the universally received doctrine of the Christian world, that the scriptures ascribe the introduction of sin, the existence of evil, the spread of corruption and violence among men, the occurrence of the deluge, the selection of the Jewish nation, and in a word the entire history and economy of the old testament, to the fall of Adam, and the natural descent from him of a fallen race, "begotten in his own likeness, after his image." Whatever diversities of opinion may have divided the theological world, as to the philosophy of this result, we believe there is none as to the fact, intended to be asserted in the scriptures; namely that somehow, sin and evil were introduced into the race through Adam as its progenitor. No other meaning is conceivable in multitudes of passages which occur, not in loose popular declamation, but the terse rigid logic of Paul, in his reasoning upon death and the resurrection, and upon the cognate topics of sin and righteousness, of condemnation and redemption. To quote the passages in detail, would be to quote the whole Bible. This is the very gist of the Bible. It is humanity in its fall and recovery, not as Prof. A. assumes, Judeism, nor Caucasian-

ism, nor white civilization, but the fall and recovery of man. The Bible asserts this fall and destined recovery, not of the Jews merely, nor of the white races, but of the whole race, and of all the races. Many of them, that are not Caucasian are specified by name, Ethiopia (*Cush*, African,) Sinim, (*China*, Mongolian,) the Islands of the sea (*Oceanica?*) "God looked down from heaven upon *the children of men*, (not the Jews nor Caucasians merely but the *sons of Adam*, as the Hebrew has it, referring to the fall of Adam as the source of their evils,) to see if there were any that did understand, that did seek God. Every one of them is gone back, they are altogether become filthy; there is none that doeth good, no not one." The history of all the races confirms and demands this interpretation. They are all equally sinners, and their sinfulness can be explained on no other principle in accordance with the uniform teaching of the scriptures.

That this is the true interpretation of these passages is made, if need be, still more clear, by the corresponding texts relating to the redemption of the human race. These two classes are precise counter parts of each other. "As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." 1 Cor. 15: 22. "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous." Rom. v. 19. The most cursory perusal of these two chapters will satisfy any one that the sacred writer is running a parallel between the effects of the natural head of the race and the effects of the second Adam, the Lord from heaven. No matter what explanation may be given of the philosophy of the relation which they sustain to those whom they respectively represent. If there are races whose sinfulness and suffering do not come to them through their descent from Adam, it is clear that they have no connexion with the benefits of the redemption of Christ. If we are to read that as in Adam the Jewish nation or the Caucasian race all die; we must continue the reading, so in Christ shall the Jewish nation or the Caucasian race, all be made alive. Surely naturalists make bad work with theology and the scriptures.

There are but two methods of evading the conclusiveness of this reasoning. The one is to repudiate the scriptures en-

tirely, or which amounts to the same thing in effect, to argue every question of religion on the principles of science, and force revelation to utter whatever conclusions may be extorted by the process. The other is to accept the other alternative, and boldly admit that there is no provision in the scriptures for the salvation of any of the colored races. This resource is equally desperate.* Have not thousands and hundreds of thousands, even of the obnoxious negro races, in point of fact already come under the saving power of the gospel? That they are sinners precisely in the same sense, and to the same extent as the white races, will not be denied. They cannot, therefore, be saved without the gospel, any more than they; unless indeed they have some other gospel. Or is it true, that notwithsianding their admirable and beautiful exemplification of the Christian virtues, due solely to a religion in which they have no interest, they are all destined to ultimate and eternal degradation and misery. Either they are so pure and elevated in character, as not to need the atonement of Christ and the washing of regeneration to fit them for heaven; or else they are all doomed to perish without an interest in the redemption that is in Christ Jesus; seeing the benefits of that redemption are limited in the scriptures, to the sin and condemnation which descend, in some sense, as an inheritance from their first father, to the race of Adam. We are painfully aware that these points on which we have been insisting at wearisome length, belong to the very alphabet of theology, and are no more to be brought into question by doubtful conclusions in natural history than the definitions and axioms of geometry. But if influential and learned men will deny that the scriptures mean what they say, and when they speak of "men," of "all men," of "all nations dwelling on all the face of the earth," of "all living," of "every creature," insist that they mean only the white races, what can we do, but undertake to prove as we best can, that white is not the only colour, and that a half is not equal to the whole.

With this disposition of the subject we might rest, for

* Does not the command, Go ye into *all the world*, and preach the gospel *to every creature*, mock this arbitrary restriction of redemption.

we have no fear of the world,—(we hope we may add none of Prof. A.)—giving up its revelation, its religion, its hopes and its immortality, or compromising those of half the race, for the sake of a hypothesis in natural history, that is without any other proof than conjecture, supported at the best by a rhetorical analogy; and which has been repudiated and is still rejected by the great majority of the naturalists themselves.

But as we cannot forget that there are some, and among them we fear the Nestor of the opposing argument himself, who will not accept a demonstration based upon the Scriptures, however clear it may be; and as we fully believe that the facts of the natural world will be found in perfect harmony with the revealed doctrines of the word of God, we propose to examine briefly the physical analogies that are involved in this issue. The main positions of Agassiz are 1. that the diversities of men are too great to be explained on the supposition of their unity of origin; 2, that the doctrine of diverse origins is indicated by the analogies of the animal and vegetable kingdoms; and 3, that it is indirectly taught in the Bible itself.

To the first of these positions we reply 1. that the result in question may be supernatural. Of course if we fall back upon the resources of Almighty power, the hypothesis cannot fail for the want of adequate agency, unless it involves a contradiction. We think we could easily answer the objection, if we thought it worth our while, that this solution "assumes that the order of creation has been changed in the course of historical times." Are we not assured that such changes have occurred, not only by the historical testimony of the Scriptures, supported by tradition and profane history, but by the scientific records graven upon the great tablets of nature. To say, nothing of the successive creations and revolutionary epochs of geology, was not the entire destruction of the race of man, with the exception of a single family, and the re-peopling of the earth by the dispersion of the descendants of that family, a "change in the order of things within the course of historical times," fully equal to that which is briefly recorded in the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of the races? Is it not sufficient to vindicate the probability of the change in question, if we

suggest a reason of sufficient magnitude to justify it,—according to the requirement of the great Roman critic, "Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus inciderit." And is not such an occasion suggested by the previous stages of human history? If the first great experiment with man of 1600 years resulted in "a change in the order of things," such that the race of man was exterminated by a universal deluge, is it against analogy to suppose, that when God saw the rise of a new empire of universal wickedness and violence, he should break up the powerful combination by which its consummation was sought, by another change, implying no specific departure from the type of the race, but simply a confusion of their language, and a dispersion of the several branches, by means of such diversities as would effectually secure its end? Was not the separation and preservation of a seed to serve him and to be the depositories of his truth and his church, an event of sufficient importance, to justify such a dispersion, by any agency that did not infringe upon the humanity of the races? Is there any thing in the fact, admitting it to be supernatural, that is contradicted by the clear analogies of creation and providence; and admitting that it does transcend in magnitude any other divine interposition, or change in the history of the race, is there any thing in it impossible, or even so improbable, as to compel us to reject a well attested Revelation as untrue, merely because it teaches the doctrine in question. If God by the prophetic lips of Noah in the combined patriarchal characters as King and prophet of his race, forejudged one portion of his offspring to be not only the depository of his truth, but to develope that type of humanity which was to enshrine the glory of the Godhead, and another to sway the sceptre of ultimate dominion, and doom a third, for the guilt and shame of its head, to long degradation and servitude to its brethren, is there any thing out of the common analogy of Providence, if he who is wise in counsel, and wonderful in working, should write his decree in the physical constitution of the respective races,—if he should clothe the one in the outward symbols of its glory as the ancestry of the Messiah, and invest the others in the public badges of imperial dominion on the one hand, and of degradation, inferiority and subjection on the other. Who does not

know that it is by these very means, he executes his will; and that the physical inferiority of subject races, as they exist for example in the castes of India, is as much the instrument, as the sign, of that inferiority.

But we state this ground, not for the purpose of resting our argument upon it, but to show the superfluity of strength and resources, which the question involves. Although we believe, this view of the subject to be just and unanswerable, yet we fully believe and hope to show, in the second place, that the result in question does not transcend the analogies of existing agencies and laws.

In the first place, the inferior orders of the animal kingdom supply us with innumerable examples of varieties spontaneously springing up under our eyes, analogous in every particular, including features, form, colour and hair, to those which distinguish the coloured from the white races of men. That familiar domestic creature, the swine, within the limits of what are well known to be varieties of the same stock, and within a very recent period, will furnish any of our readers analogies in point. In general form, and colour, and in the size and shape of the cranium, and face, the diversities will be found far surpassing those which separate the coloured from the white races of men. We will find varieties ranging from 50 to 1200 lbs., in weight, and with the greatest differences of physiognomy. Perfectly black specimens of the animal, and an entire variety, as black as any African, is familiar to many of our readers. If Prof. A. insists upon the web finger as a mark of inferior development in the African, we can match it again, by the variety with the hoof entirely solid, existing not only in Hungary where it might be claimed to be of doubtful origin, but springing up and multiplying rapidly among ourselves. If the objector makes his stand upon the wool of the negro, we point to the inverse but analogous change in the sheep and the goat. The former covered with straight hair in the West Indies and the latter clothing itself with its exquisitely soft, furry covering in Cashmere, and exchanging it for coarse hair when removed from its home in the Himmalaya ranges.

It is unnecessary for us to inquire into the causes of these changes; it is sufficient that they occur. We beg to refer

our readers again to the admirable manual of Dr. Bachman, noticed in a late number of our Journal, where they will find an argument upon this point which seems to us unanswerable.

2. The second analogy to which we appeal, is the origin of individual peculiarities in all the races of men, equal to, or even greater than those which separate the races from each other. Dr. Prichard has collected numerous and curious examples of this well known fact. He mentions, for example, the case of a negro family from the heart of Africa, where no white traveller had ever been seen, in which for several successive generations, one member, at least, had been entirely white, (not of the variety called albinos nor yet a mulatto) and with scarce a vestige of the negro features. On the other hand, it is within the observation of us all, that individual varieties are constantly arising among the pure white race, very strikingly analogous to a qualified form of the negro type, and surpassing the characteristics of the other coloured races, in all their essential features. Now if such varieties can spring up in the very heart of any given type of men, without any of the assignable causes, merely as extreme accidental products of the law of personal diversity, where is the impossibility of races being produced by the same means, from a single original source. What hinders us to suppose, that in the dispersion of the human family, it was ordered by Providence, for the more perfect separation of the fragments, that the progenitor of each race should possess strongly marked peculiarities of this description; and that the separated families were so completely severed from each other by linguistic and other causes, that those marked peculiarities were propagated, as a family likeness would be, if the parties were shut up to exclusive intermarriage among themselves, so as to exclude all disturbing or corrective elements. That this is possible, is clearly proved by the case of the Jews, who present to us a physiognomy, bodily, mental and moral, which after thousands of years of every extreme of climactic influence, the most casual observer will recognize at the present hour; in every quarter of the globe.

At this point we are to introduce an element, in accounting for the diversity of men, on the hypothesis of their common

origin, which we believe has been entirely left out, or at any rate egregiously overlooked and underrated, by Prof. Agassiz—we mean the law of hereditary descent. That law is such, that all the personal peculiarities of the parents are liable to be transmitted to their offspring, not only in their fulness, but with a constant tendency to exaggeration.* This latter principle is well known to those who are interested in preserving or improving the breed of the lower orders of animals. Hence the necessity of preserving the blood of a variety perfectly pure. A single cross is liable to spoil the process. The same law exists to the same purport and the same extent in man; but its evidence is less obvious from the constant intermixture of different or remoter blood. This law of essential sameness with a tendency to exaggeration, applies to the mental as well as the bodily features of men. Its existence and power are very strikingly displayed in the well known tendency of repeated intermarriages in the same family, to produce insanity. The obvious solution of this fact is, that mental and moral peculiarities descend with increasing exaggeration till they soon become monstrosities, or what we term derangements, i. e., departures from the standard specific type, occasioned by successive additions to the strength of the individual peculiarities which are exclusively propagated, until they become morbid, or in other words abnormal. This result is prevented, by the constant mixture in all conceivable proportions, of those countless diversities which are constantly springing up, in obedience to another element of the law of reproduction, viz: that which provides for individual peculiarities, in subordination to general similarity. This same law applies to physical or bodily peculiarities; provided only that they are originally, set up not as the result of external violence, but functionally—that is, as the product of constitutional organic action. It is not necessary that they should be congenital; if they arise by a functional or constitutional process. Indeed it would seem that varieties are sometimes established and propagated from accidental organic lesions. Dr. Bachman has

* Hence it is that varieties when once set up, are permanent; and do not alter back again, unless by a process, which consists essentially in a skillful mixture of breeds.

shown that this has happened repeatedly among the lower animals; and we ourselves know of a family, in which for four successive generations, one or more of the children has been born with a hole in the ear, identical in character with that which fashion prescribes for the insertion of a ring. It is well known, however, that congenital or constitutional varieties of form, features, colour, hair, and every thing which separates one extreme of mankind from another, even to such as are entirely abnormal to the standard type of the species, like persons with six fingers, six toes, defective limbs, albinos, woolly hair, and the remarkable porcupine family in England, (cited by Prichard and Lawrence) all are liable to be propagated for generations; until the *vis formativa* of the constitution in which they inhere, is overcome and eliminated by the successive and predominant intermixture of other organic lives. And the facts, as we have them under all these disadvantages, seem to establish the point, that if these varieties could be isolated, they would establish and perpetuate varieties of men still wider from the standard type of the human species, than any that are extant, and yet originating in a common source.

