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ART. I.—*Lettre de Démission à la Faculté de l'École de Théologie de Genève.* Par Ed. Schérer, Professeur de l'Exegése, &c. Genéve, 1849.

"AN old error often disguises itself under a new name."* There is something so attractive in the sheen of novelty, something so flattering to human pride in the idea of progress, that, "ye shall be as gods *knowing*" is still the gilding of the bait, whether it be addressed to sense or reason. The pithy observation we have quoted above, may be supported by examples from every century of Church history, and from none more copiously than our own. Certain "old errors" which have worn out not a few suits of phraseology in the course of the last eighteen centuries, have of late appeared in new attire complete, cut after the latest fashion; and with the help of rouge and patches, and other rejuvenating appliances, are seeking to palm themselves off as the youngest-born of truth. A searching glance, however, quickly detects through all their finery and affectations the wrinkles of age, and the deep scars of repeated refutations, received at the hands of those who in old time were "valiant for truth."

* Dr. Livingston.

The fact and the nature of Professor Schérer's aberration from the ancient faith of the Church on the subject of inspiration, and his consequent retirement from the Faculty of the New Theological School of Geneva, is already widely familiar to the religious public of this country. His theory is well characterized by M. Merle D'Aubigné as the "*mystico-rationalistic.*"* The Spirit *apart from* the word, instead of the Spirit *in* and *by* the word; an individual, intuitional, subjective revelation and inspiration, (as far as there is any,) instead of a scripture inspired of God, and opened up to believers by the illumination of the Holy Spirit. This may be taken as a brief description of the views of Professor Schérer as distinguished from the general faith of Christians.

It is not a little surprising that Professor Schérer should advance this theory as a novelty. Yet he does so, in terms which can hardly be regarded as either modest or reverential. "The Christian life, the gospel ministry, theology—all will assume a new aspect in consequence of the revolution which I announce, (it is indeed a revolution,) because every thing has been falsified by the dominion of the letter and of authority." "La vie Chrétienne, le ministére évangelique, la théologie—tout changera de face à la suite de la révolution que ce signale (c'est bien une révolution,) parceque tout a été faussé par le régne de la lettre et de l'autorité." Exegesis, dogmatics, morality, evangelization, are each and all to assume new liberty and energy. The Bible is "no longer to be an authority, but a treasure." We are to "exchange the letter of a code for the living products of apostolic individuality," "an authority for a history," "a cabalistic ventriloquism!! for the noble accent of the human voice." "A precious truth which Quakerism has long monopolized," (que le Quæquerisme a longtemps representait seul) is to be replaced in just estimation. It is not without hesitation that we pen the following prediction: "The Holy Spirit, in consequence of this *emancipation*, (à la suite de cette affranchissement) will resume the place which belongs to him in the life of the Church and of believers." This may be taken as a specimen of the *honour* which is to accrue to the adorable Sanctifier of the Church of God from a system which

* Discours de l'Ouverture à l'Assemblée Gen. de la Soc. Ev. de Genève. 1850.

magnifies him above and aside from his own word. "The theological baggage," (thus Professor Schérer denominates "the literal system") "which now retards the onward march of Christianity," is to be left behind. (But what if the artillery, provisions, and munitions of war should be found to be included in this "baggage," and left behind along with it?) But there is one more "gain" which we must not omit to notice. "The minister of your gospel," says M. Schérer, "must necessarily be a learned man, a thing which seems to me monstrous. The simple believer cannot preach the evangelical doctrine such as you understand it; he cannot labour for the advancement of the kingdom of God as you conceive of it, without the undertaking supposing on his part the determination of the most difficult questions of theology." "Preaching," therefore, "would, in particular, gain much; it would gain every thing by the change proposed." Happy period about to dawn upon the Church! No more need of the long and tiresome process of "reading and doctrine;" "the flesh" need no longer suffer the "weariness" of "much study;" no more danger of "laying hands suddenly" on candidates for the ministry; no objection whatever to a "bishop" being "a novice!" Here, certainly, is *new light*, and enough of it. Few discoverers of "new truth" have ventured to promise so long and brilliant a list of results. "The Bible no longer to be an authority; no farther need of a learned ministry; the Christian army to march on without its baggage; Quakerism to be the germ of a new expansion of Christianity." .Such are to be the "suites" of the "affranchissement," the "revolution," the "marche en avant" "signalized" by Professor Schérer!

About three hundred years ago, Castellio advanced substantially the same views at Geneva, with much the same pretensions. "The Spirit," said he, "will eclipse the light of the Scripture as the sun eclipses the light of a candle." But Calvin dryly and good-naturedly observed that "there was nothing in all these so called discoveries that was not known and more than known *a very long while before he was born*."* The same thing may be said of Professor Schérer. His theory is nothing

* Merle D'Aubigné, Disc. d'Ouv.

more than an "old error," decked off from the *Religions-philosophie* of Schleiermacher, with a "new dress."

Other *new suits* have, if we rightly judge, been furnished from the same extensive warehouse. Mr. Morell's theory is of the same stuff and the same fashion, and we doubt not of the same manufacture. But the latter by plunging into the fog of metaphysics has eluded any other than a psychological discussion, while M. Schérer by betaking himself to the high and open ground of history with a boldness unhappily not justified either by his own strength or the goodness of his cause has laid himself open to speedy and easy refutation.

It is not to be denied that Professor Schérer has distinctly taken the position and put on the armour of infidelity. The arguments which he urges against inspiration are substantially those which have formed the common stock of infidels from Porphyry down to Strauss. They are almost identical with those which Irenæus states and repels from Valentinus and Marcion.* So little addition has the lapse of time and the "progress of science" made to the material of infidelity! So true is it that the doctrine of inspiration is identical with Christianity, and that no man can abandon and attack it without going over to the camp and borrowing the blunted weapons of the avowed enemies of the Christian faith! So evident too, that this doctrine is planted on a rock which the assaults of seventeen centuries have not been able to shake! The missiles which fell harmless at its base in the second century, can hardly be expected to demolish it in the nineteenth!

But let us hear from Professor Schérer himself the annunciation of the change of his opinions and the step to which it determined him.

"A gradual but profound change has taken place in my theological views. This change has induced me to tender to you . . . . . my resignation of the functions which I have discharged in the school of Theology."

And here we feel constrained to do honour to the manly frankness and honesty of Professor Schérer. He was elected

* Iren. adv. Haer. Lib. II. Cap. 2;—in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum, *quasi non recte habeant, neque sint ex authoritate,* et quia *varie sunt dictæ,* et quia *non possit ex his inveniri veritas, &c.*

a few years ago to the chair of Exegesis in the New Theological School of Geneva. His views of inspiration were, at that time, those which enter into the very texture of that system of theological opinions which throughout Christendom is distinguished by the title of Evangelical, as appears from a work he had not long before published.* But "a change, gradual yet profound," has meanwhile taken place in his sentiments in relation to this fundamental question. He does not attempt to conceal it from others and palliate it to himself by the use of ambiguous and equivocal phrases. He does not resort to quibbles and pretences of teaching "for substance" the same doctrines which he was pledged to do. He does not convulse the institution by attempts to hold on to his position and emoluments after he has parted from his faith, nor subject it to the ruinous agitation of investigations and processes. He is conscious of a change of opinion. He frankly avows it, and explains its extent. "On peut en effet," he remarks, "au moins, jusqu' à un certain point, renfermer en son sein de simples doutes, et qui de nous n'en renferme quelques uns de ce genre," &c. "We may, indeed, at least to a certain extent, shut up within our own bosom mere doubts, and who of us is not conscious of some such, held in abeyance by a faith of yet superior efficacy? *But we cannot suppress a positive conviction.*" Having come to this, he promptly offers his resignation, which is as promptly, though with every expression of Christian kindness and courtesy, accepted. A proceeding honourable on both sides! Devoutly do we say, *transeat in exemplum!* There are not a few cases, in which a like *démission* would greatly relieve the conscience of the incumbent, and benefit the faith and life of the Church. We are at a loss to conceive a more flagrant violation of truth and uprightness, than for a man who has been set on one of the high places of the Church, to retain it only to pull down and betray to the enemy the very battlements which he was trusted to defend.†

Prompt as was the retirement of Professor Schérer, the history of the affair proves how rapidly the leaven spreads. Well

* Dogmatique de l'Église Reformée."

† Let no man put upon our remarks the interpretatio ad invidiam. *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

has he observed towards the close of his letter, "il est de la nature de la conviction d'aspirer au prosélytisme." Even where a man has not the courage and honesty to avow his opinions, he will still have not the less ambition to propagate them. In fact, the mind of the teacher *must* unconsciously and inevitably give its own impression and hue to every theory, every thought, every fact even, which enters into the material of his daily instruction. The stream cannot be purer than the fountain from which it flows. When Professor Schérer's connection with the Seminary had been terminated, it speedily appeared that ten out of twenty-nine students had passed through the same "changement graduel et profond" with their Professor, and were ready with him to renounce the doctrine of an inspired Bible! And of those who remained, their professors say,* "We ought not to conceal from you that we regret to find among some, notions by far too vague on the fundamental character of this conviction;" and they express the apprehension that a special "operation of the Holy Spirit on their hearts can alone root out the last remnants of the tares which have been sown among them."

If we may regard this letter as as a specimen of Professor Schérer's manner of treating religious subjects, we must look upon his retirement from the Seminary rather as matter of congratulation than of sympathy. He manifests a certain *hardiesse* in throwing out his thoughts on the most momentous subjects, which coupled, as we are told it is, with a brilliant and impressive style of lecturing, must render him exceedingly dangerous either as a teacher or a model of students of divinity. Seldom have the opposite poles of theological opinion been traversed with the same celerity. In a letter to a friend in this country in 1849,† M. Merle D'Aubigné pronounces his young associate "all primitive in faith, all modern in science." But scarcely was the ink dry in which the excellent President had written these words, when the announcement of his "changement graduel mais profond" burst on his astonished and afflicted colleagues! "Let no man therefore, glory in men!" Such is

* Rapport sur l'Éc. de Théol. p. 99.

† Published in the *Christian Intelligencer* in March of that year.

the obvious moral of this "fait douloureux."* Let not the Church be too much elated by the talents and "science" of her teachers! Let her see to it that every institution she founds stands plumb on the Rock of Ages, and after all her vigilance, put her whole trust in Him who amidst all these deplorable manifestations of human instability is "the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever!"

We turn to Professor Schérer himself for an exposition of the successive steps by which he was conducted to "a change" so great and "profound," that a professor and an author, who had defended the sacred canon and the doctrine of inspiration, now feels himself compelled to renounce the one and to rend in pieces and scatter to the winds the other:—that one who in a work published in 1843 holds up to the world, "le type immuable et parfait de l' Écriture," "la revelation écrite," "le moyen de connaissance parfaitement adequat et authentique," feels called upon in 1849, to denounce the very doctrine of inspiration as "une ventriloquie cabalistique," "non seulement une erreur théologique, mais aussi et surtout, un fléau pour l' Église!" ("not merely a theological error, but also and above all a scourge to the Church.") Verily, the bridge that spans such an abyss should, we think, have presented something firmer to the first tread than appears in the following introductory statement:

"The formation of the New Testament, that is to say, the introduction of that idea of inspiration which constitutes the sacred collection and its dignity, appears to me to be one of the elements of that Catholicism which was insensibly developed in the ancient church. Men had recourse to the authority of the Episcopate, and to the magic virtue of the sacraments, because the spirit that animated the first believers had been impaired or withdrawn; the object was to create an authority, to substitute an exterior, literal, tangible rule for the impulse of life and spirit," &c.†

* Thus it is denominated by Professor La Harpe. Rapport sur l' École de Théol.