But we have now to superadd to all these diversifying agencies, that in which alone the solution of the whole phenomena has been sought, and by many able philosophers believed to be found; namely the influences of climate, and culture and social position. How far these may operate in producing by the secret but powerful chemistry of nature, the individual peculiarities on which we have been insisting, we have no means of determining. But that they exert a deep and controlling influence upon the human constitution, and thus tend to produce widely different varieties, is so obvious as not to need any elaborate proof.

On this point we are obliged again to accuse Prof. A. either of extreme unfairness; or if his argument is candid, then we must pronounce it unworthy of him, for feebleness. The assumption runs through the whole of this portion of his articles, that climate depends solely upon temperature; or upon temperature combined with similarity in the external features of the country. The whole force of his argument against the potency of climate in the production of diversities like those

which distinguish the human races may be stated in two propositions; viz. 1. That we find the different races inhabiting precisely similar climates without the production of the same physical peculiarities. Those peculiarities cannot therefore be the result of climate. 2. No change of climate will restore the different varieties of men to one common primitive type. The African, for example, does not grow white, and conform his features or hair to the type of the white race, when he is brought to the United States.

It cannot be necessary for us to dwell for a moment on so familiar and elementary a truth, as that varieties when once established from whatever cause, are rendered permanent by the law of reproduction, where no mixture of blood occurs; and no climatic or physical treatment, without this, will restore them to the same type from which they are known to have originated. The argument of Prof. A. upon the insufficiency of climate, food, and mode of life, assumes thoughout, not only that climate means similarity of temperature and geographical locality, but that climate is claimed to be the sole cause of the diversities in question. Hence he says, "if men originated from a common centre, and spread from that centre over the world, their present differences must be owing to influences arising out of peculiarities of climate and mode of life. And if such changes have really taken place, they must correspond to each other in different parts of the world, in proportion as the physical conditions are more or less similar Compare now the inhabitants of China with those of the corresponding parts of Africa and America; and in regions which are physically speaking under most circumstances alike, we shall find the greatest differences between them. In the temperate zone we have in the old world, Mongolians and Caucasians and Indians in America,—races which do not resemble each other, but yet live under the most similar circumstances." This reasoning we must say looks disingenuous; though we hope it is not. In the first place, it is not contended that the climate and mode of life alone, produce the effects in question. The agency mainly relied upon, is the two fold bearing of the law of reproduction, which is well known to establish a national type of features and physical

constitution so marked as to be easily recognized in a very few generations. Even New England, the common receptacle of people from every nation of Europe, has already developed a type of physiognomy and character, which we will undertake to discriminate from that of every other country upon the face of the earth. But in the second place, there is a vast deal more in climate, as Prof. A. very well knows, than he seems to include. There are agencies whose existence we have no means of detecting or measuring, but whose potency we cannot question. How easy it would be to prove, on the principles of his argument, that *cretinism* is not a climatic product; because we do not find it produced in other Alpine localities "which are physically speaking under most circumstances alike." Although we may not be able to display the noxious agents in any tangible form, we know but too well that there are hidden causes, which belong to climate, which do produce changes of the most decided and deleterious kind, upon the constitution of man, both physical and mental; and that these are capable of incorporation into the individual and national characteristics of those who are permanently subjected to their influence.

A single glance at the population of a manufacturing or mining town in England, *with their children*, will send the fearful conviction through the heart of the stranger, that even the artificial circumstances connected with a crowded population, in its death struggle for existence under the crushing social power of overgrown wealth, may produce the most appalling influence upon the physical, mental and moral constitution of its victims; and that these are subject to the law of hereditary transmission. To these must be added the more formidable and resistless agencies of nature, working on a scale of power which man cannot rival. There are causes which in their subtle but destructive activity elude our detection, but reveal their power in the fatal waste of vital energy, both physical and mental, at which the traveller stands aghast, as he looks upon the wan, spectre-like, inhuman, or idiotic victims of the insidious poison. They must be seen to be appreciated: but some idea of our meaning may be suggested, if we refer the reader to the population of the low sea-coast of

Batavia, in the island of Java, where no foreigner can spend a night without inhaling death, to the deadly malaria of the west coast of Africa, where the white race seem incapable of living even now, and to that repulsive inscrutable but unquestionably climatic product, the *cretinism* of Alpine Europe. If the human species is to be perpetuated under these noxious influences at all, must it not be in inferior forms and imperfect development? And who does not know that all these are transmissible by natural descent? Now if there be this intimate and appalling connection between the secret powers which in their collective form, we term climate, and the physical and mental health of those who are subjected to them, why may they not reveal themselves in the course of long generations, in outward forms expressive of their destructive tendencies; forms of mental and bodily inferiority, such as we see originating no where but in regions of this sort. And does not the constitutional resistance which nature makes to these deteriorating and deadly influences develope just that predominance of low, animal, we had almost said vegetative, force, which ultimately charcterizes such populations?

The strength of the case against the common origin of men, arises from setting the extreme degeneracy of the African race, in immediate proximity with the highest type of the Caucasian. The contrast is truly appalling. But to say nothing of the intermediate races which graduate these extreme diversities with every intermediate gradation of diversity, so that there is no part of the scale where individuals cannot be found, who might not with equal propriety be assigned to the rank below or the rank above, we will risk the judgment of our readers by a comparison the most favourable possible for our opponents. We will place in juxtaposition three persons, one of whom shall be the stalwart chief of a pure negro tribe from the northern boundary of Senegal, another a member of the lowest caste of Hindoos, but of unmixed Caucasian blood, and the third, the finest specimen which humanity has yet produced, a portly English nobleman; and we put it to Prof. Agassiz, or any other man, whether the African is not as far superior in every physical element to the one Caucasian, as he is inferior to the other. The same result would be obtained

if we place a female coal-heaver from the mines of Northumberland, with massive, muscular, gnarled limbs, curved spine, bent form, open and projecting mouth, dilated nostrils, low forehead, unintelligent eye and sensual expression, by the side of a refined and cultivated daughter of an old baronial house. In all the essential features of humanity we will undertake to furnish wider diversities, and those produced within a few short generations, from the British Islands alone, and such as the observer will find more difficult to reconcile with unity of origin, colour alone excepted, than those which divide the lower and degenerate classes of the white races from the better sorts of any of the coloured races. We will undertake to match every characteristic feature of the negro race, with equal individual departures from the standard type of the white, excepting only the colour and the hair. For these also we will find analogies in almost every species of domestic animal; and if we are allowed the entire range of the Caucasian family, we will furnish parallels even to them, without asking for four thousand years of isolated barbarism and degeneration to produce them. And if we must be reminded by the more vulgar abettors of the hypothesis of diversity of origin, of the distinguishing odours which repel us from the inferior races of men, we will only ask to introduce our objectors into the atmosphere of typhoid patients, subjected for a single fortnight to a malaria scarce more virulent, than that which the negro races have been breathing for forty centuries. Is it wonderful that in the compensative organic instincts of their nature, they should have been enabled to exhale these poisons, along with the gross materials of their barbarous food, through the cutaneous tissues, in a form so little harmful. But whatever the philosophy of this sebacious aroma of the African may be, it is surely no sufficient reason, any more than his woolly head, for turning the world upside down, in order to reduce him to a beast of burden.

The diversities of colour which we have excepted from the solution thus far offered, of the diversities of men, will hardly be claimed as an inseparable barrier to their unity of origin. It will not be denied that each of the primitive races, whatever their origin may be, includes almost if not quite every variety

of colour, either as a permanent or accidental peculiarity. We ourselves have seen Mongolians, Malays, and Oceanicans, of lighter colour, than multitudes of the European stock of Caucasians. And on the other hand, it is notorious that some portions of the Caucasian race, are as black as any Guinea negro. If therefore, we receive Prof. Agassiz's hypothesis, which assigns these different races to different local origins, there is still wanted some solution for the origin of every hue of colour, found among the unquestioned descendants of each separate original locality. If we admit his reasoning against the adequacy of climate and civilization, to produce these diversities of colour, still the fact remains, that these diversities have somehow sprung up, and among "historic nations" too, in their extremest forms, without any intermixture of blood from the coloured races. To say nothing of the Hindoo nations, whose language, civilization, traditions, and historic testimony, settle their Caucasian origin; every body knows that the pure Jewish race exhibit every variety of colour, from the ruddy English complexion, through the brunette and swarthy hue of the continent of Europe, to the dark, or almost black, of the Indian peninsula. It is notorious, that colour, both in animals and men, is among the most variable qualities of species, even where the unity of origin is undoubted. The same difficulty exists in the way of Prof. Agassiz, and his twenty zoological centres, as in that of those who make but one. We cannot, therefore, be embarrassed by this fact, or yield to it any such predominance, as to adjust the ethnology of man, by the outlines which it describes upon the geography of the world. And as we have shown before, that all the other features which distinguish the races of men are found as individual or class varieties in each race, and that, collectively regarded, essential diversities as fundamental and extreme, exist between different individuals and classes of the same race, as between the lowest class of one race, and the highest class of the race below, we submit whether we have not redeemed our promise, to furnish analogies which render the common origin of all mankind conceivable; and which leave us at perfect liberty to accept what the entire Christian world has always understood to be the doctrine of the scriptures.

And we desire it to be always borne in mind, that we offer these analogies, not so much by way of explaining fully the actual causes of the diversities of men, as for the simple purpose of vindicating the possibility of their occurrence, on the supposition of a community of origin; for this is all that even courtesy demands of us.

The only avenue of escape, we can see, from the conclusion to which this reasoning shuts us up, lies in the assumption, that while individual varieties, equal or even greater than those which distinguish the human races, are liable to originate from the common type, yet these are inadequate to account for the phenomena, when they occur upon so large a scale, as the human races exhibit.

Although we might well leave the objection to be answered by the multitudes of analogous cases in the animal kingdom, and the known capability of the human race to establish and perpetuate similar varieties, on the principles already indicated, yet we will apply to the objection a final analogy, which seems to us conclusive. We allege, therefore, that in historic times, whole tribes of men have diverged from a common origin, and established diversities so wide, and comprehending so many and important features, as to furnish analogies fully adequate to answer the objection now before us.

Prof. A. divides Africa into three distinct zoological provinces, each constituting a separate origin of population; the north peopled by a branch of the great Caucasian race, the middle by the pure African or negro race, and the South, by the collected, and affiliated tribes of Caffres, Hottentot and Bushmen.

The Bushmen (Bojesmans) may be regarded as the lowest existing race of human beings; and if any can vindicate the necessity for Prof. A's hypothesis of a distinct origin, it is they. They are without houses or huts of any sort, kenneling in caves or open excavations in the ground, naked, lank, and half starved, living on roots, insects, lizards, snakes, and the eggs and larvæ of ants. The average stature of the men, according to Prof. Lichtenstein's observations, is about four and a half feet, and that of women about four feet. Peculiar and abnormal, organic appendages characterize the sexes, the spine is

curved in a remarkable manner, and deposits of fat are laid upon the hips, analogous precisely to that which occurs in the variety of tail-less, fat-rumped Cape-sheep, so well known to travellers in the East. The organs of speech are also quite peculiar. "They have numerous guttural sounds produced deep in the throat, and pronounced with a peculiar clack of the tongue. They combine their aspirated gutturals with hard consonants, without an intervening vowel, in a manner that Europeans cannot imitate." They were considered by Prof. Lichtenstein, who examined them with care, and by very general consent for a time, as a separate race of men, both from their anatomical structure, and their strange and diverse speech. That their peculiarities could not be referred to climate, in the narrow sense of the word, was clear from the remarkable contrast exhibited by the adjoining tribe of Caffres; who are noble specimens of savage human nature for height, strength and beauty of form. Prof. Vater at length succeeded in analysing their extraordinary speech, and found that it was a comparatively recent dialect of the common Hottentot language, merely masked by the excessive barbarism of those who used it. Subsequent researches have cleared up their history. It is now well known, that they are an affiliated tribe of the Hottentot and Caffre family, reduced to this state of unparalleled physical degradation, by complete isolation from surrounding tribes, and the pressure of causes subsequent to the historic period of the occupation of South Africa by the white races of men. The Korannas, one of the finest and most portly of the Hottentot tribes, and far superior in every physical and moral respect to some tribes of Caucasian stock, was overtaken in the very process of transition from their comparatively elevated pastoral state, to that of these miserable wrecks of human beings. Here then we have a decisive analogy on a large scale, in proof of the possibility of producing such extreme diversities of form, size, features, and speech, as separate the different races of men, where yet community of origin is historically ascertained. No one conversant with the facts, we think, can hesitate to admit, that the difference between the miserable puny race of Bushmen, and the upright and noble forms of the adjoining Caffres, is immeasurably

greater, in every essential particular, than that between the negroes of the Niger and the Fellatahs of the Desert. Why then are we to assign distinct origins to the two last, when the first are known to be branches of a single stock, of comparatively very recent growth?

This question brings us to the positive evidence, if we can by courtesy consider any thing in the article of Prof. A. as positive evidence, in favour of the new hypothesis. And in the first place, we find a hesitating claim, that the Bible favours the hypothesis of separate creations, because "Cain is represented to us as wandering among foreign nations, after he was cursed, and taking a wife from the people of Nod, where he built a city, certainly with more assistance than his two brothers." This argument we venture to leave standing in its solitary grandeur on the vast tract of revealed truth: the more so, from the fact that if it has not been answered, against the cavils of a thousand infidels, we are disposed to admit that it is unanswerable.

The last, and we might almost say the only argument, on which Prof. A. relies, is the analogy which he "assumes" to exist between the creation and distribution of men and the lower orders of the animal and vegetable world. The hypothesis, "to which" he informs us, "more recently, naturalists have seemed to incline, is the assuming several centres of origin from which organized beings were afterwards diffused over wider areas." This hypothesis, he argues, if true in the case of animals and plants, must be applied also on analogical grounds, to the origin of man. And as it would be preposterous to suppose that each species of plants sprang from a single seed or even a single centre, or each species of animals from a single pair, so "we are entitled to conclude that these races (of men) must have originated where they occur, as well as the animals and plants inhabiting the same countries, and have originated there in the same numerical proportions, and over the same area, in which they now occur; for these conditions are the conditions necessary to their maintenance, and what among organized beings is essential to their temporal existence, must be at least one of the conditions under which they were created."

"We maintain, that like all other organized beings, mankind cannot have originated in single individuals, but must have been created in that numeric harmony which is characteristic of each species; men must have originated in nations as bees have originated in swarms and as the different social plants have at first covered the extensive tracts over which they naturally spread."

We certainly have no occasion to take up the lamentation of the perplexed patriarch, "O that mine enemy had written a book." The most mischievous imp could not desire better game than the Professor makes himself in this extraordinary passage. We really have not the heart or face to attack him in such a plight, with serious argument. We freely concede that a rhetorical analogy is no target for the weapons of logic.

We might it is true, suggest, that the language in which the inspired historian describes the creation of plants and animals, is very different from that which is used in the history of the creation of man. "Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind." "Let the waters bring forth *abundantly* the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the Earth." "Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle and creeping thing and beast of the earth after his kind; and it was so." Though we have no very high estimate of the exegetical powers of Prof. A., we think he might perhaps perceive, that the sacred record does not require us to believe that all plants of a kind came from one seed, or all herrings from one pair; although it does teach very explicitly, that God made a single pair of human beings, "in his own image, male and female created he them. And God blessed them and God said unto them. Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the Earth, and subdue it." If "the races of men must have originated where they occur;" if "mankind cannot have originated in single individuals," and if "men must have been created in nations as bees were created in swarms," then, indeed, besides giving up the Bible as a text-book in natural history, we must concede that the inspired historian was sadly qualified by his inspiration, to say nothing of his common sense, to tell the simplest truths. If the "same numerical proportions"

which now exist among the races, "must be at least one of the conditions under which they were created," it seems to follow, that Adam and Eve were not the progenitors even of the white race, who "must have originated where they occur, as well as the animals and plants inhabiting the same countries." We had always supposed, moreover, that man was a migrating being, and that it was an elementary fact in his social life, that the present races of men did not, all of them at least, "originate where they occur." But if the origin of men can be determined on a priori principles, we do not see why their subsequent history cannot be also. We, in common with our ethnological brethren, would be greatly obliged if Prof. A. would discover and show us at least the skeletons of the true original population of Europe, who, as history affirms, lie buried beneath six or eight successive landslides of Asiatic Nomades. And whom, we beg respectfully to ask, does the author mean by the indigenous American race? He knows of course, that this continent has been successively submerged by at least two deluges of restless human beings, differing in language and in civilization, as widely as the noble architectural remains of the Southwest differ from the naked and sometimes grotesque earth mounds and rude implements of the North Western races.

The simple fact is, that while plants and animals were doubtless created in large numbers, and probably each species in its appropriate locality, yet it is very far from being an established doctrine in natural history, that any single species, was originally created in more than one locality or province. And even if it were, the analogy utterly breaks down, in passing from the history of the animal and vegetable creation, to that of the single race, which was set as sole monarch over both; and whose origin, history, and destiny are given with minute particularity in the sacred record.

In expressing our gratification that Prof. A. has abandoned the old hypothesis of diversity of species, in favour of that of unity of species but diversity of origin, we wish it to be understood that while we appreciate the nature and importance of the change, we do not look upon it as a change for the better, in itself considered. It is far otherwise. The new position is

just as hostile to the scriptures, as flatly contradicts their obvious meaning, and is just as pernicious in its social bearings, as that for which it is exchanged. But for these mischievous results, we should not deem it worthy of an argument at all; for we are confident, from its inherent weakness, that it will soon fall to pieces under its own weight.

We do not forget that Professor A. indignantly denies all sympathy with the infidelity and inhumanity, which have fastened themselves to the publication of his views. And we confess that the temper with which he disavows all responsibility for these consequences, is not entirely to our mind. It is more easy than satisfactory, for him to say, "I am not responsible for the results. I did not make the facts." Very true. The facts, we may thank God in the name of humanity, are not made by philosophers or naturalists, however eminent or honoured. But is it nothing to broach opinions, susceptible, we will not say of abuse, but of applications whose legitimacy is not denied but admitted at least by implication, in the very attempt to throw the responsibility of their consequences coolly upon God. This will never do. However he may disavow all hostile designs, he should know that those to whom he is lending the sanction and influence of his name and reputation, (for they have none of their own,) have one great ultimate object in view; and that is to break down the Bible, in order to get rid of its sanctions, for ulterior purposes. We should fancy that Prof. A. would be startled, if not humiliated, by the yell of congratulation and triumph, with which his avowal of these opinions has been received, by the whole crew of infidel philosophers, and seized upon as a justification of their traffic, by the breeders and drivers of slaves. Is there no evidence in such companionship of the tendency of his doctrines; and does this tendency furnish no clear suggestion of their falsehood? Are there no principles of morals or humanity, settled in such sense that the remote analogies and vague conjectures of science would be disproved by their simple antagonism. Is there no such thing as the reductio ad absurdum. To be the hero of such a mixed multitude, we should think, would be quite as dubious as a testimony to the truth of the views which awaken their hosannas, as it is questionable as a

compliment. At any rate, the notorious consequences which, as corollaries of these views, have filled the lower class, both of our populace and our periodicals, with joy, constitute a sufficient reason, why the friends of humanity should look after these speculations.

We confess, moreover, to some fear, that the learned Prof. is not wholly unaware of the important and radical social bearings of the doctrines he has propounded. In the very act of disclaiming all responsibility for the consequences, and all connexion with "the religious, moral and political relations of men," we are not so much surprised as pained, to find him recognizing and sanctioning some of the most obnoxious and repulsive of the deductions, which both friends and foes of the hypothesis have seen to be inevitable. We should think his own complacency in the harmlessness of his scientific speculations, would be somewhat startled by finding himself discussing, on the grounds of those speculations, the great questions which occupy the attention of this Christian age of the world. He denounces as "mock philanthropy and mock philosophy," the whole ground on which rests the grand Christian movement of this century, to clothe the barbarism of the remoter and inferior races of men with what he calls the "civilizations among the nations of the white race." The plain English of this, as it seems to us, obviously is, that it is "mock philanthropy and mock philosophy" to attempt to Christianize "the submissive, obsequious, imitative negro," or the "tricky, cunning, cowardly Mongolian." That this would be the triumphant inference of the avowed enemies of the Bible and Christianity, might have been easily foreseen; but that Prof. A., an avowed believer in both, should have pushed his doctrines to this open conclusion, is certainly rather startling evidence, that they have something to do, notwithstanding his disclaimer, with "the religious, moral and political relations of men."

It is very true that Prof. A. attempts to shield his hypothesis from so serious a responsibility, by alleging that these inferences follow from the notorious and admitted inequalities of the different races, in "abilities, powers and natural dispositions," "whether those inequalities are primitive, or whether

they have been introduced subsequently to the creation of one primitive stock." To this method of defence, by involving others in the same condemnation with himself, we must again beg leave to demur. There is a world wide difference between the hypothesis which ascribes the inequality,—the moral and social degradation of the negro, for example,—to a primitive and separate origin, and that which regards it as a mere deterioration from one common primitive standard of humanity. In the one case of course, it is hopeless. The stream can never rise higher than the fountain. If such was the true original created type, such it must remain substantially. In this view of it, the author may well say, "we have always considered it as a most injudicious proceeding, to attempt to force the peculiarities of our white civilization of the nineteenth century (Christianity?) upon all nations of the world." But if, on the other hand, those nations which have sunk lowest in barbarism, are only the more degenerate offspring of the same parentage, and degenerate chiefly or wholly in consequence of the withdrawal of a pure religion, in order that it might be kept pure by a single chosen people, under the immediate guidance and control of God himself, until Immanuel should come to perfect and extend the work of man's regeneration:—if in a word, the theory of the Bible and the Christian world be true, what hinders but the restoration of that religion, now instinct with a divine power infused by the Son of God, may, by a gradual regenerating influence, restore these fallen races to their primitive condition;—or to use the language of the New Testament, that they may be "renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created them." And that this glorious consummation is not to be restricted to the Jews, or even to the white races, the Apostle adds, "where there is neither Jew nor Greek, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all."

We have now endeavored to set the question on its true basis; and having vindicated the title of the scriptures to be heard as an authoritative witness in the case, we have shown that their testimony is clear, multiform and decisive. We have farther vindicated the credibility of their teaching, by pointing

out various obvious methods of reconciling it with the constant analogies of nature, and above all with the Power and Providence of God. We have also examined the reasoning on which the new hypothesis rests, and found it wholly unsatisfactory and futile; as well as fraught with monstrous consequences. It still remains for us to show, that if the Christian revelation were out of the way, as well as the radical and preposterous consequences of the doctrine, in regard to the future treatment of the coloured races, the hypothesis is still directly contradicted by the present state of our ethnological, and especially our philological knowledge. This after all, is the argument from which we had hoped the most, so far as we have any hope of convincing the authors and abettors of the new hypothesis; as it is philosophical in its character, and conclusive in its applications. We find ourselves, however, unexpectedly compelled, for want of space, to postpone this portion of the discussion, at least for the present. Meantime we wish to say, that we hold ourselves prepared abundantly to show, that whether all the races of men are children of one common parentage or not, it is clear at least, that the hypothesis of Prof. Agassiz cannot be true. Nations whom he assigns to distant zoological provinces, originally without any sort of community, speak languages that are fundamentally the same. These linguistic analogies, moreover, will be found not in immediate contiguity with their assumed centres of origin, or among tribes that might possibly have changed their language as the Goths did in conquering Italy, but in the very heart of other provinces, removed beyond the possibility of any such changes, and of so radical and decisive a character, as not to admit of being grafted, by intercourse, upon the stock of a distinct race of beings. And if we may be allowed, without offence, and with the most profound respect for the learned and distinguished Professor upon all questions belonging to his own department, to use the language of the drama, the whole may be concluded with the amusing philosophic comedy, (for it certainly cannot be regarded as a serious argument) in which Prof. Agassiz undertakes to account for the similarity of language found among the nations belonging to his different

zoological provinces, and to nullify any possible argument in favour of their unity of origin, from the striking analogies which the study of comparative philology, still in its infancy, is every day disclosing.

ART. VII.—*The Theology of the Intellect and that of the Feelings. A Discourse before the Convention of the Congregational Ministers of New England, in Brattle Street Meeting House, Boston, May 30th*, 1850. By Edwards A. Park, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary.

THE normal authority of scripture is one of the subjects about which, at the present time, the mind of the church is most seriously agitated. The old doctrine of the plenary inspiration, and consequent infallibility of the written word, is still held by the great body of believers. It is assailed however from various quarters and in different ways. Some of these assaults are from avowed enemies; some from pretended friends; and others from those who are sincere in thinking they are doing God service in making his word more pliant, so that it may accommodate itself the more readily, not to science, but to the theories of scientific men; not to philosophy, but to the speculations of philosophers. The form of these attacks is constantly varying. The age of naked rationalism is almost over. That system is dying of a want of heart. Its dissolution is being hastened by the contempt even of the world. It is no longer the mode to make "common sense" the standard of all truth. Since the discovery of the *Anschauungs Vermögen*, men see things in their essence. The intuitional consciousness has superceded the discursive understanding; and Rationalists have given place to Transcendentalists. In the hands of many of the latter, the scriptures share the same fate which has overtaken the outward world. As the material is but the manifestation of the spiritual—so the facts and doctrines of the Bible are the mere forms of the spirit of Christianity; and if you have the spirit, it matters

not what form it takes. These gifted ones, therefore, can afford to be very liberal. They see in Christianity as in all things else, a manifestation of what is real. They pity, but can bear with those who lay stress on the historical facts and doctrinal assertions of the scriptures. They look on them as occupying a lower position, and as belonging to a receding period. Still men can have the substance in that form as well as in another. The misfortune is that they persist in considering the form to be the substance, or at least inseparable from it. They do not see that as the principle of vegetable life is as vigorous now, as when it was expressed in forms extant only as fossils, and would continue unimpaired though the whole existing flora should perish; so Christianity would flourish uninjured, though the New Testament should turn out to be a fable.

This theory has more forms than one; and has many advocates who are not prepared to take it in its full results. Neither is it confined to Germany. With most of the productions of that teeming soil, it is in the process of transplanting. Shoots have been set out, and assiduously watered in England and America which bid fair to live and bear fruit. The doctrine that "Christianity consists not in propositions—it is life in the soul,"* and a life independent of the propositions, of necessity supercedes the authority, if not the necessity of the scriptures. This doctrine, variously modified, is one of the forms in which the word of God is made of none effect.