† La formation du Nouveau Testament, c'est à dire, l'introduction de cette idée d'inspiration, qui constitue le recueil sacré et sa dignité, me parait être l'un des élémens de ce Catholicisme qui s'est insensiblement développé dans l'ancienne Église. On recourrût à l'autorité de l'Épiscopat et à la vertu magique des sacre-

The "idea of inspiration *introduced*" into the early Christian Church!—"one of the elements of catholicism!"—"insensibly developed!" &c. These are remarkable assertions indeed from one, whose pursuits must inevitably have led him to some acquaintance with the writers themselves of the first age of the Christian Church, and with the constant presence and profound power of this "idea" in the Jewish mind before the coming of our Lord. Was there no "idea of inspiration" in the ancient Hebrew Church? What is meant by the expressions, "the Spirit of the Lord God is upon me"—"the Lord God and his Spirit hath sent me"—"Hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me"—"Write the vision, and make it plain upon tables"—"Go there and read in the roll which thou hast written from my mouth, the words of the Lord in the ears of the people." M. Schérer does not deny the inspiration of the Old Testament. He waives that question for the present. "The change which has taken place in my views," he says, "bears on the New Testament considered as an authority in matters of religion. As to the Old Testament, I leave it aside for the present, in order to simplify the question by reducing it to its essential terms." But when he asserts the *introduction* of the idea of inspiration among the innovations of Catholicism along with the authority of the Episcopate and the magic virtue of sacraments, he certainly does *deny*, at least by implication, the *transmission* of that idea from the ancient Hebrew Church. To him the idea of inspiration, and its result the formation of the New Testament, and the sentiment which invested it with a sacred "dignity," "appears" to have been a product of Catholicism; one of those material and worldly ideas which its "insensible development evolved in such rapid succession"—"a fiction (une fiction) shedding an equal colour of divinity over the books of the New Testament," and thus creating a "substitute for the life and spirit" which animated the primitive Church. Observe the bewilderment and absurdity into which his search for a historical *appui* for his theory has betrayed him. He does not deny the inspiration of the Old Testament. We are

mens parceque l'esprit qui animait les prémiers fidéles s'etait altéré ou retiré;—il s'agissait de créer une autorité, de substituer une règle exterieure, littérale, tangible à l'impulsion de vie et d'esprit," &c.

told he admits it. Yet he never hints at the possibility that this "idea" (the dominant and plastic idea of the Hebrew Church and State) passed down from the Old Church into the New, profoundly imbued as the founders of the latter were with the spirit and ideas of the former! But let us look into the New Testament itself. Do we find nothing that *may* have given birth to this "idea" there? What can the Apostles mean by these and the like expressions—"God hath revealed unto us by his Spirit"—"Which things we speak in words which the Holy Ghost speaketh"—"I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you"—"This, then, is the message which we have heard from him and declare unto you"—"This we say unto you by the word of the Lord"—"These things are written that ye might believe, and that believing ye might have life"—"All Scripture is inspired of God"? The idea of inspiration accomplishing the same historical cycle with the other great truths of revelation, first discerned in embryo among the vague and faint foreshadowings, the κοιναὶ ἔννοιαι of the ancient Pagan mind (though as different from and inferior to the true scriptural idea as the moral theory of Paganism from "the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus," or the tribunal of Rhadamanthus from "the judgment-seat of Christ," or the Elysian fields from the "life and immortality brought to light in the gospel,") and afterwards standing forth in the fulness and brightness of its substantial and perfect form in the "holy men of God" of the Old and New Testament, who "spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," and "all" whose "writing" (πασα γραφη) was "inspired of God," an "idea" which had actually "formed" the Old Testament, and given it unspeakable "dignity," and kept it intact for centuries before the coming of Christ—has Professor Schérer never met with it before, that he assigns it so late and low an origin as Catholicism? It seems not. For in giving an exposition, ("la plume à la main, afin de rendre tout malentendu impossible,") of the "changement graduel et *profond*," which has converted him from an advocate into an enemy of inspiration, and (we are pained to add) an irreverent scoffer at it, he tells us:

"The introduction of this idea of inspiration, which has given its form and dignity to the sacred collection, seems to

me to be one of the elements of that Catholicism which was insensibly developed in the ancient church," &c.

If Professor Schérer had affirmed that "the idea of democracy" was "introduced" into Greece by the invasion of Xerxes, and "insensibly developed" into free institutions under Persian influence; or that the first outlines of the American Constitution were concocted by George III. and Lord North, he would not have uttered a bolder contradiction to history and common sense, than by advancing the theory that the doctrine of inspiration was the offspring of Catholicism.

Deplorably scanty as are the remains of the early Christian writers, they yet furnish abundant proof that "the idea of inspiration," standing forth prominently as it did in the apostolic teachings, was reflected with the utmost clearness and distinctness, from the mind of the primitive Church, as from a faithful mirror, until the mirror itself was soiled, and the image dimmed and disfigured by the breath of Catholicism.

There is one remnant of the first century, which all parties conspire in applauding as of unquestionable authenticity, and singularly free from interpolations; a purity which it doubtless owes to its lying concealed during the long period in which Catholicism was busiest in fabricating spurious, and corrupting authentic monuments of Christian antiquity. I mean the first epistle of Clemens of Rome to the Corinthians. Eusebius pronounces its writer Παύλου συνεργὸς καὶ συναθλητὴς,* and the Epistle itself μεγάλη καὶ θαυμασία ἐπιστολὴ—ἐνωμολογημένη παρὰ πᾶσιν† Dr. Benson calls it "that golden relic of Clemens, his first Epistle to the Corinthians." Dr. Burton considers it "undoubtedly a genuine work,"‡ and "the only genuine production of any Christian writer of the first century."§ In turning over the pages of that first and purest remnant of early Christian times, we look in vain even for the incipient manifestation of those essential "elements of Catholicism," (to use the words of Professor Schérer,) "l'autorité de l'épiscopat et la vertu magique des sacremens." If diocesan episcopacy had taken its first steps at that time into the Christian Church, there *must* have been traces of them here. The Epistle was written in order to

* Ecc. Hist. III. 4. † Id. III. 38.

‡ Burton's Lectures on the Ecc. Hist. of the First Three Centuries, p. 258. (London, 1845.) § Id. p. 288.

bring back to Christian order and tranquillity the church of Corinth, then, as in apostolic times, lamentably rent asunder by dissension and strife, (ζῆλος, ἔρις, στάσις, ἀκαταστασία, &c. ch. 3.) Had there been at that time a presiding bishop in the Corinthian Church, there must have been some recognition of his presence and authority, some exhortation to respect and obedience to him. In fact this must have formed the leading idea of the Epistle. But there is nothing of the kind. The Epistle is superscribed ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας γραφεῖσα. It exhorts the Corinthian believers to meekness, humility, order, patience of injuries, and the other Christian graces which make for peace. It admonishes them to be subject to their presbyters, (ὑποτάγητε τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις—ch. 57; μόνον τὸ ποίμνιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰρηνευέτω, μετὰ τῶν καθεσταμένων πρεσβυτέρων. Ch. 54. There is no mention of ἐπισκόπος save in two instances, and then in the plural number and in the apostolic phrase, ἐπισκόποι καὶ διακόνοι, plainly used interchangeably with πρεσβυτέροι, and designating what Bishop Onderdonk* calls "the simple presbyter-bishops of the Bible." No other bishops but these "simple presbyter-bishops of the Bible" were as yet known, as this letter from one of the principal Christian churches to another (turning from beginning to end on points of Christian order) unanswerably proves. If Clement himself had been presiding bishop of Rome, with any such powers as bishops have since claimed, would he have addressed his epistle "from the presence of the church of the Romans?" Would he have said, as he does, (ch. 56) "We therefore pray (for those who have fallen into any sin, that meekness and humility may be granted to them,) *that they may yield not to us, but to the will of God.*" The tone of the whole epistle in fact, is simply that of an humble and unassuming Christian pastor, addressing in the name of his assembled flock, an exhortation to a sister church to harmony and peace. Any attempt to support *papal* pretension to dignity and authority from this epistle, must be simply ridiculous. Nor can Episcopacy make any thing better of it in support of its claims. It is in fact equally matter of wonder and thankfulness that such a document has survived from the almost indiscriminate ruin of early Christian writings, commanding by

* Defence of Episcopacy.

unquestionable proofs of genuineness and purity the respect even of Romanists and Prelatists, yet lending not the slightest countenance to any of their later aggressions on the purity of the Christian faith, or the parity of the Christian ministry.

In fact, the authority of this epistle is direct and conclusive *against* diocesan episcopacy. In the 42d chapter, Clement speaking distinctly and formally of the constitution of the Christian ministry by the Apostles, and inculcating system and subordination in Christian offices, says, "The Apostles preached the gospel through regions and cities and constituted (ordained, καθίστανον) the first-fruits of them as bishops and deacons of those who should believe." Here is an exhibition of the Christian ministry as "constituted" by the Apostles and *then existing*, as the ground-form of an orderly and systematic fulfilment of Christian worship and duties. Now, if there had been another order *between* "bishops and deacons," must it not have been inserted? If there had been a superior order *under any title*, must it not have been mentioned? If the constitution of the ministry in the Corinthian Church had differed from that of other churches (as Haddington has insinuated, Episcopacy not being yet established there on account of the democratic spirit which was rife among them), would not such a difference have been noticed, and the lack of a bishop suggested as the occasion of the "strifes and disorders" so frequent among them? There is nothing of the kind. "The Apostles preached the gospel through regions and cities, and ordained the first-fruits of them as bishops and deacons of those who should afterwards believe." Here is the Apostolic ministry. Here is the plan of Church order and Christian subordination. It is out of the question that *any* office or grade should be omitted here. He has just been illustrating (ch. 37) the importance and beauty of order from the Roman army, all the officers of which he enumerates, ἔπαρχοι, χιλίαρχοι, ἑκατόνταρχοι, πεντηκόνταρχοι, including even the petty officers and common soldiers under the phrase τὸ καθεξῆς;—and from the Levitical priesthood and Hebrew Church, (ch. 40 end.) specifying each order with the same minuteness, ἀρχιερείς, ἱερεῖς, λευῖται, λαϊκοι. "We ought, therefore, (he reasons) "to do all things *in order* (τάξει) as the Lord hath commanded us to fulfil them." "Let each one of

you, brethren, praise God in his own rank or place" (ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι.) Surely, then, one important τάγμα in the constitution of the Church could not have been passed over in silence. A president in the Church of Corinth at that time *under the title of bishop* is of course impossible, since the ordinary ministers of the Church are designated as "bishops and deacons." But a presiding officer under any name, or with whatever degree of pre-eminence, is just as clearly out of the question, because such a dignitary could not possibly have passed without the remotest allusion through the whole epistle, and especially through this minute enumeration of the offices of the Christian Church and inculcation of the duties growing from them. Had any such thing been to this time recognized or thought of in the Christian Church, some intimation of it must have found its way into this epistle. What! the Corinthian Christians exhorted through a long epistle to subordination to those who were "over them in the Lord" (ἡγουμένοι, προηγουμένοι, &c.,) without the most distant allusion to the principal and most august personage entitled to that subordination! Had Clement been fourth Pope and Head of the Universal Church, as the Roman Catholics pretend, would he have joined his whole flock in meekly exhorting the Corinthians to humility, and peace, and mutual concession, and forbearance; to the imitation of Christ who was "of the lowly-minded, and not of those who exalt themselves above his flock," (ch. 16 in init.,) "to yield *not to him but to the will of God.*" An authoritative bull, *commanding* the submission of the mutinous Corinthians and threatening excommunication to the refractory, would have been a much more convenient and *papal* expedient. Had he been fourth (or third as some make him) diocesan Bishop of Rome, as the *Anglo*-Catholics contend, the inscription and *tone* of the epistle are almost equally incongruous with his office and sway, which would hardly have allowed him to begin thus, "the church of God which dwells at Rome to the church of God which dwells at Corinth, called to be holy," &c., without any mention of himself or any salutation to his "Right Reverend" brother of Corinth. Even if the "See" had been at that time vacant, or the incumbent anomalously situated, would such a style and such an omission have been possible? If the Bishop of New Jersey were now to write a

letter with a similar object (the maintenance of Christian and ecclesiastical order), to the church of New York, would he be likely to address it, "the church of God which dwells in New Jersey, to the church of God which dwells in New York?" Would such a letter be written without the slightest allusion to the *status* of the Episcopal office, simply exhorting the good people of New York to live peaceably in the practice of the Christian virtues, and to be "obedient in the Lord to their ministers," their "presbyters," their "bishops and deacons."