Another theory, intimately related to one just referred to, is the doctrine that inspiration differs in degree, but not in nature, from the spiritual illumination which ordinary men enjoy. Just in proportion as the religious consciousness is elevated, the intuition of divine things is enlarged and rendered more distinct. If sanctification were perfect, religious knowledge would be perfect. "Let there be a due purification of the moral nature," says Morell, "a perfect harmony of the spiritual being with the mind of God—a removal of all inward disturbances from the breast, and what is to prevent or disturb this immediate intuition of divine things?" p. 174.†

* Morell's Philosophy of Religion, p. 172.

† Morell is a very superior man. He stands among the first rank of repro-

The inspiration of the sacred writings, resembles, he tells us, that of men of genius. The natural philosopher is so in harmony with nature he has a sort of intuition of her laws; the poet from sympathy with his fellow men, can unfold the workings of the human breast; and so good men, from congeniality with God, can see the things of God. Of course the trustworthiness of the sacred writers differs with their goodness. Those of the Old Testament, standing on a much lower level of moral culture than those of the New, are proportionately below them in authority. The weight due to what these writers say, depends not only on their relative goodness, but also on the subjects of which they treat. Beyond the sphere of moral and religious truths, they can have no peculiar authority, because to that sphere the intuitions of the religious consciousness are of necessity confined. The greater part of the Bible, therefore, is not inspired, even in this low sense of the term; and as to the rest, it is not the word of God. It is merely the word of good men. It has at best but a human, and not a divine authority; except indeed, for those who repudiate the distinction between human and divine, which is the case with the real authors of this system. We are, however, speaking of this theory as it is presented by professed theists. It has appeared under three forms, according to the three different views entertained of the Holy Spirit, to whom this inspiration is referred. If by that term is understood the universal efficiency of God, then all men are inspired, who under the influence of the general providence of God, have their religious consciousness specially elevated. This is the kind of revelation and inspiration which many claim for heathen sages, and concede to Christian apostles. But if the Holy Spirit, is regarded as merely "the forming, animating, and governing principle of the Christian church," then inspiration

ducing, as distinguished from producing minds. His book is a simple reproduction of the doctrines of the German school to which he is addicted; but it is remarkably clear, well digested, and consistent. He understands himself and his masters. This is a great deal. Still he is but an intelligent pupil; and those who wish to understand the theory which he presents, would do well to study it in the writings of its authors. They will find it there in its nakedness, freed from those delicate concealments which a traditionary faith has imposed on Mr. Morell.

is confined to those within the church, and belongs to all its members in proportion to their susceptibility to this pervading principle. Again, if the Holy Spirit be recognised as a divine person, dispensing his gifts to each one severally *as he wills*, inspiration may be a still more restricted gift, but its essential nature remains the same. It is that purifying influence of the Spirit upon the mind which enables it to see the things of God. It is simply spiritual illumination granted to all believers, to each according to his measure; to the apostles, it may be conceded, in greater fullness than to any others, but to none perfectly. The Bible is not the word of God, though it contains the aspirations, the convictions, the out-goings of heart of men worthy of all reverence for their piety. The distinction between the Scriptures and uncanonical writings of pious men, is simply as to the degree of their piety, or their relative advantages of knowledge. It is not our business to discuss this theory of inspiration; we speak of it as one of the modes in which the authority of the Bible is, in the present age, assailed.

Under the same general category must be classed the beautiful solo of Dr. Bushnell. He endeavoured to seduce us from cleaving to the letter of the scriptures, by telling us the Bible was but a picture or a poem; that we need as little to know its dogmas, as the pigments of an artist; the aesthetic impression was the end designed, which was to be reached, not through the logical understanding, but the imagination. It was not a creed men needed, or about which they should contend. All creeds are ultimately alike. It is of no use however to score the notes of a dying swan, as the strain cannot be repeated, except by another swan in *articulo mortis*. Dr. Bushnell has had his predecessors. A friend of ours, when in Germany, had Schleiermacher's Reden über die Religion put into his hands. When asked what he thought of those celebrated discourses, he modestly confessed he could not understand them. "Understand them!" said his friend, "that is not the point. Did you not feel them?"

We are sincerely sorry to be obliged to speak of Prof. Park's sermon, which was listened to with unbounded admira-

tion, and the fame of which has gone through the land,* as inimical to the proper authority of the word of God. But if it is right in him to publish such an attack on doctrines long held sacred, it must be right in those who believe those doctrines, to raise their protest against it. We are far from supposing that the author regards his theory as subversive of the authority of the Bible. He has obviously adopted it as a convenient way of getting rid of certain doctrines, which stand out far too prominently in scripture and are too deeply impressed on the heart of God's people, to allow of their being denied. It must be conceded that they are in the Bible. To reconcile this concession with their rejection, he proposes the distinction between the theology of feeling and that of the intellect. There are two modes of apprehending and presenting truth. The one by the logical consciousness (to use the convenient nomenclature of the day) that it may be understood; the other by the intuitional consciousness, that it may be felt. These modes do not necessarily agree: they may often conflict, so that what is true in the one, may be false in the other. If an assertion of scripture commends itself to our reason, we refer it to the theology of the intellect, and admit its truth. If it clashes with any of our preconceived opinions, we can refer it to the theology of the feelings, and deny its truth for the intellect. In this way, it is obvious any unpalatable doctrine may be got rid of, but no less obviously at the expense of the authority of the word of God. There is another advantage of this theory of which the Professor probably did not think. It enables a man to profess his faith in doctrines which he does not believe. Dr. Bushnell could sign any creed by help of that chemistry of thought which makes all creeds alike. Professor Park's theory will allow a man to assert contradictory propositions. If asked, Do you believe that Christ satisfied the justice of God? he can say, yes, for it is true to his feelings; and he can say, no, because it is false to his intellect. A judicious use of this method will carry a man a great way. This whole discourse, we think will strike the reader, as a set of variations on the old theme, "What is true

* While writing we have received a copy of the "the third thousand" of this discourse.

in religion is false in philosophy:" and the "tearful German," of whom our author speaks, who said: "In my heart I am Christian, while in my head I am a philosopher," might find great comfort in the doctrine here propounded. He might learn that his condition instead of a morbid, was in fact the normal one; as what is true to the feelings is often false to the intellect.

We propose to give a brief analysis of this sermon and then, in as few words as possible, endeavour to estimate its character.

The sermon is founded upon Gen. vi. 6, and 1 Sam. xv. 29. In the former passage it is said, "It repented the Lord;" and in the latter, God—"is not a man that he should repent." Here are two assertions in direct conflict, God repented and God cannot repent. Both must be true. But how are they to be reconciled? The sermon proposes to give the answer, and to show how the same proposition may be both affirmed and denied. Our author begins by telling us of a father who, in teaching astronomy to his child, produced a false impression by presenting the truth; while the mother produced a correct impression by teaching error. This, if it means anything to the purpose, is rather ominous as a commencement. A right impression is the end to be aimed at in all instruction; and, if the principle implied in this illustration is correct, we must discard the fundamental maxim in religion, "Truth is in order to holiness," and assume that error is better adapted to that purpose; a principle on which Romanists have for ages acted in their crass misrepresentations of divine things in order to impress the minds of the people.

But we must proceed with our analysis. "The theology of the intellect," we are told, "conforms to the laws, subserves the wants and secures the approval of our intuitive and deductive powers. It includes the decisions of the judgment, of the perceptive part of conscience and taste, indeed of all the faculties which are essential to the reasoning process. It is the theology of speculation, and therefore comprehends the truth just as it is, unmodified by excitements of feeling. It is received as accurate not in its spirit only, but in its letter also." p. 534.* It demands evidence. It prefers general to

* Our references are to the reprint of the Sermon in the Bibliotheca Sacra for July, 1850.

individual statements, the abstract to the concrete, the literal to the figurative. Its aim is not to be impressive, but intelligible and defensible. For example, it affirms "that he who united in his person a human body, a human soul and a divine spirit, expired on the cross, but it does not originate the phrase that the soul expired, nor that 'God the mighty Maker died." "It would never suggest the unqualified remark that Christ has fully paid the debt of sinners, for it declares that this debt may be justly claimed from them; nor that he suffered the whole punishment which they deserve, for it teaches that this punishment may still be righteously inflicted on themselves; nor that he has entirely satisfied the law, for it insists that the demands of the law are yet in force." It gives origin to "no metaphor so bold, and so liable to disfigure our idea of the divine equity as that Heaven imputes the crime of one man to millions of his descendants, and then imputes their myriad sins to him who was harmless and undefiled." "It is suited not for eloquent appeals, but for calm controversial treatises and bodies of divinity; not so well for the hymn-book as for the catechism; not so well for the liturgy as for the creed." p. 535.

We must pause here for a moment. It so happens that all the illustrations which our author gives of modes of expression which the theology of the intellect would not adopt, are the products of that theology. They are the language of speculation, of theory, of the intellect, as distinguished from the feelings—That Christ bore our punishment; that he satisfied the law; that Adam's sin is imputed to us, and our sins to Christ, are all generalizations of the intellect; they are summations of the manifold and diversified representations of scripture; they are abstract propositions embodying the truth presented in the figures, facts, and didactic assertions found in the sacred writing. It would be impossible to pick out of the whole range of theological statements, any which are less impassioned, or which are more purely addressed to the intellect. They have been framed for the very purpose of being "intelligible and defensible." They answer every criterion the author himself proposes for distinguishing the language of the intellect from that of the feeling. Accordingly, these are

the precise representations given in catechisms, in calm controversial treatises and bodies of divinity for strictly didactic purposes. They are found in the accurately worded and carefully balanced confessions of faith, designed to state with all possible precision the intellectual propositions to be received as true. These are the very representations, moreover, which have been held up to reproach as "theoretical," as "philosophy" introduced into the Bible. Whether they are correct or incorrect, is not now the question. What we assert is, that if there be any such thing as the theology of the intellect; any propositions framed for the purpose of satisfying the demands of the intelligence; any purely abstract and didactic formulæ, these are they. Yet Prof. Park, simply because he does not recognise them as true, puts them under the category of feeling, and represents them as passionate expressions designed not to be intelligible, but impressive; addressed not to the intellect but to the emotions!

The theology of the feelings is declared to be the form of belief which is suggested by, and adapted to the wants of the well-trained heart. It is embraced as involving the substance of truth, although, when literally interpreted, it may, or may not be false. It studies not the exact proportions of doctrine, but gives special prominence to those features which are thought to be most grateful to the sensibilities. It insists not on dialectical argument, but receives whatever the healthy affections crave. p. 535. It sacrifices abstract remarks to visible and tangible images. It is satisfied with vague, indefinite representations. p. 536. For example, instead of saying God can do all things which are the objects of power, it says, He spake and it was done. Instead of saying that the providence of God comprehends all events; it says, "The children of men put their trust under the cover of Jehovah's wings." To keep back the Jews from the vices and idolatry of their neighbours, it plied them with a stern theology which represented God as jealous and angry, and armed with bow, arrows and glittering sword. But when they needed a soothing influence, they were told that "the Lord feedeth his flock like a shepherd." It represents Christians as united to their Lord as the branch to the vine, or the members to the head; but it

does not mean to have these endearing words metamorphosed into an intellectual theory of our oneness with Christ, for with another end in view it teaches that he is distinct from us, as a captain from his soldiers. The free theology of the feelings is ill-fitted for didactic or controversial treatises or doctrinal standards. Any thing, every thing can be proved from the writings of those addicted to its use, because they indite sentences congenial with an excited heart, but false as expressions of deliberate opinion. p. 537. This is the theology of and for our sensitive nature, of and for the normal emotion, affection, passion. It is moreover permanent. Ancient philosophy has perished, ancient poetry is as fresh as ever. So the theology of reason changes, theory chases theory, "but the theology of the heart, letting the minor accuracies go for the sake of holding strongly upon the substance of doctrine, need not always accommodate itself to scientific changes, but may often use its old statements, even if, when literally understood, they be incorrect,* and it thus abides permanent as are the main impressions of the truth." p. 539.

We must again pause in our analysis. If there is any such thing as the theology of the feeling as distinct from that of the intellect, the passages cited above neither prove nor illustrate it. Our author represents the feelings as expressing themselves in figures, and demanding "visible and tangible images." We question the correctness of this statement. The highest language of emotion is generally simple. Nothing satisfies the mind when under great excitement but literal or perfectly intelligible expressions. Then is not the time for rhetorical phrases. There is a lower state of feeling, a placid calmness, which delights in poetic imagery, which at once satisfies the feelings and excites the imagination, and thus

* This is a rather dangerous principle. Röhr, superintendent of Weimar, though a pure Deist, admitting nothing but the doctrines of natural religion, still insisted on the propriety of retaining the language and current representations of orthodox Christians, and telling the people in his public ministrations that Christ was the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world; that men are saved by his blood. He did not think it necessary that the language designed to move the people "should accommodate itself to scientific changes," even, when, if literally understood (i. e., if understood according to its true import) it was incorrect. It is easy to see what latitude in saying one thing and meaning another, this principle will allow.

becomes the vehicle of moral and aesthetic emotions combined. The emotions of terror and sublimity also, as they are commonly excited through the imagination, naturally clothe themselves in imaginative language. But the moral, religious, and social affections, when strongly moved, commonly demand the simplest form of utterance. "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts," is the language of seraphic devotion, yet what more simple! "The loving kindness of the Lord is over all his works," is surely as much the language of feeling, and tends as directly to excite gratitude and confidence, as saying "The Lord is my shepherd." The most pathetic lamentation upon record is that of David over his son Absalom, which is indeed an apostrophe, but nothing can be freer from tropical expression. How simple also is the language of penitence as recorded in the Bible. "God be merciful to me a sinner!" "Against thee, thee only have I sinned and done this evil in thy sight." "Behold I am vile what shall I answer thee?" "O my God! I am ashamed and blush to lift up my face to thee my God."

Admitting, however, that figurative language is the usual vehicle of emotion, this affords no foundation for the distinction between the theology of feeling and the theology of the intellect—the one vague and inaccurate, the other precise and exact. For, in the first place, figurative language is just as definite in its meaning and just as intelligible as the most literal. After the church had been struggling for centuries to find language sufficiently precise to express distinctly its consciousness respecting the person of Christ, it adopted the figurative language of the Athanasian creed, "God of God, Light of Light, Begotten, and not made." Calling God our shepherd presents as definite an idea to the mind as the most literal form of expression. To say that God is angry, or jealous, expresses as clearly the truth that his nature is opposed to sin, as the most abstract terms could do. We have here no evidence of two kinds of theology, the one affirming what the other denies; the one true to the feelings and false to the intellect, and the reverse. The two passages on which this sermon is founded, chosen for the purpose of illustrating this theory, might be selected to show that it is without foundation.

The declarations, "God repented," and "God cannot repent," do not belong to different categories; the one is not the language of feeling and the other of the intelligence; the one does not affirm what the other denies. Both are figurative. Both are intelligible. The one, in its connexion, expresses God's disapprobation of sin, the other his immutability. The one addresses the sensibilities as much as the other; and the one is as much directed to the intellect as the other. To found two conflicting kinds of theology on such passages as these, is as unreasonable as it would be to build two systems of anthropology on the verbally contradictory propositions constantly used about men. We say a man is a lion, and we say, he is not a quadruped. Do these assertions require a new theory of psychology, or even a new theory of interpretation in order to bring them into harmony? Figurative language, when interpreted literally, will of course express what is false to the intellect; but it will in that case, be no less false to the taste and to the feelings.

Such language, when interpreted according to established usage, and made to mean when what it was intended to express, is not only definite in its import, but it never expresses what is false to the intellect. The feelings demand truth in their object; and no utterance is natural or effective as the language of emotion, which does not satisfy the understanding. Saying God repents, that he is jealous; that he is our shepherd; that men hide under the shadow of his wings, are true to the intelligence in the precise sense in which they are true to the feelings; and it is only so far as they are true to the former that they are effective or appropriate for the latter. It is because calling God our shepherd presents the idea of a person exercising a kind care over us, that it has power to move the affections. If it presented any conception inconsistent with the truth it would grate on the feelings, as much as it would offend the intellect. We object therefore to our author's exposition of his doctrine, first because much that he cites as the language of feeling is incorrectly cited; and secondly, because, granting his premises his conclusion does not follow. A third objection is that he is perfectly arbitrary in the application of his theory. Because figurative language is not to

be interpreted literally, the Socinian infers that all that is said in scripture in reference to the sacrificial nature of Christ's death, is to be understood as expressing nothing more than the truth that he died for the benefit of others. When the patriot dies for his country; or a mother wears herself out in the service of her child, we are wont to say, they sacrifice themselves for the object of their affection. This deceives no one. It expresses the simple truth that they died for the good of others. Whether this is all the scriptures mean when they call Christ a sacrifice, is not to be determined by settling the general principle that figures are not to be interpreted according to the letter. That is conceded. But figures have a meaning which is not to be explained away at pleasure. Prof. Park would object to this exposition of the design of Christ's death, not by insisting that figurative language is to be interpreted literally, but by showing that these figures are designed to teach more than the Socinian is willing to admit. In like manner we say that if we were disposed to admit the distinction between the theology of the feelings and that of the intellect, as equivalent to that between figurative and literal language, or as our author says, between poetry and prose, we should still object to his application of his principle. He is just as arbitrary in explaining away the scriptural representations of original sin, of the satisfaction of divine justice by the sacrifice of Christ, as the Socinian is in the application of his principle. He just as obviously violates the established laws of language, and just as plainly substitutes the speculations of his own mind for the teachings of the word of God. Entirely irrespective, therefore, of the validity of our author's theory, we object to this sermon that it discards, as the language of emotion, historical, didactic, argumentative statements, and in short everything he is not willing to receive, as far as appears, for no other reason, and by no other rule than his own repugnance to what is thus presented.

Having considered some of the differences between the emotive and intellectual theology, the author adverts to the influence which the one exerts over the other. And first, the theology of the intellect illustrates and vivifies itself by that of the feelings. We must add a body, he says, to the soul of a

doctrine, whenever we would make it palpable and enlivening. The whole doctrine of the spiritual world, is one that requires to be rendered tangible by embodiment. An intellectual view is too general to be embraced by the feelings. They are balked with the notion of a spaceless, formless existence, continuing between death and the resurrection. p. 540.

In the second place, the theology of the intellect enlarges and improves that of the feelings, and is also enlarged and improved by it. The more extensive and accurate are our views of literal truth, so much the more numerous and salutary are the forms which it may assume for enlisting the affections. It is a tendency of pietism to undervalue the human intellect for the sake of exalting the affections, as if the reason had fallen deeper than the will. It cannot be a pious act to underrate those powers which were given by him who made the soul in his image. We must speculate. The heart is famished by an idle intellect. When fed by an enquiring mind, it is enlivened, and reaches out for an expanded faith.

The theology of reason not only amends and amplifies that of the affections, it is also improved and enlarged by it. When a feeling is constitutional and cannot but be approved, it furnishes data to the intellect by means of which it may add new materials to its dogmatic system. The doctrines which concentrate in and around a vicarious atonement are so fitted to the appetences of a sanctified heart, as to gain the favour of the logician, precisely as the coincidence of some geological or astronomical theories with the phenomena of the earth or sky, is part of the syllogism which has these theories for its conclusion. The fact that the faithful in all ages concur in one substance of belief, is a proof of the correctness of their faith. The church is not infallible in her bodies of divinity, nor her creeds, nor catechisms, nor any logical formula; but underneath all, there lies a grand substance of doctrine, around which the feelings of all reverent men cling ever and everywhere, and which must be right, for it is precisely adjusted to the soul, and the soul was made for it. These universal feelings provide a test for our faith. Whenever our representations fail to accord with those feelings something must be wrong. "Our sensitive nature is sometimes a kind of instinct

which anticipates many truths, incites the mind to search for them, intimates the process of investigation, and remains unsatisfied until it finds the object towards which it gropes its way.

But while the theology of reason derives aid from the impulses of emotion, it maintains its ascendancy over them. In all investigations for truth, the intellect must be the authorative power, employing the sensibilities as indices of right doctrine, but surveying and superintending them from its commanding elevation. p. 543—546.

In the third place, the theology of the intellect explains that of the feeling into essential agreement with all the constitutional demands of the soul. It does this by collecting all the discordant representations which the heart allows, and eliciting the one self-consistent principle which underlies them. The Bible represents the heart sometimes as stone, sometimes as flesh; sometimes as dead, sometimes alive; sometimes as needing to be purified by God, sometimes as able to purify itself, &c., &c. These expressions, literally understood, are dissonant. The intellect educes light from these repugnant phrases, and reconciles them into the doctrine, "that *the character of our race needs an essential transformation by an interposed influence of God.*" p. 547. Certainly a very genteel way of expressing the matter, which need offend no one, Jew or Gentile, Augustin or Pelagius. All may say that much, and make it mean more or less at pleasure. If such is the sublimation to which the theology of the intellect is to subject the doctrines of the Bible, they will soon be dissipated into thin air.

Another illustration is borrowed from "the heart's phrases" respecting its ability. Sometimes the man of God longs to abase himself, and exclaims without one modifying word: "I am too frail for my responsibilities, and have no power to do what is required of me." At another time he says: 'I know thee, that thou art not an hard master, exacting of me duties which I have no power to discharge, but thou attemperest thy law to my strength, and at no time imposest upon me a heavier burden than thou at that very time makest me able to bear.' The reason seeks out some principle to reconcile these and similar contradictions, and finds it, as Prof. Park thinks,

in the doctrine that man with no extraordinary aid from Divine grace, is fully set in those wayward preferences which are an abuse of his freedom. His unvaried wrong choices imply a full, unremitted natural power of choosing right. The emotive theology, therefore, when it affirms this power is correct both in matter and style; but when it denies this power, it uses the language of emphasis, of impression, of intensity; it means the certainty of wrong preference by declaring the inability of right; and in its vivid use of *cannot* for *will not* is accurate in subtance but not in form. p. 549.

It is to be remembered that it is not the language of excited, fanatical, fallible men that our author undertakes thus to eviscerate, but the formal didactic assertions of the inspired writers. We can hardly think that he can himself be blind to the nature of the process which he here indicates. The Bible plainly, not in impassioned language, but in the most direct terms, asserts the inability of men to certain acts necessary to their salvation. It explains the nature, and teaches the origin of that inability. This doctrine, however, is in conflict, not with other assertions of Scripture, for there are no counter statements, but with a peculiar theory of responsibility, which the author adopts; and therefore, all the expressions of this truth are to be set down to irrational feeling which does not understand itself. Thus a doctrine which is found in the symbols of all churches, Latin, Lutheran, and Reformed, is explained out of the Bible, and the most vapid formula of Pelagianism (viz. that present strength to moral and spiritual duties is the measure of obligation,) put in its place. The author has surely forgot what a few pages before he said of the informing nature of christian consciousness. If there is one thing which that consciousness teaches all christians, more clearly than any thing else, it is their helplessness, their inability to do what reason, conscience and God require, in the plain unsophisticated sense of the word inability. And we venture to say that no christian ever used *from the heart*, such language as Prof. Park puts into the "good man's" mouth, about his power to do all that God requires. Such is not the language of the heart, but of a head made light by too much theorizing. Give us, by all means, the theology of the heart,

in preference to the theology of the intellect. We would a thousandfold rather take our faith from Prof. Park's feelings than from what he miscalls his reason, but which is in fact the fragments of a philosophy that was, but is not.

His fourth remark is, that the theology of the intellect, and that of the feeling tend to keep each other within the sphere for which they were respectively designed, and in which they are fitted to improve the character. When an intellectual statement is transferred to the province of emotion, it often appears chilling, lifeless; and when a passionate phrase is transferred to the dogmatic province, it often appears grotesque, unintelligible, absurd. To illustrate this point he refers to the declaration in reference to the bread and wine in the eucharist. "This is my body, this is my blood." To excited feelings such language is appropriate, but no sooner are these phrases transmuted into utterances of intellectual judgments, than they become absurd. So the lamentation: 'Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me,' is natural and proper as an expression of penitential feelings. But if seized by a theorist to straighten out into the dogma that man is blameable before he chooses to do wrong, deserving of punishment for the involuntary nature which he has never consented to gratify, really sinful before we actually sin, then all is confusion.

Here again a plain doctrine of the Bible, incorporated in all Christian creeds, inwrought into all Christian experience, is rejected in deference to the theory that all sin consists in acts; a theory which ninety-nine hundredths of all good men utterly repudiate; a theory which never has had a standing in the symbols of any Christian church, a clear proof that it is in conflict with the common consciousness of believers. Because the doctrine here discarded finds expression in a penitential psalm, is surely no proof that it is not a doctrine of scripture. Thomas's passionate exclamation at the feet of his risen Saviour, "My Lord and my God," is no proof that the divinity of Christ belongs to the theology of feeling, and is to be rejected by the reason. It is because such doctrines are didactically taught in the Bible, and presented as articles of faith, that they work themselves into the heart, and find expression

in its most passionate language. The doctrine of innate sinful depravity does not rest on certain poetic phrases, it is assumed and accounted for it; it is implicated in the doctrines of redemption, regeneration, and baptism; it is sustained by arguments from analogy, experience, and consciousness; it is part and parcel of the universal faith of Christendom, and its rejection, on the score that passionate phrases are not to be interpreted by the letter, is as glaring an example of subjecting scripture to theory, as the history of interpretation affords.

In the conclusion of his discourse, our author represents the confusion of the two kinds of theology, which he endeavours to discriminate as a great source of evil. "Grave errors," he says, "have arisen from so simple a cause as that of confounding poetry with prose." Is it not a still more dangerous mistake to turn prose into poetry? What doctrine of the scriptures, have Rationalists, by that simple process, failed to explain away? What do they make of the ascription of divine names and attributes to Christ, but eastern metaphor and hyperbole? How do they explain the worship paid to him on earth and heaven, but as the language of passion, which the intellect repudiates? The fact is that poetry and prose have their fixed rules of interpretation, and there is no danger of mistaking the one for the other, nor are they ever so mistaken, where there is a disposition humbly to receive the truth they teach.

"In the Bible," says our author, "there are pleasing hints of many things which were never designed to be doctrines, such as the literal and proper necessity of the will, passive and physical sin, baptismal regeneration, clerical absolution, the literal imputation of guilt to the innocent, transubstantiation, eternal generation and procession. In that graceful volume, these metaphors (?) bloom as the flowers of the field; *there* they toil not neither do they spin. But the schoolman has transplanted them to the rude exposure of logic, there they are frozen up, their juices evaporated, and their withered leaves are preserved as specimens of that which in its rightful place surpassed the glory of the wisest sage." p. 558. It would be a pity to throw the vail of comment over the self-evidencing light of such a sentence. Its animus is self-revealing.