The "bishops" of Corinth then, were just such "bishops" as we find in the church of Ephesus some years earlier (Acts xx.) called "elders" by Luke in the narrative, and "bishops" by Paul in his address—"He sent to Ephesus and called the elders (τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους) of the Church. And when they were come to him, he said unto them—take heed unto yourselves and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, (ἐπισκόπους) &c.—such "bishops" as are spoken of indiscriminately and interchangeably with "elders" in the Apostolic epistles, and of whom Jerome says long after, "apud veteres, iidem episcopi et presbyteri, quia illud nomen dignitatis est, hoc aetatis." He must be blind indeed, who does not see the parity of the Christian ministry down to the date of this epistle. No eye whose vision is "single" will ever detect "a bishop" in any genuine document of the first century. Where was the Bishop of the Church of Rome when Paul addressed his epistle to it? Where the bishop of Corinth, of the several "churches of Galatia," of Ephesus, Philippi, Colossae, Thessalonica, when the epistles bearing their names were written? They were not yet appointed, says the advocate of prelacy, because the Apostles being yet in the oversight of the churches, their "successors" were not of course, as yet, nominated. To waive all other answers to this flimsy hypothesis, here we have a letter written by the third or fourth bishop (as he is styled) of Rome, to the church of Corinth. Where was the bishop, the apostolic successor in that Church, at that date? The Corinthians, say some of the most staunch and unscrupulous champions of Episcopacy, had not, at that time, received a bishop, in consequence of the democratic spirit which pervaded that city. What! "that most stable and ancient church of the Corinthians," as Clement

styles it, ch. 47, (βεβαιοτάτη καὶ ἀρχαία Κορινθίων ἐκκλησία), "a Church without a Bishop!"—a headless trunk!—a shepherdless flock!—a mere democratic rabble! Bearing "a name venerable and world-honoured, and worthy of being loved by all men" (τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ περιβόητον καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀξιαγάπητον ὄνομα ὑμῶν) (ch. 1.) and yet an exception and a scandal to all the well-ordered churches of Christendom!* Capacious indeed, must be that credulity which can swallow such assumptions! Here then is one "element of Catholicism," "l' autorité de l' épiscopat," of which no trace can be found in this the only unquestionably genuine remnant of the first century after the Apostles.

And as for the "vertu magique des sacremens," the very name was as yet unknown. Nor does it appear in Irenæus a century later. The word "sacrament" is applied to Christian rites first by Tertullian, and by him in a vague and indefinite way. But the name and the idea are alike wanting in this "golden relic" of Clement. The blood of Christ was as yet the only expiation for sin: "Let us look steadfastly to the blood of Christ and perceive how precious to God is his blood which being shed for our salvation," &c. (ch. 12.) The word of Christ the only rule of the Christian life: "Let us fulfil our warfare in his blameless precepts." (ch. 37.) Justification only by faith in Christ: "We then, being called by his will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, neither by our wisdom or understanding, or godliness, or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart, but by faith." (ch. 32.) Christ himself, the only priest, patron and helper of the Christian: "Jesus Christ, the high priest of our offerings, the patron and helper of our infirmity"—(no other *priest* or *patron* of the Christian Church is mentioned in the epistle.) Even the credulous simplicity which the writer betrays in some instances, e. g. in illustrating the resurrection by the fabulous πτεροφυία of the phœnix (ch. 25) and interpreting the scarlet thread of Rahab as a type of the blood of Christ (ch. 12) has nothing of the Catholic stamp; these are mere errors of fact and interpretation, and do not touch the substance and vitality of Christian truth. The whole troop of Catholic corruptions, penances, priestly absolution,

* A. Burton. p. 450.

fasts, vigils and self-castigations, saint-days, saint-reliques, saint-veneration and saint-intercession, are utterly undiscoverable here. The name of the Virgin-Mother does not occur from the beginning of the epistle to the end. The virtue which he inculcates is all *social*. The merit of the cloister and the desert was a later idea. The duties of husbands and wives, parents and children are largely dwelt upon, but no hint of the superior sanctity of an unmarried life. And as for *clerical* celibacy, we may fairly infer that the good father was himself not unblest in the affections and joys of holy matrimony; that he had used his Christian liberty of "leading about a sister, a wife"—for he says, (ch. 21), "Let us direct *our* wives to that which is good," and this from Clement, third Bishop of Rome in the Chronicon of Eusebius, and fourth Pope in the Roman Calendar!

But while Catholicism has left no "footprints" in this remain of the primitive age of Christianity, "the idea of inspiration" is clearly manifest in almost every chapter of it, and in almost every conceivable form. The Scriptures are "the oracles of God," (ch. 19.) The doctrinal teachings, the moral precepts of the epistle are supported and enforced by a simple appeal to them as the final authority of Christians in matters of faith and practice. The pious are "those who earnestly take heed to the words of God," who "receive in fear and sincerity the oracles of God." The epistle consists, to a large extent, of quotations both from the Old and New Testaments, which are cited under these and the like formulæ, "Thus saith the Scripture"—"Thus saith the Holy Spirit"—"Thus the ministers of the grace of God have spoken by the Holy Spirit"—"Thus saith the holy Word"—"Christ himself by his Holy Spirit thus admonisheth us." If we even demand a more specific recognition of the "idea of inspiration," we have it in two remarkable passages. The Apostles (ch. 42,) are spoken of as πιστωθέντες τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, μετὰ πληροφορίας Πνεύματος ἁγίου—and Christians are exhorted (ch. 45,) ἐγκυπτέτε εἰς τας γραφας, τας ἀληθεις ἑησεις πνευματος του ἁγιου. ("Earnestly search into the Scriptures, the true utterances of the Holy Spirit.")

What is this but "the idea of inspiration" in its most positive and plenary form? What has the most strenuous advocate of "textual inspiration" ever demanded beyond this—that the

Apostles spoke and wrote the Word of God μετὰ πληροφορίας Πνεύματος ἁγίου—that the Holy Scriptures should be regarded and "searched into" as the ἀληθεῖς ἐρῆσεις Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου? If the doctrine of inspiration were the result of "insensible development," into what more complete and distinct form could it ever be developed than that in which it is presented in this earliest uninspired document, now extant, of the Christian Church?

The epistles which bear the names of Barnabas, Polycarp, and Ignatius, if we chose to revert to them for the purpose, furnish abundant proof that the general sentiment of the Church in relation to the Scriptures was the same at the time when they were written. For whatever hands originally wrote these epistles or subsequently mutilated them, they were clearly produced at a period when the general veneration for the Holy Scriptures, and the habit of quoting them on all occasions, compelled Catholicism to consult this sentiment even in her fabrications and corruptions. But we should be sorry to appeal to writings which, so rarely and scantily quoted, (if quoted at all,) by the writers of the first two centuries, present such slender claims on our respect as ancient and genuine documents, in proof of any thing. And to descend to the genuine works of the second century, we find even the weak and credulous Hegesippus, amidst the λῆροι which disfigure the few fragments which remain of him, alluding to the Scriptures as τὸν ὑγιῆ καιόνα τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρυγματος ("the sound canon of saving gospel doctrine"*) and relating that "in every succession" (of Christian pastors) "and in every city it is so arranged as the law prescribes, and the prophets and the Lord."† We find the accomplished and philosophic Justin Martyr combating Jew and Pagan alike in the new armour of an inspired and authoritative revelation. This writer has left a noble monument to the historical truth for which we are contending in his *Cohortatio ad Græcos*, where, after exposing with masterly learning and ability, the absurdities and impurities of their mythology, and the contradictions of their wise men, he "turns to the fathers" of the Christian faith, "who," he says, "far preceded your

* Heg. in Eus. Ecc. Hist. III. 32. † Id. IV. 22.

teachers in antiquity, and have taught us nothing of their own fancy, nor yet conflicting with one another, nor endeavouring to overthrow each other's systems, but without ambitious controversy and opposing factions, having received the knowledge which is from God, have taught the same to us. For not by nature or by human understanding was it possible for men to know such great and divine truths, but by the free gift then coming down from above on holy men, who had no need of an art of words, nor of strife and debate, but to present themselves pure to the energy of the Divine Spirit, that the divine *plectrum* itself descending from heaven, using good men even as an instrument of a harp or lyre, should reveal to us the knowledge of divine and heavenly things. Wherefore, as with one mind and one tongue they have taught us concerning God and the creation of the world, and the formation of man, and the immortality of the human soul, and the judgment to come after this life, and concerning all things which it is necessary for us to know, continuously and harmoniously with one another, and that too though they have delivered the divine instruction to us in different places and at different times." Here, about the middle of the second century, is an expression of "the idea of inspiration" quite strong and full enough, we should think, to satisfy the staunchest advocate of the doctrine. At least we are ready to declare that it satisfies us.

The same writer, in his Dialogue with Trypho, expresses his unbounded confidence in the truth and harmony of the Scriptures in a form which would stagger, we fear, some of the "Christian philosophers" (so called) of our own age—"I shall never dare either to think or to say this" (i. e. "that the Scriptures are at variance with one another,") but if any scripture be brought forward seeming to be such, and have the appearance of being contrary to another passage, being entirely persuaded that no scripture is opposite to another, I shall rather confess that I do not understand the things which are spoken, and shall strive to persuade those who conceive the Scriptures to conflict with one another, to be of the same mind with me."*

We cannot help contrasting with this the assertion of Profes-

* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 289. Op. Just. Martyris. Coloniæ, 1686.

sor Schérer, "Je rencontre dans ces livres une assez grande quantité d'inexactitudes historiques et des contradictions—prédictions démentis par les faits." Which way of viewing the difficulties of Scripture discovers most of the modesty of the true philosopher, we leave for the reader to determine.

The simplicity with which Justin appeals to the Scriptures for the arbitration of all doubtful questions, appears the more remarkable when we consider that his previous habits had thoroughly imbued him with the disputatious and sceptical spirit of the ancient philosophy; that he retained the philosophic garb even after his conversion, and considered philosophy to the last μέγιστον κτῆμα καὶ τιμιώτατον Θεῷ.* He relates of himself that he had migrated from sect to sect in quest of truth, trying successively the Stoics, Peripatetics, Pythagoreans and Platonists, but had found no certainty nor mental repose till he was directed by an unknown person to the study of the Scriptures, the authors of which were ἁγίῳ πληρωθέντες πνεύματι—that here he had "found the only solid and profitable philosophy" (ταύτην μόνην εὕρισκον φιλοσοφίαν ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ σύμφορον)† and that "the sweetest tranquillity was attained by those who meditated in them." (ἀναπαυσίς τε ἡδίστη γίνεται τοῖς ἐκμελετῶσιν αὐτούς.) He elsewhere‡ passionately exhorts the Pagan Greeks to forsake their own impure literature and mythology, to "be instructed by the divine Word, (θείῳ λόγῳ παιδεύθητε) and become partakers of an incomparable wisdom (σοφίᾳ ἀπαραμιλλήτῳ κοινωνήσατε.) He tells them that "the Divine Word, ever present with us, has power to tranquillize the tumultuous soul, to expel its fearful passions, to extinguish the fire within." "It does not," he adds, "make us poets, philosophers, or orators, but it makes us from mortals immortals, from men gods; it transports us from the earth to regions beyond Olympus. Come then," he concludes, "be ye instructed. Be ye as I am, for I was as ye are."