A more cheering inference from the doctrine of his sermon our author finds in the revelation it affords of "the identity in the essence of many systems which are run in scientific or aesthetic moulds unlike each other." There are indeed kinds of theology which cannot be reconciled with each other. There is a life, a soul, a vitalizing spirit of truth, which must never be relinquished for the sake of peace even with an angel. "There is," as we rejoice to hear our author say, "a line of separation which cannot be crossed between those systems which insert, and those which omit the doctrine of justification by faith in the sacrifice of Jesus. This is the doctrine which blends in itself the theology of intellect and feeling, and which can no more be struck out from the moral, than the sun from the planetary system. Here the mind and the heart, like justice and mercy, meet and embrace each other; and here is found the specific and ineffaceable difference between the gospel and every other system. But among those who admit the atoning death of Christ as the organic principle of their faith. There are differences, some of them more important, but many far less important than they seem to be. One man prefers a theology of the judgment; a second, that of the imagination; a third, that of the heart; one adjusts his faith to a lymphatic, another to a sanguine, and still another to a choleric temperament. Yet the subject matter of these heterogeneous configurations may often be one and the same, having for its nucleus the same cross, with the formative influence of which all is safe." p. 559. But what in the midst of all these diversities becomes of God's word? Is that so multiform and heterogeneous in its teaching? Or is the rule of faith after all subjective, a man's temperament and preferences? It is obvious, first, that the scriptures teach one definite form of faith to which it is the duty and for the spiritual interests of every man to conform his faith, and every departure from which is evil and tends to evil. Secondly, that there is doubtless far more agreement in the apprehension, and inward experience of the doctrines of the Bible, than in the outward expression of them; so that sincere Christians agree much more nearly in their faith than they do in their professions. Thirdly, that this is no proof that diversities of doctrinal propositions are matters

of small moment; or that we may make light of all differences which do not affect the very fundamentals of the gospel. Truth and holiness are most intimately related. The one produces and promotes the other. What injures the one, injures also the other. Paul warns all teachers against building, even on the true foundation, with wood, hay and stubble. He reminds them that God's temple is sacred; that it cannot be injured with impunity, and that those who inculcate error instead of truth, will, in the great day, suffer loss, though they may themselves be saved, as by fire. It will avail them little to say that their temperament was lymphatic, sanguine, or choleric, that they conceived of truth themselves, and presented it to others, in a manner suited to their idiosyncracies. They were sent to teach God's word, and not their own fancies. The temple of God, which temple is the church, is not to be built up by rubbish.

When we began to write we intended to furnish an analysis of this discourse before making any remarks on the views which it presents. We have been seduced however into giving expression to most of what we had to say, in a sort of comment on the successive heads of the sermon. We shall, therefore, not trespass much longer on the reader's patience. There are two points to which it has been our object to direct attention. First the theory here propounded, and secondly the application which the author makes of his principle.

As to the theory itself, it seems to us to be founded on a wrong psychology. Whatever doctrine the writer may actually hold as to the nature of the soul, his thoughts and language are evidently framed on the assumption of a much greater distinction between the cognitive and emotional faculties in man than actually exists. The very idea of a theology of feeling as distinct from that of the intellect, seems to take for granted that there are two percipient principles in the soul. The one sees a proposition to be true, the other sees it to be false. The one adopts symbols to express its apprehensions; the other is precise and prosaic in its language. We know indeed, that the author would repudiate this statement, and deny that he held to any such dualism in the soul. We do not charge him with any theoretic conviction of this

sort. We only say that this undue dissevering the human faculties underlies his whole doctrine, and is implied in the theory which he has advanced. Both scripture and consciousness teach that the soul is an unit; that its activity is one life. The one rational soul apprehends, feels and determines. It is not one faculty that apprehends, another that feels, and another that determines. Nor can you separate in the complex states of mind of which we are every moment conscious. the feeling from the cognition. From the very nature of affection in a rational being, the intellectual apprehension of its object, is essential to its existence. You cannot eliminate the intellectual element, and leave the feeling. The latter is but an attribute of the former, as much as form or colour is an attribute of bodies. It is impossible therefore that what is true to the feelings should be false to the intellect. It is impossible that a man should have the feeling (i. e. the consciousness) of inability to change his own heart, and yet the conviction that he has the requisite power. The mind cannot exist in contradictory states at the same time. Men may indeed pass from one state to another. They may sometimes speak under the influence of actual experience; and sometimes under the guidance of a speculative theory; and such utterances may be in direct conflict. But then the contradiction is real and not merely apparent. The intellectual conviction expressed in the one state, is the direct reverse of that expressed in the other. These are the vacillations of fallible men, whose unstable judgments are determined by the varying conditions of their minds. We have known men educated under the influence of a sceptical philosophy, who have become sincere Christians. Their conversion was of course, a supernatural process, involving a change of faith as well as feeling. But as this change was not effected by a scientific refutation of their former opinions, but by the demonstration of the Spirit revealing to them the truth and power of the gospel; when the hearts of such men grow cold, their former sceptical views rise before them in all their logical consistence, and demand assent to their truth, which for the time is reluctantly yielded, though under a solemn protest of the conscience. When the Spirit returns revealing Christ, these demons of

doubt vanish and leave the soul rejoicing in the faith. These states cannot co-exist. The one is not a state of feeling; the other of cognition. Both are not true; the one when judged by one standard; and the other, by another. They are opposite and contradictory. The one affirms what the other denies. One must be false. A poor, fallible man driven about by the waves, may thus give utterance to different theologies under different states of mind; but the difference, as just stated, is that between truth and falsehood. Nothing of this kind can of course be admitted with regard to the sacred penmen, and therefore this change to which uninspired men may be subject in their apprehension and expression of religious truth, cannot be attributed to those who spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.

The changes just referred to are therefore something very different from those for which our author contends, and consequently the occurrence of such changes in the experience of men, is no proof of the correctness of his theory; neither do they show that the mind is not one percipient, feeling, and willing agent. The point which we wish now to urge is that the theory of Professor Park assumes a greater difference in the faculties of the soul than actually exists. From its individuality and unity, it follows that all its affections suppose a cognition of their appropriate objects, and that such cognition is an intellectual exercise, and must be conformed to the laws of the intelligence; and consequently in those complex states of mind to which our author refers as illustrating the origin of the theology of feeling, the rational element, is that very cognition by the intellect which belongs to the other form of theology. Besides, it is to be remembered that although in the apprehension of speculative truths, as in mathematics for example, the cognition is purely an intellectual exercise, but when the object is an aesthetic or moral truth the apprehension is of necessity complex. There is no such thing as a purely intellectual cognition of a moral truth. It is the exercise of a moral nature: it implies moral sensibility. It of necessity, involves feeling to a greater or less degree. It is the cognition of a being sensitive to moral distinctions, and without that sensibility there can be no such cognition. To separate these two elements therefore is impossible, and to place them in col-

lision is a contradiction. A man can no more think an object to be cold which he feels to be warm, or to be beautiful which he feels to be deformed, than he can apprehend it as false and feel it to be true. It contradicts the laws of our nature as well as all experience, to say that the feelings apprehend Christ as suffering the penalty of the law in our stead, while the intellect pronounces such apprehension to be false. You might as well say that we feel a thing to be good while we see it to be sinful, or feel it to be pleasant while we know it to be the reverse. Professor Park's whole theory is founded upon the assumption such contradictions actually exist. It supposes not different modes of activity, but different percipient agencies in the soul. It assumes not that the soul can perceive one way at one time and another way at another time, which all admit, but that the feelings perceive in one way and the intellect in another; the one seeing a thing as true while the other sees it to be false. It is important to note the distinction between the different judgments which we form of the same object, in different states of mind, and the theory of this discourse. The distinction is two fold. The diverse successive judgments of which we are conscious, are different intellectual cognitions; and not different modes of apprehending the same object by different faculties—the feelings and the intellect. For example, if a man judges at one time Christianity to be true, and at another that it is false, it would be absurd to say that it is true to his feelings, and false to his intellect. The fact is, at one time he sees the evidence of the truth of the gospel and assents to it. At others, his mind is so occupied by objections that he cannot believe. This is a very common occurrence. A man in health and fond of philosophic speculations, may get his mind in a state of complete scepticism. When death approaches, or when he is convinced of sin, he is a firm believer. Or at one time the doctrines of man's dependence, of God's sovereignty, and the like, are seen and felt to be true; at another, they are seen and felt to be false; that is, the mind rejects them with conviction and emotion. In all such cases of different judgments, we have different intellectual apprehensions as well as different feelings. It is not that a proposition is true to the intellect and false to the feelings, or the

reverse; but at one time it is true to the intellect and at another false to the same faculty. This, which is a familiar fact of consciousness, is we apprehend, very different from Prof. Park's doctrine. The second distinction is this. According to our author these conflicting apprehensions are equally true. It is true to the feelings that Christ satisfied divine justice; that we have a sinful nature; that we are unable of ourselves to repent and believe the gospel, but all these propositions are false to the intellect. He therefore can reconcile it with his views, that good men, and even the inspired writers, should sometimes affirm and sometimes deny these and similar propositions. We maintain that such affirmations are irreconcilable. The one judgment is true and the other false. Both can never be uttered under the guidance of the Spirit. He cannot lead the sinner to feel his helplessness, and inspire Paul to deny it;* much less can he inspire men sometimes to assert, and sometimes to deny the same thing. When the mind passes as we all know it repeatedly does, from the disbelief to the belief of those and other doctrines, it is a real change in its cognitions as well as in its feelings—a change which implies fallibility and error, and which therefore can have no place in the Bible, and can furnish no rule of interpreting its language, or the language of Christian experience. To make the distinction between Professor Park's theory and the common doctrine on this subject, the more apparent, we call attention to their different results. He teaches that the theology of feelings which apprehends and expresses truth in forms which the intellect cannot sanction, is appropriate to the Hymn Book and the Liturgy. He assumes that forms of devotion which are designed to express religious feeling may properly contain much that the intelligence rejects as false. He condemns those critics who "are ready to exclude from our psalms and hymns all such stanzas as are not accurate expres-

* This is so plain a matter that Professor Park has himself given utterance to the same truth. "Is God," he asks, "the author of confusion; in his word revealing one doctrine and by his Spirit persuading his people to reject it?" p. 544. Surely not; and therefore, if the sanctified heart, i. e. the feelings under the influence of the Spirit, or, to use our author's phraseology, if the theology of feeling pronounces a doctrine to be true, nothing but a sceptical intellect can pronounce it to be false.

sions of dogmatic truth." In opposition to this view, we maintain that the feelings demand truth, i. e., truth which satisfies the intellect, in the approbation and expression of their object. The form in which that truth is expressed may be figurative, but it must have the sanction of the understanding. The least suspicion of falsehood destroys the feeling. The soul cannot feel towards Christ as God if it regards him as merely a man. It cannot feel towards him as a sacrifice, if it believes he died simply as a martyr. In short, it cannot believe what it knows to be a lie, or apprehend an object as false and yet feel toward it as true. Let it be assumed that a man is convinced that ability is necessary to responsibility; that sin cannot be imputed to the innocent; that Christ did not satisfy divine justice, then no genuine religious feeling can find expression in such forms of speech. Professor Park says, on this principle he must believe that God actually came from Teman, and the Holy One from Mount Paran; that he really rode upon a chariot, &c. This indicates a most extraordinary confusion of mind. Is there no difference between the figurative expression of what is true and what is false? The phrase that 'God came from Teman,' or, 'He made the clouds his chariot,' when interpreted according to the established laws of language, expresses a truth. The phrases 'Christ took upon him our guilt;' 'He satisfied divine justice,' &c., &c., when interpreted by the same laws express, as our author thinks, what is false. Is there then no difference between these cases? Professor Park evidently confounds two things which are as distinct as day and night; viz: a metaphor and a falsehood—a figurative expression and a doctrinal untruth. Because the one is allowable, he pleads for the other also. Because I may express the truth that Christ was a sacrifice by calling him the Lamb of God who bears the sin of the world—I may, in solemn acts of worship, so address him without believing in his sacrificial death at all! All religious language false to the intellect is profane to the feelings and a mockery of God. That such is the dictate of Christian consciousness is plain from the fact that the Hymn Book or Liturgy of no church contains doctrines contrary to the creed of such church. We challenge Professor Park to produce from the hymns used

by Presbyterians a single phrase inconsistent with the Westminster Confession. If one such could be found, its inaccuracy as an expression "of dogmatic truth" would be universally regarded as a sufficient reason for its repudiation. Men may no more sing falsehood to God, than speak it in the pulpit, or profess it in a creed. In the early part of his discourse, our author says, the intellect does not originate the phrase "God the mighty maker died." This he attributes to the feelings as a passionate expression, designed to be impressive rather than intelligible. This, therefore we presume he would adduce as an example of doctrinal inaccuracy in the language of devotion. A moment's reflection however, is sufficient to show that instead of this phrase being forced on the intellect by the feelings, it has to be defended by the intellect at the bar of the feelings. The latter at first recoil from it. It is not until its strict doctrinal propriety is apprehended by the intelligence, that the feelings acquiesce in its use, and open themselves to the impression of the awful truth which it contains. An attempt was actually made, on the score of taste. to exclude that phrase from our hymn book. But its restoration was demanded by the public sentiment of the church, on the score of doctrinal fidelity. It was seen to be of importance to assert the truth that He, the person who died upon the cross, was 'God the mighty Maker, the Lord of glory, the Prince of Life,' for on this truth depends the whole value of his death. In all cases, therefore, we maintain that the religious feelings demand truth and repudiate falsehood. They cannot express themselves under forms which the intelligence rejects, for those feelings themselves are the intelligence in a certain state, and not some distinct percipient agent.