We find Irenæus, in the latter half of the same century, refuting and rebuking the heretics of his time by appealing in the same direct and simple style to the Scriptures, even where he allows that they renounced their authority.§ Yet he still

* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 218.
† Id. p. 225.
‡ Pro Christianis Apolog. Prim.
§ Iren. adv. Hæres. Lib. III. Cap. 2.

holds them to this proof, and refuses to submit to what would now, we suppose, be called a "scientific discussion," doctrines which, being purely matters of revelation, can only be surely and safely decided by the authority of the written Word. In the following remark he lays down what may be regarded as a general canon to that effect. "Habentes itaque regulam *ipsam veritatem*, et in apertum positum de Deo testimonium, non debemus per quæstionum declinantes, in alias atque alias absolutiones ejicere firmam et veram de Deo scientiam."* Erasmus† even insists that Irenæus ("*solis* scripturarum præsidiis adversus hæreticorum catervam pugnasse") "combated the whole troop of heretics with no other means of attack and defence but those furnished by the Scriptures." But this opinion must be received with some modification. However, with him, "sicut ex scripturis discimus"‡ is sufficient and final demonstration of any thing.

Even the erratic and extravagant Tertullian, though an outrageous interpreter of Scripture, was a firm asserter of its Divine origin and supreme authority in matters of faith. "Scripturae divinae"§—"tantam curam instructionis nostrae insumpsit Spiritus Sanctus"‖—"adoro Scripturae plenitudinem." He declares that the truth seems to him "written" on the sacred page, "with a ray of the sun itself," (ipsius Solis radio putem scriptum)¶ and affirms that the sure way of putting down heretics is to insist that all their questions shall be settled from the Scriptures alone (de scripturis solis quaestiones suas sistant, et stare non poterunt.)**

It were a tiresome task to string together quotations. And yet a proof drawn from historical documents, as this must necessarily be, can be accomplished in no other way. The manifold testimonies bearing on this point, which meet our eye on a glance at the very surface of the writings and events of the first four centuries of the Christian Church, may be grouped, for the sake of brevity, as follows:

1. The very fact that the assailants of Christianity directed

* Adv. Hær. II. 47. † Epis. Op. Iren. præf.

‡ Iren. adv. Hær. II. 47. A powerful testimony for the Scriptures, and the Scriptures only, may be found in Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. III. cap. 1 in init.

§ Adv. Judacos. ‖ Adv. Herm. ¶ De resur. carnis. ** Ibid.

their attacks first and mainly against the inspiration and authority of the Holy Scriptures, shows their conviction that herein the general faith of the Church had entrenched itself, and that if they could breach her defences at this point, their victory was accomplished. Christianity has had few enemies more acute and powerful, and none more immitigable in their hostility than Porphyry. And it is remarkable that Eusebius characterizes his whole onset upon it as an "attack on the Divine Scriptures:"—Πορφύριος συγγράμματα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνστησάμενος καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὰς θείας γραφὰς διαβάλλειν πεπειραμένος.*

2. This doctrine was the point of divergence between Separatists and the General Church of Christ; the latter insisting that the Canonical Books should be the ultimate bar of appeal in all controversies, (as we have seen above from Irenæus) the former renouncing their authority, wresting their obvious sense, or fabricating numberless apocryphal books wherewith to combat them and countenance their own errors. "Super haec autem *inenarrabilem multitudinem apocryphorum et perperam scripturarum, quas ipsi finxerunt*, afferunt ad stuporem insensatorum et quae sunt veritatis non scientium literas."† The very multiplication of the counterfeits proves the existence of a true and general currency and the high value set on it.

3. The immense labour bestowed in settling the sacred canon and in the exposition and interpretation of its contents, proves particularly in the third century, how highly the Church prized, how watchfully she guarded, and how diligently she searched into the sacred treasure deposited with her.

4. Those who denied the inspiration of the Scriptures were considered infidels. Eusebius quotes the language of an earlier writer whom he does not name, (in speaking of the followers of Artemon, who contended that our Saviour was a mere man (ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον), and who not only wrested but added to and otherwise corrupted the sacred Scriptures in order to *compel* their testimony in favour of their doctrine), as follows, "either *they do not believe that the Divine Scriptures were dictated by the Holy Spirit, and then they are infidels;* or they think

* Ecc. Hist. VI. 19.

† Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. I. 17. Conf. Eus. Ecc. Hist. Lib. V. 28. (c. p. 40.)

themselves to be wiser than the Holy Spirit, and then what are they other than madmen?"*

5. The Scriptures were regarded as the great instrument of a holy and Christian education of the young, of guarding them against the errors and sensual influences of Paganism, and of forming them to a true intellectual and spiritual greatness and power in the Church of God. The spirit of Paul's remark to Timothy, "thou from a child hast known the Holy Scriptures," &c., entered deeply into the mind of the Church, and was for a long time the dominant maxim of Christian education. The precept of Clement of Rome,† "let your children be trained in the instruction of Christ," when we consider the *usus loquendi* of the early Church in relation to the phrase, παιδεία ἐν Χριστῷ probably refers to this. But more distinctly, Eusebius, speaking of the early life of Origen, and remarking that the incidents which contributed to form so great a man, "even from his earliest infancy, were worthy of commemoration,"‡ states that he was exercised in the Divine Scriptures from his childhood," (ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἐξέτι παιδὸς ἐνησκημένος.) "He was," he says, "in no ordinary degree devoted to the study of these, since his father, besides an extensive course of liberal studies, bestowed an exact and especial care on his instruction in the Scriptures. In fact, before he entered on the study of Greek learning, he obliged him to be exercised in the sacred writings, and required him to *to commit to memory and recite portions of them every day.* Nor was this done against the wishes of the boy; on the contrary, he applied himself with the utmost cheerfulness to these studies, so that the easy and superficial study of the sacred words did not content him, but he was still looking for something more, and searching of his own accord into their profounder senses. Insomuch that he perplexed his father, inquiring what it might be the purpose of the divinely inspired Scripture to reveal. The father indeed, seemingly repressed and discouraged this inquisitiveness, and advised him not to

* Ecc. Hist. V. 28.

† Ad. Cor. Prim. cap. 21.

‡ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, σπαργάνων ἀξιομνημόνευτα μοι εἶναι δοκεῖ. Ecc. Hist. VI. 2. The expression reminds us of the ἐκ βρεφοῦς of Paul in speaking of the early education of Timothy. 2 Tim. 3.

attempt what was beyond the capacity of his age, nor seek to penetrate beyond the obvious sense. But in his heart he was overjoyed, and gave thanks to God the author of all blessings, that he had counted him worthy to be the father of such a son. And it is said that he often entered the chamber of his sleeping boy, and uncovering his bosom, kissed it devoutly, as if it were hallowed by the indwelling of the Divine Spirit."

So fine a description of the training of a Christian scholar, and of one early devoted as well by his parents' faith as by his own act to the career of a preacher and a theologian, and so touching a testimony to the veneration and love of both father and son for the inspired word, we could not forbear to give entire. God grant that it may stir up many a Christian parent to a like consecration, and kindle in many a youthful heart a desire to emulate the zeal without falling into the errors (errors, be it observed, into which the desire of *combining* the scriptural doctrines with the uncongenial elements of the ancient systems of philosophy,* misled him,) of the illustrious and immortal Origen!

Ambrose, who was a convert of Origen, and himself a teacher of youth, obliged his pupils to go through an extensive course of liberal studies, (ἐνῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια γράμματα,) as a discipline preparatory to the study of the holy Scriptures (προπαιδεύματα—εἰς τὴν τῶν θείων γραφῶν θεωρίαν τε καὶ παρασκευήν.)† Basil exhorts the young men of his time to a profound study of the ancient Greek writers as tending to give them a vigour and elevation of mind, and a perception of moral beauty which would prepare them to appreciate the sublimer mysteries and purer virtue revealed in the Word of God. He cites the example of Moses, who "having disciplined his understanding by all the learning of the Egyptians, so came to the contemplation of Jehovah;"

* That the faith of Origen was crippled and perverted by his philosophy, the keen eye of Porphyry detected more distinctly than his admiring fellow-Christians were at that time competent to do. Having spoken of Origen's profound acquaintance with the Platonic, Pythagorean, and Stoic philosophers, he adds: παρ' ὧν τὸν μεταληπτικὸν τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι μυστηρίων γνοὺς τρόπον ταῖς Ἰουδαϊκαῖς προσῆψε γραφαῖς. "Having learned from them the allegorical method used to explain the Greek mysteries, *he applied it* to the Jewish Scriptures."—*Porph. in Eus. Ecc. Hist.* VI. 19.

† Eus. Hist. Ecc. VI. 18.

(τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων μαθήμασιν ἐγγυμνασάμενος τὴν διάνοιαν, οὕτω προσελθεῖν τῇ θεωρίᾳ τοῦ ὄντος);* and Daniel, who, having learned the wisdom of the Chaldeans, then entered on the study of the Divine teachings," (τὴν Χαλδαίων σοφίαν καταμαθόντα, τότε τῶν θείων ἅψασθαι παιδευμάτων.) Throughout this admirable discourse (evidently addressed, in the first instance, to his own pupils,)† the revelations of the inspired volume are spoken of as the inner temple of wisdom and truth, to which all other learning was but the vestibule. Gregory Nazianzen, in his funeral oration on Basil, in the course of a fine eulogy of classical and various learning, says, that "by the very defects of other systems we learn the excellence of our own, and by their imbecility establish the power of the Word (or doctrine) deposited with us." This sacred use of profane learning he considers a fulfilment of the apostolic expression, "bringing into captivity every thought," (all intellect, as it were, παν νοημα) "to the obedience of Christ."‡ "Chrysostom," says Neander, "was enabled, from his own experience, to speak of the blessed influence of an early and intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures."§ By these his admirable mother Anthusa fortified his mind against "the specious and impious sophisms" of his accomplished Pagan teacher Libanius, as well as the fascinations of pleasure and ambition. In fact, all the eminent lights, the master-minds of the early Church, as far as their early education is known to us, were nurtured to piety and greatness by the Word of God.

6. A careful distinction was maintained between the writings of uninspired Christians, however early and eminent, and the canonical books of the New Testament. The first were often held in great veneration, and in some cases, even read in the churches for edification (e. g. the first Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians,) but always distinguished from what were called the γραφαί τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἀπλάστοι καὶ ἀνωμολογημέναι γραφαί.‖ We cite this, simply as a historical proof of the general sentiment in the Church that the fountains of her faith and life were to be found in the inspired books, and that the works of her holiest and most enlightened members, however prized

* Basil, ὁ πρὸς τοὺς νέους, ὅπως ἂν ἐξ Ἑλληνικῶν ὠφελοῖντο λόγων. Cap. 3.
† Conf. Ch. 1.
‡ Greg. Naz. Op. Tom. p. 323.
§ Life of St. Chrysostom.
‖ Eus. Ecc. Hist. III. 25.

and used for edification, stood in an entirely different relation to her. They were sometimes called μεγάλαι, θαυμάσιαι, &c., but never θεόπνευσται. Far as the spirit of laudation was carried in the early ages, and it sometimes (particularly towards and in the fourth century,) reached a ludicrous extravagance, it never rose to such a pitch as to impair this distinction; to obliterate the line which separated the human from the divine.

7. The ancient hymns of the Church, (alas! that so few of them are preserved,) attest the love and longing of holy hearts towards the sacred Word, in a way peculiar to themselves. In a Greek hymn* which Vormbaum pronounces "vetustissimus Hymnus Ecclesiæ," we meet with this sentiment thus expressed:

Οἱ νηπίαχοι
Ἀταλοῖς στόμασιν
Ἀτιταλλόμενοι
Θηλῆς λογικῆς
Πνεύματι δροσερῷ
Ἐμπιπλάμενοι, &c.

Here is a plain reference to "the sincere *milk of the word*," (1 Pet. ii. 2,) and to the passionate desires with which the Psalmist "panted" and "longed" for the commandments of God.

A somewhat later hymn contains the following passage:

Σκεύαζε σαυτὸν ὡς τάχος πρὸς οὐρανὸν
Ψυχὴν πτερώσας τῷ λόγῳ τὴν τιμίαν.†

Which may be freely translated thus:

"The wings that lift the soul to heaven,
By God's inspired Word are given."

What is still more remarkable and conclusive, the themes, the thoughts, the language of these early hymns, the objects of faith, hope, and love, which they present, are scriptural. It was quite otherwise a few centuries later, after Catholicism was ascendant and established.

8. The direct appeal to the Holy Scriptures for the settling

* This hymn must be at least as ancient as the second century, being appended to the Παιδαγωγός of Clemens.—Alex. Vormbaum, Carm. et Hymn. Ecc. Graec.

† Id. No. XII.

of all doubtful points, whether of faith or practice, was in full force during the first four centuries. We cite but one example, the ἐρωτησεῖς and ἀποκρισεῖς of Basil.* The latter are, generally, a simple stringing together of passages of Scripture relating to the point, with a brief explanation of their bearing and connection. The first of them is very remarkable in this point of view. The question is, "Is it lawful or expedient for any one to allow himself either to do or say what he judges good, without the testimony of the divinely inspired Scriptures?" The solution of this question is simply a scriptural one. It is decided in the negative, on the authority of many passages, the last of which is John vi. 38. I came *not to do my own will*, but the will of him that sent me."

9. The study and meditation of the Scriptures was regarded as the great means of personal sanctification. Μεγίστη δὲ ὁδὸς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ καθήκοντος εὕρεσιν, καὶ ἡ μελέτη τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν. "The principal way to the discovery of duty is the meditation of the divinely inspired Scriptures;"† and the same sentiment meets us in many writers and many forms during the first four centuries.

10. They were regarded, along with the preaching of Christ, as the great means of extending the Church, and of saving souls. Eusebius says, that many eminent Christians, in the first age after the Apostles, obeying the precept of Christ, gave their goods to the poor, forsook their own country, and fulfilled the work of evangelists, "being animated by an ardent desire to preach Christ, and *deliver the scripture of the Holy Gospels.*"‡ These, he says, "held the first rank among the successors of the Apostles;" and we cheerfully concede them that precedence.

11. Finally, the very titles and epithets applied to the Scriptures afford a singular, and in itself, unanswerable proof of the light in which they were regarded. The names under which they were constantly cited and referred to, are these and the like—αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ, οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι, αἱ ἱεραὶ γραφαὶ, τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα,

* Distinguished among his other works of this kind as ὁροί κατ' ἐπιτόμην. Bas. Op. Tom. II. p. 581. Paris, 1839.

† Basil, Ep. II. (ad Greg. Naz. ex secessu) Op. Tom. III. p. 102.

‡ Hist. Ecc. III. 37.

ὁ λόγος, τά λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡ θεόπνευστος γραφὴ, ἡ γραφὴ θεϊκὴ, ὁ καιὼν τῆς πίστεως, θεοπνεύστα βιβλία, Scripturæ divinæ, veritas ipsa, &c., &c. These may be looked upon as spontaneous, unstudied and undesigned expressions of the mind and heart of the ancient Church, and they proclaim, in a surprising manner, the depth and unanimity of the sentiment with which she regarded the Scriptures as the Word of God, inspired, infallible and supreme.

We have seen, then, that "the idea of inspiration" was not "insensibly developed," that it beamed in its full lustre on the mind of the infant church, or rather, shone like a *glory* round the sacred volume as the precious deposit was delivered to her, and appears *from the beginning* in every conceivable form and through every manifestation of her faith and life.

But we affirm more than this—not only that this "idea" was not developed along with Catholicism, but that, as the development of Catholicism proceeded, "the idea of inspiration" was enfeebled, confused, and at length for a time overpowered by its corruptions and usurpations.

But what is "Catholicism?" The Church in opposition to the Bible—the human in Christianity in opposition to the divine—the Church viewed as an aggregation of tenets, orders, rites which rest avowedly not on Scripture but tradition. Tradition is the great teacher and oracle of Catholicism. The Bible itself must be interpreted by the tradition of the Church. The tradition of the Church is a legitimate source of orders, rites and usages of all sorts. These, though not commanded by the Scripture are essential. "There cannot be a Church without" them. If it be demanded, "where is the authority of the written Word for such important modifications of Christianity?" It is answered, "we have received them through the tradition of the Church." "They have been borne on the banners of the Church for a thousand years." And this answer is deemed sufficient. Tradition is a kind of continuous revelation. It is a perpetual manifestation of the mind, will and life of Christ in his Church. Tradition is the element in which the Scriptures themselves are preserved and handed down. It is the authorized and the only authorized exponent of their meaning. This is the essence of Catholicism.

We may be thought harsh in calling it the Church and the

human in opposition to the Bible and the divine. But where is the warrant for the assumption of this vast and despotic authority on the past strength of tradition? Has the Head of the Church granted it? Nowhere. On the contrary, he rebuked with peculiar and unsparing sternness both the *additions* and the *interpretations* of tradition in his own time. "Laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men"—"full well ye reject the commandment of God that ye may keep your own tradition." It is then of the essence of tradition, even of church tradition (for of such was he now speaking, being held by the Pharisees, who "sat in Moses' seat" and were the high-churchmen and Catholics of that time), to "lay aside," to "reject," and elsewhere to "make of none effect" the word and commandments of God, and therefore it must be regarded, when it assumes authority not only as a strictly human but a hostile element in relation to the scriptural and the divine in Christianity. Moreover, the sacred canon closes with a denunciation of "the plagues which are written in this book" against "any man who shall add unto these things," and exclusion from the book of life" against any man who "shall take away from" them. Catholicism has added to Christianity an order of ministers unknown to the written Word. It has added a multitude of rites, forms and usages alike uncommanded. It has taken away the cup in the Lord's Supper. It has taken away the right and liberty of Christian ministers to marry. It has taken away the most precious of all rights, the right of every individual Christian to read the Word, (Acts xvii. 11,) to decide on questions of truth and duty, to receive and follow the tuition of the Spirit. (1 John ii. 20.) The form of Catholicism has made all these additions and abstractions, and many more. All its forms have made some of them, and are ever tending to increase the number. It seems to be of its very essence to go beyond the Word of God, and to insist far more on its own additions than even on those things which it holds and enjoins in common with the Bible. It is therefore, not only "another gospel" but a hostile system of religion—and not the less so for being within the sphere of nominal Christianity. There cannot be a more direct form of hostility to any government than to enact laws, hold courts, and coin money within its limits by an

authority which it does not recognize. Christ has given no authority to church tradition. Yet in the name and on the strength of it, Catholicism legislates, judges and makes sweeping changes of every sort in the ministry, the worship and even the faith of his Church—and these not as matters of local or temporal expediency but as essentials. "There cannot be a church without" them. Is not this a usurpation within the kingdom of Christ? And is not usurpation hostility in its boldest and most deadly form? Other offenders break the laws, but the usurper attacks the throne and grasps the sceptre. Such is the relation of Catholicism towards the Bible and God who speaks in it. But its opposition is still more positive. Christ *commands* us to search the Scriptures; Catholicism *forbids* it. The Word of God pronounces them "noble" and "blessed" who "read" and "search" the written Word. Catholicism pronounces them "accursed." The Scripture says "a bishop must be the husband of one wife;" Catholicism says he *must not* marry. *Roman* Catholicism says he must not—*Anglo*-Catholicism says he ought not; at least he had better not.

When, where, and in what form did this strange power first make its appearance in the Christian Church?

To trace the rise and history of "Catholicism" would be a very interesting and important work. We have neither time nor space for it now. We can only notice some of its earlier manifestations, some of its larger and bolder strides.

The eye of Christ and of his inspired Apostles saw the leaven "working" (2 Thess. ii. 7,) in the depths of the Church long before the first visible, or rather appreciable signs of fermentation had reached the surface. When the disciples "disputed among themselves by the way, which should be the greatest," their omniscient Lord detected the germ which was afterwards to expand into "the authority of the Episcopate," and eventually into the overshadowing despotism of the Papacy. "And he sat down and called the twelve, and saith unto them, if any man desire to be first the same shall be last of all and servant of all." And when the same aspiring and self-aggrandizing disposition appeared in James and John shortly after, (Mark x.) "he called the twelve to him, and said unto them, Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exercise

lordship over them, and their great ones exercise authority upon them. *But so it shall not be among you.*" This and other plain intimations of their Master's will on this subject, followed by the plenteous effusion of the Spirit of grace and holiness on the day of Pentecost, effectually prevented any farther manifestation of this spirit among the Apostles. But when Peter exhorts "the elders" of the churches of Asia Minor (1 Pet. i. 1, conf. v. 1, &c.) to "feed the flock of God, discharging the office of bishops towards it, (ἐπισκοποῦντες)—not as being lords over God's heritage," and enjoins upon them to be "subject one to another," and to "be clothed with humility," such pointed and repeated admonitions strongly imply that there were, among these "elders," some who, like Diotrephes, "loved to have the first place"*—and when Paul, addressing the assembled "presbyter-bishops" of Ephesus, (Acts xx.) warns them, "after my departure, of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things," &c., he may be supposed to have included aspirants after clerical power and pre-eminence among other "grievous wolves" and "seducers." And if the absurd figment of "apostolic succession" had been then conceived of,† the words addressed by our Saviour himself to this same Church of Ephesus long after,‡ would disclose the fact that some of these "men" had at that period actually "risen," and sought to impose their apostolic claims upon that Church.

But much more distinct and remarkable are those passages (2 Thess. ii. and 1 Tim. iv.) in which the Apostle speaks of

* John iii. 9. The expression is very significant ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων αὐτων, qui amat primatum gerere in eis. Vulg. and Erasmus.

† Which we believe it had not; at least there is no trace of it extant at that early period. On the contrary, the Epistle of Ignatius to the Trallians, which, whether genuine or spurious, is ancient, makes the Presbyters successors of the Apostles. "Be ye subject also to the Presbytery as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ," (Ep. ad Trall. cap. 2.)—"the Presbyters as the Council (συνέδριον) of God and the Band of the Apostles of Christ (σύνδεσμος ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ.) Without these there is no elect Church, no assemblage of the saints, no congregation of the holy." Id. cap. 3. But we would not recommend our Presbyterian brethren to set up any claim to apostolic succession on the ground of these passages. We believe the good father Ignatius to have been been quite innocent of this, and a good deal more trash and impiety that passes under his name.

‡ "Thou hast tried them which say they are Apostles, and are not; and hast found them liars."

"an apostasy," "a departure from the faith," a "mystery of iniquity already working," (ἤδη ἐνεργεῖται) the "revelation" and "destruction" of which was to form a part of the Church's history before the coming of "the day of Christ." Here, every stroke of the sacred pencil portrays some feature of Catholicism; and history verifies the whole with a fearful minuteness. Its "opposing and exalting itself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped"—its "sitting in the temple of God"—its "coming after the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders"—its "strong delusion"—its uncommanded abstinences, "forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving," all render the identity clear, and the application inevitable. But there was something which then "withheld" and "hindered" that "that Wicked might be revealed in his time," and would continue to hinder "until it was taken out of the way." These predictions are commonly applied to Popery. But they evidently refer to a whole, of which Popery is only a part; a germ, of which Popery is only a partial expansion; a principle, of which Popery is only one, though the principal application. They refer to that vast and multiform system of error, usurpation and corruption, of which these are the universal features, (some manifested here, some there, as times and circumstances permit)—"opposing," (ἀντικείμενος, *setting itself against* the word of God, its plain sense, its general reading, its free circulation,) "and exalting itself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped;" magnifying rites, forms, attitudes, vestments even, which are purely of human invention, above "worshipping God in the spirit;" and where it can and dare, introducing angels and saints as objects of worship; "commanding" what God has not commanded, and "forbidding" what God has not forbidden, and thus intruding itself as a legislator into the seat of God, and usurping his prerogative who is the "One Lawgiver" (James iv. 12;) "speaking lies in hypocrisy," covering falsehood with the sanction of religion;* "working lying wonders" to sustain its pretensions; accompanied by "strong delusion" in those who are subjected to its

* Compare the moral principles of Jesuitism as exposed in the "Lettres Provinciales" of Pascal, or in their own works, and No. 90 of the Oxford Tracts.

influence. All these correspondences between prophecy and history attest the identity of Catholicism with the "Mystery of Iniquity," "the Wicked," "the Man of Sin," "the Son of perdition."