Here, as before remarked, is the radical error of our author's theory. It supposes in fact two conflicting intelligences in man; the one seeing a thing to be true, and the other seeing it to be false, and yet both seeing correctly from its own position and for its own object. We have endeavoured to show that there is no such dualism in the soul, and therefore no foundation for two such systems of conflicting theologies as this theory supposes. The familiar fact that men sometimes regard a doctrine as true and sometimes look upon it false;

that they have conflicting judgments and give utterances to inconsistent declarations, we maintain is no proof of a theology of the feelings as distinct from that of the intellect. These vacillating judgments are really contradictory apprehensions of the intellect; one of which must be false, and therefore to attribute them to the sacred writers, under the plea that they sometimes spoke to be impressive, and sometimes to be intelligible, is to destroy their authority; and to use in worship expressions which the intellect pronounces doctrinally untrue, is repudiated by the whole Christian church as profane. If we wish to get the real faith of a people, that faith on which they live, in which intellect and heart alike acquiesce, go to their hymns and forms of devotion. There they are sincere. There they speak what they know to be true; and there consequently their true creed is to be found.

Having endeavoured to show that Prof. Park finds no foundation for his theory in the constitution of our nature, or in those familiar changes of views and feelings, in varying states of mind, of which all are conscious, we wish to say further, that this theory finds no support in the different modes in which the mind looks on truth for different purposes. Sometimes a given proposition, or the truth which it contains, is contemplated merely in its relation to the reason. Its import, its verity, its consistency with the standard of judgment, is all that the mind regards. Sometimes it contemplates the logical relations of that with other truths; and sometimes it is the moral excellence of truth which is the object of attention. When the mind addresses itself to the contemplation of truth, its posture and its subjective state will vary according to the object it has in view. But neither the truth itself nor the apprehension of it as truth suffers any change. It is not seen now as true, and now as false; or true to the feelings and false to the reason, but one and the same truth is viewed for different purposes. When, for example, we open the Bible and turn to any particular passage, we may examine it to ascertain its meaning; or having determined its import, we may contemplate the truth it contains in its moral aspects and in its relation to ourselves. These are different mental operations, and the state of mind which they suppose or induce

must of course be different. Every Christian is familiar with this fact. He knows what it is to contemplate the divine perfections, for the purpose of understanding them, and to meditate on them to appreciate their excellence and feel their power. He sometimes is called on to form a clear idea of what the Bible teaches of the constitution of Christ's person, or the nature of his work; but much more frequently his mind turns towards the Son of God clothed in our nature, to behold his glory, to rejoice in his divine excellence, and amazing condescension and love. In all such cases, the intellectual apprehension is the same. It is the very truth and the very same form of that truth which is arrived at, by a careful exegesis, which is the subject of devout meditation. A Christian does not understand the Bible in one way when he reads it as a critic, and in another way when he reads for spiritual edification. His thoughts of God and Christ when endeavouring to discover the truth revealed concerning them, are the same as when he is engaged in acts of worship. Nay more, the clearer and more extended this speculative knowledge, the brighter and more undisturbed is the spiritual vision, *other things being equal.* One man may indeed be a better theologian but a less devout Christian than another; but the devout Christian is only the more devout with every increase in the clearness and consistency of his intellectual apprehensions. It may be further admitted, that the language of speculation is different from the language of emotion; that the terms employed in defining a theological truth, are not always those which would be naturally employed in setting forth that truth as the object of the affections. But these representations are always consistent. All hymns to Christ express precisely the same doctrine concerning his person, that is found in the Athanasian creed. The same remarks may be made in reference to all departments of theology. The doctrines concerning the condition of men by nature, of their relation to Adam; of their redemption through Christ; of the work of God's Spirit; may be examined either to be understood or to be felt. But in every case it is the truth as understood that is felt. The understanding does not take one view and the feelings a different; the former does not pronounce for plenary power, and

the latter for helplessness; the one does not assert that all sin consists in acts, and the other affirm the sinfulness of the heart; the one does not look on Christ as merely teaching by his death that sin is an evil, and the other behold him as bearing our sins in his own body on the tree.

This subject admits of abundant illustration, did our limits allow of a protracted discussion. A man may look over a tract of country and his inward state will vary with his object. He may contemplate it in reference to its agricultural advantages; or in regard to its topography, or its geological formation, or he may view it as a landscape. Another may gaze on a picture on any other work of art as a critic, to ascertain the sources of the effect produced, or simply to enjoy it as an object of beauty. He may listen to a strain of music to note the varying intervals, the succession of chords and the like, or merely to receive the pleasurable impression of the sounds. In all these cases the object contemplated is the same—the intellectual apprehension is the same, and though the state of mind varies as the design of the observer varies, and though the terms which he employs as an agriculturalist, or a geologist, or a critic, may differ from those which he uses to give expression to his emotions, there can be no contrariety. He cannot apprehend the same region to be barren and yet fertile, the same picture to be beautiful and yet the reverse, the same strain to be melodious and yet discordant. His intellect cannot make one report, and his feelings an opposite one. It is thus with regard to divine truth. It may be viewed in order to be understood, or in order to be felt. We may come to the contemplation of it as theologians or as christians, and our inward state will vary with our object, but there will be no contrariety in our apprehensions or in their expression.

The points of differences between the views expressed in the foregoing paragraph, and the theory of this discourse are two. First, Professor Park makes the perceptions themselves to vary, so that what appears true to the feelings is apprehended as false by the intellect. Secondly, he says that the expression of these different perceptions is or may be contradictory. Hence there may be, and actually are, two theologies, the one affirming, the other denying; the one teaching sound old school

orthodoxy, the other, any form of new school divinity that suits the reigning fashion in philosophy. We maintain on the contrary that there is perfect consistency between the intellectual apprehension of truth when viewed in order to be understood and when contemplated in order to be felt; and that however different the language employed on these different occasions, there can be no contradiction. There cannot therefore be two conflicting theologies; but, on the contrary, the theology of the feeling is the theology of the intellect in all its accuracy of thought and expression.

There is still another view of this subject, so extensive and important that we hesitate even to allude to it in the conclusion of this article. What is the true relation between feeling and knowledge in matters of religion? The discussion of this question might properly be made to cover the whole ground embraced in this discourse. This is really the point which Prof. Park's subject called upon him to elucidate, but which he has only incidentally referred to. We have already endeavoured to show that this relation is not such as his theory assumes. It does not admit of contradiction between the two. There cannot be two conflicting theologies, one of the feeling and another of the intellect. But if these principles cannot be in conflict, what is the relation between them? Are they independent, as rationalism supposes, which allows feeling no place in determining our faith? Or is the intellect determined by the feelings, so that the province of the former is only to act as the interpreter of the latter? Or are the feelings determined by the intellect, so that the intellectual apprehension decides the nature of the affection? These are questions upon which we cannot now enter. It appears very evident to us that neither the first nor the second of the views here intimated has any support either from scripture or experience. The intellect and feelings are not independent, nor is the former the mere interpreter of the latter. This is becoming a very current opinion, and has been adopted in all its length from Schleiermacher by Morell. Knowledge, or truth objectively revealed, is, according to this theory, of very subordinate importance. We have certain religious feelings, to develope the

contents of those feelings, is the province of the intelligence, so that theology is but the intellectual forms in which the religious consciousness expresses itself. The standard of truth is, therefore, nothing objective, but this inward feeling. Any doctrine which can be shown to be the legitimate expression of an innate religious feeling is true—and any which is assumed to have a different origin, or to be foreign to the religious consciousness, is to be rejected.

What the scriptures teach on this subject is, as it seems to us, in few words, simply this. In the first place, agreeably to what has already been said, the Bible never recognises that broad distinction between the intellect and the feelings which is so often made by metaphysicians. It regards the soul as a perceiving and feeling individual subsistence, whose cognitions and affections are not exercises of distinct faculties, but complex states of one and the same subject. It never predicates depravity or holiness of the feelings as distinct from the intelligence, or of the latter as distinct from the former. The moral state of the soul is always represented as affecting its cognitions as well as its affections. In popular language, the understanding is darkened as well as the heart depraved. In the second place, the scriptures as clearly teach that holiness is necessary to the perception of holiness. In other words, that the things of the Spirit must be spiritually discerned; that the unrenewed have not this discernment, and therefore they cannot know the things which are freely given to us of God, i. e., the things which he has graciously revealed in this word. They may have that apprehension of them which an uncultivated ear has of complicated musical sounds, or an untutored eye of a work of art. Much in the object is perceived, but much is not discerned, and that which remains unseen, is precisely that which gives to these objects their peculiar excellence and power. Thirdly, the Bible further teaches, that no mere change of the feelings is adequate to secure this spiritual discernment; but on the contrary, in the order of nature and of experience, the discernment precedes the change of the affections, just as the perception of beauty precedes the answering aesthetic emotion. The eyes must be opened in order to see wondrous things out of the law of God. The glory of

God, as it shines in the face of Jesus Christ, must be revealed, before the corresponding affections of admiration, love and confidence rise in the heart. This illumination is represented as the peculiar work of the Spirit. The knowledge consequent on this illumination is declared to be eternal life. It is the highest form of the activity of the soul. It is the vision of God and of the things of God, now seen indeed as through a glass darkly. This knowledge is the intuition not merely of the truth, but also of the excellence of spiritual objects. It is common to all the people of God, given to each in his measure, but producing in all a conviction and love of the same great truths.

If this be a correct exhibition of scriptural teaching on this subject, it follows first, that the feelings are not independent of the intellect, or the intellect of the feelings, so that the one may be unholy and the other indifferent; or so that the one is uninfluenced by the other. It must also follow that the feelings do not determine the intelligence, as though the latter in matters of religion was the mere exponent of the former. The truth is not given in the feelings and discovered and unfolded by the intellect. The truth is objectively presented in the word; and is by the Spirit revealed in its excellence to the intelligence, and thus the feelings are produced as necessary attributes, or adjuncts of spiritual cognition. This is not "the light system." We do not hold that the heart is changed by the mere objective presentation of the truth. The intellect and heart are not two distinct faculties to be separately affected or separately renewed. There is a divine operation of which the whole soul is the subject. The consequence of the change thus effected is the intuition of the truth and glory of the things of God. If this representation be correct, there must be the most perfect harmony between the feelings and the intellect; they cannot see with different eyes, or utter discordant language. What is true to the one, must be true to the other; what is good in the estimation of the one, must be good also to the other. Language which satisfies the reason in the expression of truth, must convey the precise idea which is embraced in the glowing cognition which constitutes religious feeling; and all the utterances of emotion

must justify themselves at the bar of the intellect, as expressing truth before they can be sanctioned as vehicles of the religious affections. The relation then between feeling and knowledge, as assumed in scripture and proved by experience, is utterly inconsistent with the theory of this discourse, which represents them in perpetual conflict; the one affirming our nature to be sinful, the other denying it; the one teaching the doctrine of inability, the other that of plenary power; the one craving a real vicarious punishment of sin, the other teaching that a symbolical atonement is all that is needed; the one pouring forth its fervent misconceptions in acts of devotion, and the other whispering, all that must be taken *cum grano salis.*

We have now endeavoured to show that there is no foundation for Prof. Park's theory in the use of figurative language as the expression of emotion; nor in those conflicting judgments which the mind forms of truth in its different conditions; nor in the different states of mind consequent on contemplation of truth for different objects; nor in what the scriptures and experience teach concerning the relation between the feelings and intellect. We have further endeavoured to show that this theory is destructive of the authority of the Bible, because it attributes to the sacred writers conflicting and irreconcilable representations. Even should we admit that the feelings and the intellect have different apprehensions and adopt different modes of expression, yet as the feelings of the sacred writers were excited, as well as their cognitions determined, by the Holy Spirit, the two must be in perfect harmony. In unrenewed, or imperfectly sanctified, uninspired men, there might be, on the hypothesis assumed, this conflict between feeling and knowledge, but to attribute such contradictions to the scriptures is to deny their inspiration. Besides this, the practical operation of a theory which supposes that so large a part of the Bible is to be set aside as inexact, because the language of passion, must be to subject its teachings to the opinion and prejudices of the reader. No adequate criteria are given for discriminating between the language of feeling and that of the intellect. Every one is left to his own discretion in making the distinction, and the

use of this discretion, regulated by no fixed rules of language, is of course determined by caprice or taste.

But even if our objections to the theory of this discourse be deemed unsound, the arbitrary application which the author makes of his principles would be enough to condemn them. We have seen that he attributes to the feelings the most abstract propositions of scientific theology, that he does not discriminate between mere figurative language and the language of emotion; that he adopts or rejects the representations of the Bible at pleasure, or as they happen to coincide with, or contradict his preconceived opinions. That a sentence of condemnation passed on all men for the sin of one man: that men are by nature the children of wrath; that without Christ we can do nothing; that he hath redeemed us from the curse of the law by being made a curse for us; that men are not merely pardoned, but justified; are represented as bold metaphors, impressive but not intelligible, true to the feelings but false to the reason.

In will be a matter of deep regret to many to find Prof. Park, with his captivating talents and commanding influence, arrayed against the doctrines repudiated in this discourse; and many more will lament that he should have prepared a weapon which may be used against one doctrine as easily as another. Our consolation is, that however keen may be the edge, or bright the polish of that weapon, it has so little substance, it must shiver into atoms with the first blow it strikes against those sturdy trees which have stood for ages in the garden of the Lord, and whose leaves have been for the healing of the nations.

SHORT NOTICES.

ART. VIII.—*English Grammar.* The English Language in its Elements and Forms. With a history of its Origin and Development. Designed for the use of Schools and Colleges. By William C. Fowler, late Professor in Amherst College. New York: Harpers. 1850. 8vo. pp. 675.