That which "withheld" or "let" (ὁ κατέχων, *kept down*) "that he might be revealed in his time," was clearly, we think, the presence of the Apostles, whose inspired wisdom and miraculous power kept down the spirit of aspiration and corruption already "working," and who would not have failed to "visit with the rod," even with the exercise of "the power which the Lord had given them," any such aspirations after "the pre-eminence" (lit. *primacy*), as John actually promises to do in the case of Diotrephes,—"Wherefore, if I come, I will remember his deeds," &c.

But when this "hindrance" was "taken out of the way" by "the departure" of all the Apostles,* forthwith the "Mystery of Iniquity" began to be "revealed" as Paul (2 Thess. ii. 8,) foretold that it would.

To follow, step by step, what the Apostle calls "the revelation of the mystery of iniquity," and Professor Schérer the "insensible development of Catholicism," would of course be out of the question in such a discussion as this. Let us take a method more consistent with our limits. Having contemplated the Church in her strictly primitive period, where no trace of Catholicism appears, (save in the inspired forewarnings of its approach,) let us again survey her in the fourth century, which may be regarded as the era of the visible and formal manifestation of Catholicism. Immediately we observe a marked change in the general sentiment of the Church towards the Holy Scriptures. Their plenary inspiration and supreme authority was, it is true, still admitted and insisted on. But Episcopacy and Monachism were the two great ideas in which the spirit of Catholicism was manifested in that age. For these no support could be found in the Scriptures; other sanction and authority must therefore be sought. This was found in tradition. Tradition had first entered the Church in the modest guise of a witness to the truth, and an exponent of the meaning of the

* Jerome (quoted by Lardner, VI. 169,) supposes the death of John to have taken place in the year 100. According to Eusebius he was still living at the accession of Trajan, A. D. 98.

written word. "If," says Irenæus,* "a question of secondary importance arise, would it not be proper to resort to the oldest churches, in which the Apostles personally conversed, and obtain from them certain and clear information concerning the matter in dispute?"

Throughout Irenæus, who dwells largely on tradition, it† has no authority whatever save what it derives from the inspired Apostles and from Christ himself, as being an exact and faithful oral transmission of what they had taught, or explanation of what they had written. Its value in this respect, must then have been very considerable, as Irenæus wrote his books "adversus Hæreses" less than a century after the death of the Apostle John, enumerates the "successiones Presbyterorum" which in several churches connected his own with the apostolic age, and was himself acquainted with one at least who had personally conversed with those who had seen and heard the Apostles.‡ This value, however, which depended solely on the nearness of the apostolic age, must of course rapidly diminish, and ere long disappear for ever. The tradition of the spirit and meaning of the American Constitution was esteemed of some value when handed down by those who had personally conversed with Washington and its other founders. But one century has not yet elapsed and what is that tradition worth now? A lever, however, of such wide sweep and tremendous power as *oral tradition* once in the hand of clerical ambition was never to be relinquished, but on the contrary augmented to the utmost extent. We find accordingly that tradition once introduced, never rested nor paused in its aggressions till it had erected for itself a solitary throne and an absolute despotism. As early as the first half of the fourth century, we meet with the παραδοσεῖς, and ἄγραπτοι νόμοι of the Church cited in support

* Si quibus de aliqua modica quæstione disceptatio esset, nonne oporteret in antiquissimas recurrere ecclesias, in quibus Apostoli conversati sunt, et ab eis de præsenti quæstione sumere quod certum et re liquidum est? Adv. Hær. III. 4.

† We speak here of course, of *oral tradition*. "Traditio" is sometimes used by Irenæus to denote the whole system of truth and life *delivered* by Christ and the inspired teachers and writers.

‡ Adv. Haer. Lib. IV. 45. Quemadmodum audivi a quodam Presbytero qui audiverat ab his qui Apostolos viderant, &c.

of doctrines and rites for which no countenance could be found in Scripture. Many instances of this are at hand. Let us take one from Basil ad Amphilochium de Spiritu Sancto. We must, however, observe that the genuineness of this work is perhaps more than doubtful; Erasmus of the Romanists, and Scultetus of the Protestants, utterly reject it as unworthy of Basil in style and at variance with his doctrinal views in other parts of his works. Be it his or not, however, it avails our purpose as a historical record of the progress of Catholic ideas. "Of the doctrines and precepts held by the Church," says the writer, "some we have received in written records, others have been mysteriously handed down to us (διαδοθέντα ἐν μυστηρίῳ,) by apostolical tradition, both of which have the same validity (τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχὺν) in relation to piety. . . . For example, where do we find it written that we must make the sign of the cross upon those who begin to hope in Jesus Christ? What book of Scripture teaches us that we must turn to the east when we pray? Whence do we learn to renounce the devil and his angels in baptism? Are not these things from an unwritten instruction? from a silent and mystical tradition, which our fathers have handed down to us in a submissive and uninquisitive secrecy?"

This remarkable passage was probably foisted into Basil at a later period. It is considerably beyond the age, as an evidence of Catholic progress. But whenever, or by whomsoever written, it shows that tradition had then assumed a totally different character from what it bears in Irenæus and the other writers of the second century. From a *witness* to the written Word, it had now become a *rival.* It had learned to veil itself in impenetrable mysteries, and to give forth its responses as of equal authority with those of Scripture. This "element" once admitted, speedily and rapidly carried forward the work of usurpation and corruption. The foreign element soon became the dominant one. Innumerable notions and usages were brought in, not a few of which may, even now, be traced to Paganism, while others are naturally enough accounted for by a prurient imagination, the pride of invention and the ambition of notoriety. "Things which the Lord commanded not, neither came it into his mind," were made terms of communion and of salvation. Some of these innovations, yielding no support to epis-

copal or papal sway were transient. But whenever a notion or usage tended to consolidate and strengthen ecclesiastical dominion, it was promptly adopted, incorporated among the θεσμοί ἐκκλησιαστικοί and enforced with all the power of the bishops, who, from the time of Constantine, seem to have acquired a power which overbore even that of civil and judicial officers,* an accession which they held on to amidst the persecutions of the following reigns, as if it were a part of their faith or their sacred function. So that they sometimes present the sad anomaly of being at once persecuted and persecutors. The inventions of one age under Episcopal, and by and by under Papal sanction, became the traditions of the next, and as such sacred and immutable. Catholicism, by exacting an implicit obedience to her own traditions, nullified the authority of heaven; by infusing a general and enthusiastic love and admiration for an ascetic and monastic life, she dissolved the most sacred ties and powerful sympathies of earth. She thus prepared the way for the most powerful despotism and the most abject slavery that the world has ever beheld. As this advanced, the Word of God declined and retired. This did not take place without a struggle. There were not wanting those who held up to the Church the pure idea of gospel truth and virtue, insisting that the Word of God was the sole and all-sufficient standard of faith and rule of life, and reminding the Church that she was "making void the Word of God by her traditions." To this extent at least, Jovinian and Vigilantius must be looked upon as confessors and reformers; and almost all the great preachers of the fourth century, though tainted with the general infection, bore their testimony against some one of the prevailing errors and corruptions. But these warnings were unheeded. "Catholicism" was to be fully "developed." "That Wicked" was to be "revealed," who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped." And as the revelation went on, bringing out its multitudinous round of rites, orders, idol-

* Eusebius, among other augmentations of episcopal dignity and power by Constantine, states this, "that it should no longer be lawful for the governors of provinces to rescind the decrees of bishops—*παντὸς γὰρ εἶναι δικαστοῦ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ δοκιμωτέρους*, for the priests of God were more worthy of respect than any judge!" Vit. Const. IV. 27.

atrics and superstitions, the Word of God was thrust farther and farther from the vision of the Church, till at length it sank below her horizon, and the night came on. Then Catholicism reared her dusky throne and reigned with unresisted sway, while superstition and ignorance lay crouching and trembling at her feet.

Where, then, was the Bible? Where was the "idea of inspiration?" Buried in tomes of theology, or bandied about in the disputes of the schools. Held indeed theoretically, but held down most effectually by the iron sway and ever watchful jealousy and inexorable tyranny of "Catholicism." Did not her every movement indicate her consciousness that, with an inspired and open Bible before the Church, her reign could not last an hour. In the height of her power, the rustling of a single leaf of the Bible terrified her; nor could she recover her tranquillity till her fears, like those of Herod, had been allayed by some wholesale carnage. Her first act was to overlay the pages of the Scriptures with her traditions; her next, to claim for those traditions a co-ordinate rank and equal authority; her next, to arrogate to herself the sole and infallible interpretation of them; as soon as she could or dared, she forbade the reading of them by the people in their own tongue; she made them as scarce as possible even among the clergy; the libraries of her monasteries scarcely contained a copy of them. Catholicism hunted from the world the very book which she pretended to acknowledge as inspired and from God. It was at last so rare that the price of a Bible was almost a fortune. Even Bishops were found who had never seen a copy of the word of God. If any man held the light of its opened pages into the abyss of her corruptions, excommunication, the prison, and (when her power was absolute,) the stake was the punishment of his temerity. Leo the Isaurian, Clement of Ireland, Berenger, Wickliffe, Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Savonarola, bore the fury of Catholic persecution for no other heresy but that which would inevitably have brought Peter himself* to the stake, if Catholicism had then been in the ascendant, viz. that "we ought to obey God rather than men"—that Christians are "redeemed

* "And the other Apostles," Acts v. 29.

from" (not by) "the tradition received from the fathers with the precious blood of Christ," and that the proper nourishment of the believing soul is "the sincere milk of the word."

It is plain, then, that the historical relation of Catholicism and inspiration is precisely the reverse of that which Professor Schérer has indicated. Christians began with the most profound veneration for the sacred books as the word of God; the most distinct recognition of their authority, and the most frequent citation of them in all their doctrinal and moral teachings. This is "the idea of inspiration" as it was conceived in the fulness and freshness of the Church's primitive life. As we come down from age to age, we find that this "idea" becomes more and more dim in proportion as the other element of tradition and church authority obtrudes itself into prominency; till at length the Scripture is forgotten, and the Church supreme. The "idea of inspiration" and that of "Catholicism" have always been antagonist ideas. As the one has advanced, the other has declined. The conflict of these ideas has made the history of the Church what it is, a verification of the prophecy of our Saviour, "I am come to bring a sword—to cast a fire upon earth." In this conflict, the "idea of Catholicism" has wielded (when they have been within its reach) the material sword and fire. The idea of inspiration has wielded the sword of the Spirit, the fire of the word of God. Each armed with its appropriate weapons, their hostility has been unceasing. So far from the two being amicably developed together as kindred elements, all history shows that they cannot co-exist without mortal strife in the same Church, the same age, the same bosom. The assertion which Professor Schérer makes of the history of this "idea" in the Reformed Churches is not less surprising or less contradictory to history.

"The Reformation of the sixteenth century," he says, "after having begun in the person of Luther with a great freedom and spirituality of views on this subject, was checked in its development, and ended by retaining, among others, this relic of the system against which it rose up." If by the "freedom and spirituality of Luther's views" the writer means (as he evidently does,) his discarding the "idea of inspiration," and the "authority of Scripture," what will become of the assertion when com-

pared with the words of the great Reformer himself on this subject—in his commentaries, his controversial writings, his letters, his table-talk? "If I were a great poet," said he, "I would write a magnificent poem on the virtue and usefulness of the word of God." So extreme a *literalist* was he in fact, so stringent an asserter of "textual inspiration," that to him "hoc est corpus meum" was sufficient to overpower all objections from the nature of things to the doctrine of consubstantiation.

"Protestanism remained," says Professor Schérer, "a system of authority; the only difference in this respect, between it and Catholicism, is that it has substituted one authority for another authority—the Scripture for the Church."

To this we entirely assent. Protestantism has simply substituted the authority of God for that of man; the authority of "the word of God" which our Lord declares "is truth," (John xvii.) for the precarious and contradictory decisions of fathers, popes, councils, and traditions—of all that heterogeneous medley in fine, which has been absurdly and impiously called *the Church.* Is this an immaterial difference?

All the great minds which led in the movement of the Reformation were unanimous on this point, notwithstanding the minor differences which divided them, and the deplorable animosity and bitterness with which they were often maintained. We cannot here go into citations. But let any one glance over the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th chapters of the 1st Book of Calvin's Institutes, and he will see how distinctly and indignantly Calvin would disclaim that spurious "freedom and spirituality of views" with which he (in the latter part of this letter) as well as Luther is complimented by Professor Schérer. That "God is the author of the Scriptures"—that they are necessary and sufficient to lead to the true knowledge of God, that "by them God has been pleased to preserve his truth in perpetual remembrance"—that they must, however, be confirmed by the inward testimony of the Holy Spirit—but that this testimony, as well as the whole inward work of illumination and sanctification by the Holy Spirit is carried forward by and through the written Word—that this Word, so far from being "transient and temporary" in its use, "guides the sons of God to the very summit of perfection"—these great thoughts are elaborately and power-

fully defended and illustrated in those immortal chapters of the great Reformer. The 9th chapter particularly, assails the very position taken in this letter of Professor Schérer, and denounces with great severity and contempt the very sentiment which Professor Schérer imputes to the early Protestants. Let me beg the reader to consult this chapter (of three or four pages) entire. I will indulge myself in one or two brief quotations. "There have lately arisen some unstable men, who, haughtily pretending to be taught by the Spirit, deride the simplicity of those who still attend to (what they style) the dead and killing letter. But I would ask them, what spirit that is by whose inspiration they are elevated to such a sublimity? If they answer that it is the Spirit of Christ, how ridiculous is such an assurance! For, that the Apostles of Christ and other believers in the primitive church, were illuminated by no other Spirit, I think, they will concede. But not one of them learned, from his teaching, to contemn the Divine Word; they were rather filled with higher reverence for it, as their writings abundantly testify.—Have they imbibed a different spirit from that which the Lord promised to his disciples? Great as their infatuation is, I do not think them fanatical enough to hazard such avowal. But what kind of spirit did he promise? One truly (John xvi. 13) who should "not speak of himself" but suggest and instil into their minds those things which he had orally delivered. The office of the Spirit, then, which is promised to us, is not to feign new and unheard of revelations, or to coin a new system of doctrine, but to seal to our minds the same doctrine which the gospel delivers. Hence we readily understand that it is incumbent on us diligently to read and attend to the Scripture, if we would receive any advantage or satisfaction from the Spirit of God." Those who contend that the Christian faith and life is to be maintained by revelations of the Spirit apart from the Scripture, he denominates "unhappy men bent on delusion even to their own destruction," "despisers of the Scripture," "proud fanatics," &c. "A very different sobriety," he says, "becomes the children of God; who, while they are sensible that, exclusively of the Spirit of God, they are utterly destitute of the light of truth, yet are not ignorant that the Word is the instru-

ment, (organum), by which the Lord dispenses to believers the illumination of his Spirit."

Look through the sermons, commentaries, confessions, catechisms and controversies, in which the spirit of the Reformation is manifested, and you cannot fail to see a harmony on this point, amidst all their variations in respect to government and worship, which is truly grand and wonderful. The "idea" of the divine inspiration and supreme authority of the Scriptures in fact made the Reformation. It was the force of this principle which projected the new church out of the bosom of the old, and rendered return and reconciliation impossible. Protestantism rested on the Scriptures, appealed to them, studied them, translated, printed and circulated them, and enjoined the reading of them on all believers. Catholicism, on the contrary, suppressed and forbade them, and pronounced the study of them dangerous and impious except as their teachings were interpreted, and of course, controlled by the authority of the Church. It was the intense antagonism of these two ideas, inspiration and Catholicism, which rent Christendom asunder in the 16th century, and has kept it divided into two hostile camps to this day.

So palpably contradictory to history and to the actual condition of the world, is the strange assertion of Professor Schérer, that "this idea of inspiration which has formed the sacred collection and given it its dignity, is one of the elements of that Catholicism which was insensibly developed in the ancient Church"—and that "the Reformation of the 16th century, after having begun with a great freedom and spirituality of views on this subject was repressed (refoulée) in its development, and ended by retaining among others, this remnant of the system against which it had risen up." We have seen, on the contrary, that the idea of inspiration was most distinct and efficacious in the Church immediately after she came from the teaching of her Lord and his Apostles—that this idea gradually became confused and inoperative during the long ages of declension which followed—that it broke forth again into brightness and vitality in the revival or Reformation of the 16th century —that the Reformers planted their artillery on this rock, and

that Protestantism, as far as she has remained evangelical and vital, has never shifted her ground nor changed her weapons, but has found in the Word of God an inexhaustible magazine of all sorts of missiles wherewith she has beleaguered and assailed Catholicism so indefatigably and effectually, that that vast system of error and superstition at length totters to its foundations.

And when it falls, (as fall it must,) its overthrow will be the result, as it will be the termination of this unceasing conflict—this "warfare without herald." It is a sublime and tranquillizing thought that the same page of the inspired word which foretells the revelation of this "mystery of iniquity," foretells also its doom. "The Lord shall consume it with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy it with the brightness of his coming." In the unsearchable wisdom of God it was to be "revealed," but not more certainly "revealed" than "consumed and destroyed." It has its day in the history of the Church and of the world, and "a day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness" has it been; but, blessed be God! it is far spent. And is there not reason to believe that "the Spirit of the Lord" and "the brightness of his coming" which is to "abolish" this "apostasy," (though the words by no means exclude some visible manifestation of Divine power) are to be understood principally of the truth of his Holy Word, embraced in the full faith of its plenary inspiration, preached, circulated, and diffused in every form, and above all, by that invisible, and therefore irresistible diffusion (even as "salt" and "light") of a holy and benevolent life in all Christians? Our own country presents a wide and open field for this final struggle. Already the forces on both sides seem to be mustering upon it. We cannot look over its ample surface, and at the hosts of many tongues and races which immigration is pouring into it, without calling to mind the words of the prophet, "Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision!"—and along with them comes his stirring summons, "Prepare war, wake up the mighty men, let all the men of war draw near; ... thither cause thy mighty ones to come down, O Lord." The last conflict will be between the Church of God "built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself

being the chief corner-stone," and the church of man, even of "the man of sin," founded on the "traditions," "commandments and ordinances of men." Let all, then, who wish to commit their own destinies and those of their children to the word of God and the Church of God, put on the "armour of light," and come up to a conflict in which they have "the son of perdition" for an enemy, and the Son of God for a friend and ally.

We have thus briefly surveyed the history of the Church, or rather glanced at some of its prominent bearings on this great question of the plenary inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. Shall we claim a moment's farther attention, (severely as we have already tasked the reader's patience,) to some of the impressions it has left on our mind?

The first is the unanimous and constant testimony of the Church (the living and spiritual Church, we mean of course,) to the doctrine of inspiration, in its strongest and fullest form. We do not now speak of didactic statements, but of all the utterances in which her very heart and mind have spoken out, from the first lispings of her infancy through the wide and wonderful development of eloquence, learning, philosophy and poetry, which has been impregnated with her life during the last eighteen centuries—all constitute as it were, one profound and grand response to her Lord's declaration, "thy word is truth!"

The second is the close relation which this doctrine and sentiment every where and always bears to the life and power of the Church. When she has exhibited most of the spirit of her Lord in the purity of her faith, the simplicity of her worship, and the pacific energy of her labours for the conversion of the world, it has been in those periods when she has most highly prized, and deeply studied, and singly honoured the sacred volume of his inspired truth. Every memorable renovation of spiritual life which her annals record, has been accomplished in connection with this. When "Ezra the scribe* stood upon a pulpit of wood," and "opened the book in the sight of all the people," and "the Levites read in the book, in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense and caused them to understand the reading," and "all the people wept when they heard the

* Neh. viii.

words of the law," and there was a speedy return to the pious usages of their fathers, and thereupon "there was very great gladness," and no subsequent relapse into national idolatry; when, in the amazing victories of primitive Christianity "the word of God" (the preached word constantly compared and corrected by the written,) "grew mightily and prevailed;" when the first and "chief successors of the Apostles travelled from land to land, preaching Christ and delivering the Scriptures of the Divine Gospels;"* when the long oppressed truth broke forth in the splendours of the Reformation, imparting a new impulse to human freedom and energy in every direction; and in every revival of spiritual and vital religion down to our own times, we behold a new manifestation of the Divine energy enshrined in the inspired Word.

And when Haldane, a wayfarer at Geneva, thirty years ago, assembled the youth of her old Theological School, and unable to speak the French language, silently traced on the sacred page the passages which reveal the divinity of Christ and the other vital doctrines of the gospel, and thus by the grace of God was the means of infusing a spiritual life which has since appeared in the establishment of her new and purer school of theology, and in all the wide and various instrumentalities of which she is now the centre, for the diffusion of Christianity, we see one of the most striking and peculiar examples of this truth which the history of the Church affords. It is no matter of wonder therefore, that Geneva holds fast to the faith of an inspired Bible to which she owes not only her ancient reformation from Popery, when like a trumpet at the lips of Calvin and his compeers, it sent forth those soul-stirring notes whose reverberations through Switzerland and Europe have often brought to our mind those glorious lines of Byron:

> "Far along
> From rock to rock the rattling crags among
> Leaps the live thunder; not from one lone cloud,
> For every mountain now hath found a tongue,
> And Jura answers through her misty shroud
> Back to the joyous Alps which call to her aloud:"

but the silent radiation of whose holy light has effected her recent no less wonderful revival from Rationalism. No wonder

* Eus. Hist. Ecc. III. 37.

she declines the same dose (however disguised) which formerly laid her in that fatal slumber. Justly and nobly has M. Merle D'Aubigné observed on this occasion: "If it were only a question of secondary matters, of shades of difference on the doctrine of inspiration, we would have been happy to make sacrifices to charity without compromising truth. We desire that a certain liberty be maintained in theological instruction. But all liberty has limits which we cannot overpass without touching the essence of things. The question which has been controverted among us was not a question of shades, (*une question de nuances;*) it involved the maintenance or abandonment of one of the most essential principles of evangelical Christianity. We could, therefore, no longer hesitate. The twenty-one members of your general committee have acted in this affair with the most perfect unanimity."* We quote these sentiments thus largely, so worthy of their distinguished and excellent author, and add the expression of our hearty concurrence with the more pleasure, as sundry very intelligible manifestations of sympathy with Professor Schérer have gone forth from certain quarters of our own land, coupled with insinuations that "the theory of inspiration has been drawn pretty tight at Geneva." To us these words, and the action of the committee which they present, seem to bear the impress of that fine maxim which "the pious and learned Rieger"† has remarked should be the motto of the Christian, "a large heart and a narrow conscience." Never was sympathy more misplaced than when extended to aberration from God's holy truth. We doubtless may and ought to feel profound compassion for the wanderer from truth, as well as the offender against law. But sympathy with the crime or the error, or such lenity in dealing with it as to leave the gangrene to spread, is treason against justice and truth, and in the end against charity itself.

Another lesson from the history of the Church is this—men must have some infallible oracle to resort to in dealing with the momentous questions which touch their eternal interests—an infallible Bible, an infallible Church, an infallible Pope, or an

* Disc. d'Ouverture, p. 10, 11.