The best recommendation of this large and elaborate work will be to inform the reader what he will find in it, and in no other single volume. The history of the language is given, beginning with the oriental tongues, and tracing the course of change through the Gothic and Anglo Saxon. This part of the work is diversified by many entertaining instances. The Phonology, or doctrine of sounds follows. Orthography occupies the third part. The fourth is taken up with a large and diligent examination of etymological forms. Great labour has been bestowed on the difficult subject of classification and definition. The strength of the author has been bestowed on this part, and on the sixth, which contains the syntax. The fifth and seventh are on logic and rhetoric; as connected with language; these we regard as less necessary to the symmetry and unity of the book, than its other parts. The eighth part is on poetical forms, including metre. As a whole, the work is the product of unusual care and is wrought with patience, diligence and cautious accuracy. Its plan is such as to make it more convenient for a class-book, than inviting to the cursory reader; but the matter is so extensive, various and often entertaining, that it could not fail to give pleasure to general scholars, under any arrangement. We owe a great debt to the learned author, in one respect, that he has been prompt and unwearied in doing a work which was greatly needed, and which no American writer had attempted. The volume will for a long time stand alone, as a Grammar of the English upon philosophical and philological principles.

Letters and Papers of the late Theodosia, Viscountess Powerscourt. Edited by the Rev. Robert Daly, D. D., now Bishop of Cashel. From the fifth London edition. New York: Carters. 1850. 12mo. pp. 273.

Lady Powerscourt's Letters are remarkably fitted to awaken spiritual thoughts and to console the afflicted. In the latter capacity we have known them to be eminently useful. We can say this, without assenting to her views on the premillennial advent and some other points. The author was a lady not only of religious fervour but of genius. In a lukewarm age, she writes with a warmth and energy which go to the

heart. Gladly would we see the book in the hands of all, but especially of bereaved and otherwise afflicted persons.

An Address, delivered before the Alumni and Former Students of the Ohio University, August 7, 1850. By the Rev. D. V. McLean, D.D., of Freehold, N. J. New York. Spalding & Shepard. 1850. 8vo. pp. 50.

In this well written address, the author evinces his practical judgment, by avoiding the generalities usual on such occasions, and filling his space with a careful history, which, if interesting to us, must be greatly more so to those who live in the West. This gives the pamphlet a permanent value, in the annals of Ohio and of the country. Laudable diligence is apparent in the collection of materials, and the facts are for the most part such as will be new to the majority of readers. For the sound, conservative and pacific opinions, warmly urged in the latter part, Dr. McLean merits the thanks of every patriot.

An Address on the Missionary Aspect of African Colonization. By James A. Lyon, Pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, St. Louis. 1850.

A useful and animated discourse on a great topic of increasing interest.

A Discourse on the Death of Zachary Taylor, twelfth President of the United States. By John M. Krebs, D.D. New York. 1850.

The doctrine and the style both recommend this sermon, delivered by a pastor to his people, on a late affecting occasion.

A Sermon, preached at Setauket, at the funeral of the Rev. John Gile, October 14, 1849: by the Rev. James C. Edwards, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Smithtown, L. I. New York. 1850.

The melancholy event commemorated in this modest but truly excellent discourse, is the death of an amiable and useful

minister of our church, who was drowned about a year ago. The truth dwelt upon by the preacher, from John xiv. 3, is that there is a coming of Christ at the death of his people.

Christ's Second Coming: will it be pre-millennial. By the Rev. David Brown, A. M., St. James's Free Church, Glasgow, second Edition. Edinburgh. 1849. pp. 497.

In the October number of this periodical, in the year 1849, we gave a short review of the first edition of this work, to which our readers, who feel an interest in the subject, are referred. To this volume of Mr. Brown, several answers were returned; one by the Duke of Manchester, one by the Rev. H. Bonar, and another by the Rev. A. Bonar. The objections and arguments of all these are, in our opinion, fully met and refuted by our author. He has not confined himself to the arguments of those who have written against his book, but has brought into view the opinions of all the most eminent pre-millennarians, who have written on the subject in England and Scotland; so that this volume will furnish the reader with a full view of the whole subject. And as the doctrines of the pre-millennarians begin to gain admirers and advocates in this country, it is important, in our view, that our ministers and people should have something put into their hands to read. For while a number of volumes in favour of the doctrine of Christ's "Personal Reign on the Earth," have been republished in this country, and some books written on this side the Atlantic, with like opinions, scarcely anything has appeared in opposition. We have been surprised that some one of our enterprising booksellers has not observed that this is likely to become a subject of universal interest to our churches; and that it would be meeting the public sentiment, to reprint such works as this of the Rev. Mr. Brown. If we are not much mistaken there are many who would buy and read this volume with avidity.

A Sermon on Election, in which the doctrine is proved by Scripture, and shown to be in accordance with the experience, the practice, and the prayers, of all truly regenerate

men. By Francis Bowman, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Greensborough, Ga. Milledgeville, 1850.

The title happily expresses the subject of this discourse, which abounds in good sense and scriptural argument. In every part of our wide spread church, we rejoice to see defenders of the faith ready and able to stand forth in time of opposition.

The Testimony of Science to the Truth of the Bible: An Address delivered before the Bible Society of the University of Virginia. January 27, 1850. By Rev. B. M. Smith, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Staunton. Charlottesville. 1850.

The author, in this vindication of revealed religion, appeals to Biblical Criticism, to Ethnography, to Archaeology, and to Natural History and Geology. In the course of his brief but able argument, he of course encounters the objections derived from the variety of races; here he strongly states the true doctrine. The discussion is clear and convincing, and well suited to the place and occasion. The author is both a good reasoner and a polished writer, whose pen we hope to see often exercised in this way.

Nature, Progress, Ideas. A Discourse on Naturalism, in its various phases, as opposed to the true scriptural doctrine of a Divine Imperium. Delivered at Union College, Schenectady, July 24, 1849. Before the New York Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. By Tayler Lewis, LL. D. Professor of Greek in Union College. Schenectady, 1850. 8vo pp. 56.

This is a brave uncompromising assault on some of the German hypotheses which are gaining ground among our young men. Dr. Lewis's views on these matters are well known, and he defends them with equal frankness and learning. Timely things are said about progress, development, and 'God in History,' about the turning of religion into philosophy and ethics into æsthetics. The admirers of Morell and Maurice will be less pleased than we, with the unsavoury judgments respecting their whims of development. The writings of Prof.

Lewis are not always as perspicuous as we could wish, but we love to see his well dealt blows at these chimeras of the day, which no man understands better or hates more.

The Private, Domestic and Social Life of Jesus Christ: a Model for Youth. By the Rev. John M. Krebs, D. D. Philad. Martien. 1850. 24mo. pp. 71.

A delightful subject, handled in a popular manner, which we hope will win its way to the hearts of that class to whom it is more particularly addressed.

The Works of Leonard Woods, D. D. In five volumes. Vol. III. IV. and V. Andover. 1850.

Dr. Woods may well be congratulated on the completion of this publication. A more important contribution has seldom been made to the theological literature of our country. The third volume contains the conclusion of his lectures on theology. Volumes fourth and fifth are made up of letters, essays and sermons. The author has thus erected an enduring monument to his memory, which we doubt not will long be cherished with affection and respect. All the works here collected bear the impress of a perspicacious, wise, and devout mind, and may be recommended to a very large class of readers as a store-house of theological truth. We hope to have an opportunity of presenting a more extended estimate of the character of these volumes, which for the present we must dismiss with this short notice.

Montaigne; The Endless Study, and other Miscellanies. By Alexander Vinet. Translated with an Introduction and Notes: By Robert Trumbull. New York: Published by M. W. Dodd. 1850.

This is an interesting collection of miscellaneous writings of one of the most gifted men belonging to the Reformed Church of France. They all contain discussions of important questions in morals and religion.

Journal of Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia. By the Rev. Samuel Gobat, now Bishop of Jerusalem. Preceded by an

Introduction, Geographical and Historical on Abyssinia. Translated from the French, by Sereno D. Clark. Accompanied with a Biographical Sketch of Bishop Gobat, by Robert Baird, D. D. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1850. pp. 480.

Nothing beyond this title page can be necessary to recommend this work to the attention of those interested in the missionary work.

The Rights and Duties of Masters. A Sermon preached at the dedication of a church erected in Charleston, S. C., for the Benefit and Instruction of the Coloured Population. By J. H. Thornwell, D. D. Charleston, S. C. 1850. pp. 51.

We learn from the introduction to this sermon, that the church at whose dedication it was preached, is under the supervision of the Second Presbyterian Church. The Rev. John B. Adger, so long a faithful Missionary in Western Asia, is the present pastor of this interesting congregation. The cost of erecting the building was $7,700. There is a Sunday School connected with the church, containing about one hundred and eighty scholars, taught by the minister and some twenty or thirty ladies and gentlemen. This method we think indicates the true solution of the slavery question. Let the slaves be thoroughly instructed; let them be treated with justice and humanity, and the result may be safely left to God.

An Address delivered before the St. Aloysius Literary Society of the University of Notre Dame du Lac, on commencement day, July 3d, 1850. By David M. Gregg, M. A. Niles, Michigan.

There is something peculiarly interesting in such publications from the far West. They show that the civilization of the East is moving westward in its completeness. Our brethren carry with them the municipal, religious, and educational institutions with which they were familiar in the home of their early days. Universities arise in the midst of unfelled forests, and science is inculcated on those whose hands are hardened

by honest labour. This is a peculiarity of American life for which the history of nations can hardly furnish a parallel.

Prejudice and its Antidote. An address delivered before the East Alabama Presbyterial High School. By Rev. W. T. Hamiltom D.D. of Mobile, Alabama. Philadelphia; Wm. F. Geddes. 1850.

Church Development on Apostolic Principles: An Essay addressed to the Friends of Biblical Christianity. By S. S. Schmucker D. D. Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. Gettysburg. 1850.

Addresses, delivered at the Inauguration of Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, LL. D., Pres. of Rutgers College. By the Hon. A. Bruyn Hashbrouck, LL. D., His Ex. Governor Haines, Rev. James S. Cannon, D. D., and Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, LL. D. New Brunswick: Press of J. Terhune and Son. 1850.

A Review of the Rev. W. Craik's Essay on the Divine Life and the New Birth. By Rev. John S. Watt. Louisville: 1850.

Influence. A Quarter-Century Sermon, Preached in behalf of the American Tract Society. May 5, 1850. By Rev. Gardiner Spring, D. D., Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York, one of the founders of the Society.

The above are among the number of interesting pamphlets which we have received, but which the crowded state of our pages forbids our noticing more particularly.

The Star of the Wise Men: Being a Commentary on the Second Chapter of St. Matthew. By Richard Chenevix Trench, B. D. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 1850. pp. 116.

This may be described as an exhaustive commentary on this passage of the holy scriptures. All the curious and incidental questions which have been raised, touching the strange, eventful, and supernatural incidents related in the chapter, are discussed with varied and comprehensive learning, and the con-

clusions reached, we think, will generally commend themselves to the common sense of the reader. The author is already so well known to scholars, by his Hulsean Lectures, as to require no farther introduction to our readers. His peculiar province may be said to be the apologetical literature, rather than the theology, whether doctrinal or practical Christianity.

The Elements of Christian Science. A Treatise upon Moral Philosophy and Practice. By William Adams, S. T. P. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 1850.

We regret that we have not been able to redeem time enough, since this volume came into our hands, to give it a careful examination; and to offer a criticism upon it, without such an examination would be unfair both to the author and to our readers. We need not say that a good Treatise upon this subject, is still a very great desideratum. We know of nothing in the language that is suitable for a text-book on the science. The work of Paley still holds its place to some extent, in consequence of its intellectual ability, especially its transparency of thought and diction; while the fundamental error which underlies and pervades it, has poisoned the theology and morals of whole communities of readers. On the other hand, the modern books upon the subject, which are sound in the main in their ethical doctrines, are not philosophies at all; but mere classified collections of moral precepts, taken chiefly from the scriptures. These are excellent in their place; but what is really needed, is a philosophical induction of the great principles of ethical science drawn from a complete analysis of the human constitution; with the aid, of course, of the light which revelation sheds upon the origin, constitution, and destiny of man.

How far the work before us answers the demand we are not yet prepared to say. It evidently rests upon an original, independent, and vigorous analysis of the moral nature of man. We fancy, from dipping into it at several points, that we should often have occasion to hesitate, and not seldom perhaps dissent from the authors bold analysis and deductions; and still oftener from the mode of statement adopted by the author. These remarks apply especially to the points of con-

tact between ethics and theology. We are glad, however, to perceive that he does battle with equal good will, against the hypothesis which resolves all virtue into disinterested benevolence, as well as that which makes it to consist in an enlightened selfishness: hypotheses, which, however seemingly opposed and contradictory to each other, are yet really but different poles of one and the same great moral heresy.

The author seems to be well read in the literature of his subject, with the single exception of the prolific results of the modern German Philosophy; which, however little we may prize its fruits for their own sake, might, we think, have served to correct some of the author's oscillations from the true middle point, by its extreme departure on the other side.

The Parables of Jesus Explained and Illustrated. By Frederick Gustav Lisco, Minister of St. Gertraud Church, Berlin. Translated from the German, by the Rev. P. Fairbairn. Philadelphia: Daniels and Smith. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln. 1850.

Such works always have our hearty approbation, as valuable contributions to the Spiritual Treasury of the Church. We commend it especially to those who wish to study or expound the Parables; which, we need not add, are among the most characteristic and precious of the divine instructions of our Lord.