† Quoted by M. Merle D'Aubigné in the same Discourse.

infallible self. The first is clearly the revelation of the Lord, and as clearly the faith of the primitive Church; the second gradually superseded it; the third followed; the fourth and last is the succedaneum of the subjective philosophy. It professes indeed to hold to a revelation direct to the individual, or rather, to what they would consider the very *umbilicus* of individuality, "the intuitional consciousness." But how determine the source, the genuineness of the revelations or impressions thus made? How distinguish the voice of the Divine Spirit within, amidst the din of our own vain thoughts, and the reverberations from the world without? What is to furnish the criterion? Who to apply it? The Scripture commands us "not to believe every spirit, but to try the spirits whether they be of God," and itself furnishes the test whereby we may "know the Spirit of God."* It directs us to bring all teachings,† and all inward impressions to the criterion of the written word. But the disciple of the subjective philosophy has parted with his faith in the written word. To him "the Bible is not the word of God," it "is no longer an authority;" it contains some things which are "very fine," "very rich,"‡ but it also contains "errors," "contradictions," "inaccurate statements," and "prophecies belied by facts"! Who, then, is to distinguish between the true and the false in the written word? "The Holy Spirit dwelling in the heart of the believer." But who is to distinguish between the suggestions of "the Spirit of truth and the spirit of error," for "many false prophets are gone out into the world," many whose supposed inspiration was delusion? M. Schérer, it is true, permits us to resort "to the great prophets of all times, to the living teaching of the Church, to the word of God personified in his servants, to the Spirit and to his manifestation;" but in all these there is a mixture of truth with error and delusion. Who, then, is to furnish and apply the criterion? The individual himself. Otherwise all is confusion and uncertainty. The individual sense is thus constituted the "sovereign authority in matters of faith, superior to the Church, superior to the

* 1 John iv. 1.

† Acts xvii. 11; Gal. i. 8, 9.

‡ "Trés belle," "trés féconde" and the like terms, M. Schérer applies to certain portions of the Apostolic writings which he is pleased to approve.

Scripture," and we might add, superior to the Spirit himself, since it is to sit in judgment on the revelations supposed to proceed from him. The individual is to himself at once Church, Pope, and Bible, and discerner of spirits! And yet there is no error, and almost no crime, which this individual sense, this infallible self, has not confidently classed among the "inspirations" of the holy and omniscient Spirit of God! Here is the latest form of infallibility. Here is "the emancipation," "the revolution" which M. Schérer has abandoned his professional chair to "signalize" to the world. A system which sends the soul trembling under the vast anxieties and uncertainties which accompany the momentous question "what must I do to be saved?" from the "real words of testimony" to a Babel of confused tongues, a many-voiced oracle which has sanctioned by its infallible response almost every form of fanaticism and wickedness which has ever scourged and troubled the world!

Between these four forms of infallibility lies the choice of every human soul!

We turn from this retrospect also with a deeper feeling of the truth that Christ is indeed "with his Church always, even unto the end of the world," else "the smoke ascending out of the bottomless pit"* must long since have quenched her light, and "the flood which the serpent cast out of his mouth after her" must utterly have "carried her away."† Even the "revelation" of Catholicism is a proof of the presence of Christ with his Church, because it is a fulfilment of his inspired word, and a manifestation of his omnipotent and ever wakeful care. The history of the Church is, in a certain sense, a perpetual revelation of the truth and grace of her Redeemer. Not an authoritative revelation however. It is the figment of authority which has made Catholicism, and substituted it for Christianity; which has put the Church herself on an infraction of her charter, an invasion of the rights and royalties of her Lord. This was the germ of her "apostasy," as it is the germ of all apostasy, whether in the Church or the individual soul—putting man for God, and obeying man instead of God. This has made her a Papal Church, a worldly hierarchy, a vast empire made up of aggressions, on the one hand, on the kingdom of God,

* Rev. ix. † Rev. xii.

and on the other, on the powers of this world; a mass of error, corruption and tyranny, of which the world itself has been, and not without reason, ashamed. Still, this abuse and perversion does not in the least impair the glorious truth itself, that "now unto principalities and powers in the heavenly places," and of course to contemplative minds on earth who look at her history in its true light, "is made known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God." This renders church history, (not consulted in barren and precarious compends, but in the living products of Christian genius and piety which every age has produced,) "a vast and fruitful knowledge." There is, we firmly believe, no field in the vast domain of theological learning which will more richly repay the researches of the Christian scholar, or enable him to do more important and timely service to truth. Catholicism, in one or other of her branches, has almost had this field to herself; and the extent to which she has falsified the remains of Christian antiquity by her omissions, interpolations, mistranslations, and garbled indexes even, exceeds all belief of any one who has not carefully looked into the matter. There is no ground on which the ministry, the doctrine, and the worship of our Church stand stronger, or on which Catholicism is more weak and incapable of defence, than that of Christian antiquity.

Even in this movement of the subjective philosophy we joyfully recognize, not the control merely, but the overruling and guiding sway of the Head of the Church. There is a "balance of truth" in the world of mind and opinion, as well as a "balance of power" in the physical forces and political relations of nations. The very aberrations from the faith of the Church are made, in the end, to contribute to the maintenance of this equilibrium. The tendency of the human mind is to extremes, even in the right direction. The speculations which have of late tended to exaggerate the subjective side of Christian truth may be intended, and we trust and believe they are intended, to correct and compensate for a general and popular tendency in an opposite direction. The immense increase of the *material* (so to speak,) of Christianity by the translation, printing and distribution of the Holy Scriptures, which is the great and wonderful fact of our age, seems to have begotten in many minds an expectation that the mere multiplication and distribution of

copies of the inspired volume is to bring about the conversion of the world. Now this is an expectation wholly unwarranted, nay, it is utterly contradictory to prophecy, and subversive of the very nature of Christianity. The written word can never give a saving revelation of God to one human soul, unless the same Spirit who inspired it, impart a capacity for the intuition, belief, and reception of its truths. *Deest aliquid intus.* The letter is powerless without the Spirit. The whole artillery of truth can do nothing without the propulsive power of the Spirit. It is only when we "receive the Spirit which is from God that we can know the things which are freely given unto us of God." If a copy of the Bible were placed in every human abode, in every human hand; if its truths were lodged in every mind, unfolded by the most orthodox and skilful exposition, and pressed to the heart and conscience by the most eloquent appeals, would the conversion of the world be the necessary and sure result? If it were, it would be "by might and by power," and not "by the Spirit of the Lord of Hosts." But the conversion of the world is not to be so accomplished. After all this "planting" and "watering," God must "give the increase," or there will be none. The intellectual, religiously educated Saul of Tarsus, with his mind full of religious ideas, familiar doubtless with the facts of Christianity, and having beheld an overpowering manifestation of their truth in the martyrdom of Stephen, was untouched by one holy impression, unvisited by one ray of saving light. "When it pleased God to reveal his Son in me" discloses the true era of his conversion, an era through which every soul must pass which "passes from death unto life." Has not the Church been in danger of forgetting this? Amidst her own vastly increased activity, and the multiplied instrumentalities and facilities afforded by the physical and civil progress of society, has she not been tempted to form material ideas of the kingdom of God, and to overlook her absolute dependence on the Holy Spirit? Do we not sometimes hear appeals for money towards Bible distribution, and for men towards the missionary work, urged too much in the calculating and self-relying spirit of the world? Now, while this popular tendency is in full force, a strong counter-current of philosophical speculation sets in, which beyond measure

exalts and exaggerates the subjective. In this system, the Spirit is every thing, the word is nothing. Revelation is wholly intuitional, individual, subjective. There can be no such thing as "a revelation by verbal exposition," a revelation transmitted by written word or living voice. The prophets were wholly mistaken when they said, "thus saith the Lord"; the apostles not less so, when they declared that "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," and that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God." The thing is psychologically impossible; for there can be no revelation but that which is made to "the intuitional consciousness," and therefore revelation, and the inspiration which conveys it, are, and of necessity must be, generically the same in every believing soul that they were in the writers of the sacred volume.

These are startling propositions! If they only startle the Church into a more distinct recollection, and a deeper faith in the universal need of the Spirit's influence in order to the saving perception and experience of the truth, their effect will be salutary. These extreme statements will soon be perceived to be in direct conflict with the plain declarations of the Bible, the universal opinion of thinking men in all ages, and the perpetual sentiment and consciousness of the Christian Church, to say nothing of the psychological refutation of which they are capable, and which inevitably awaits them. Meanwhile, amidst all this clamour about "the objective and subjective," "the logical and intuitional," "the mechanical and dynamical," though it may bewilder many, and "seduce some," the very wants and longings of the renewed soul will keep it at the right point. The truth which shines forth in the word is its only steady light, the "sincere milk of the word" its indispensable aliment. The sober and spiritual Christian will find no repose but in the combined and mutually supporting truths of an inspired Bible, and a converting, enlightening, and sanctifying Spirit. No philosophic fog can long conceal from him that precious certainty inscribed in his Redeemer's last prayer, "thy word is truth"—nor that equally precious assurance "left" to his Church for all time, "the Spirit shall come and lead you into all truth." When in the faith and fresh remembrance of both these truths, the disciples shall, as at the beginning, "search the Scriptures

daily," and "continue with one accord in prayer and supplication," then will they again be "clothed with power, the Holy Ghost coming upon them;" then too, will "the word of God grow mighty and prevail." Then shall we behold a re-production of primitive preachers, men at once "mighty in the Scriptures" and "fervent in the Spirit," and therefore "eloquent men," "teaching effectually." Then will the Church go forth to sure and glorious victories, being armed with "the sword of the SPIRIT, which is the WORD OF GOD."

ART. II.—PETER COLLINSON.

"*Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall; with notices of their Botanical Cotemporaries, by William Darlington, M. D., LL.D., &c.; with Illustrations.* Philadelphia, Lindsay & Blakiston: 1849."

THIS name indicates where those who would profit by the teachings of history may find a happy illustration of the many excellent traits of character which result from a life conformed to principles of Friends. The sect has been much criticised; the number of its adherents is limited in extent; we do not ourselves see things spiritual in the light they do, and we have heretofore expressed our dissent and given our reasons as occasion prompted. But the truth of history must concede to them rare virtues, characterized as they are by self-denial, and eminent success in their efforts to relieve suffering humanity. Indeed they deny themselves the use of some agencies which most Christians think powerful and effectual as means of doing good. They have had the test of time; they have had their trials, neither few nor small; they have been sifted and scanned; and, while differing from almost all the rest of the world in some great leading rules of life and conduct, they have persevered and have been sustained: after the lapse of more than two centuries, the world sees a vast product of good to the whole human family from the labours of these few men. Upon whom else in the wide world, since time began, has the sun of truth shone with a brighter light to carry him to the dark re-

cesses and secret depths of sorrow, suffering, sin and shame, to relieve the miseries of a brother sinner, a fellow immortal? Wherever man presents himself, of whatever race or kind; however wrecked in body, in mind, or in estate; however savage, barbarous, and idolatrous; however vicious and corrupt, the slave of his appetites and passions; nay, however sunk in the depths of infamy and crime, Friends regard him still as a fellow creature, to whom "our Father in heaven" has imparted an immortal soul, and who, while life lasts, should be treated and cared for as a fellow traveller to eternity.

Their success in these efforts has certainly been pre-eminent. Witness their treatment of the criminal and of the insane. We cite this as one of the good traits for which Friends are distinguished, and it is one which has contributed to give character to the age. Who does not rejoice to live in an age when the insane are no longer treated with cruelty, and when the most wretched in crime may be taught that there is still, for them even, a God of infinite mercy? How do we look back with wonder upon the thousands of years the world had existed before it was discovered that a grand panacea for diseases of the mind was to be found in the law of love? And how does the world seem to have forgotten that one came down from heaven "and abode awhile in the flesh," to teach man how he should treat his brother-sinner, and to point the dying malefactor to the gate of heaven? For the general prevalence, blessed influence, and practical application of these truths, we are greatly indebted to Friends.

Their quiet virtues, happy amenities, and silent worth, do not attract the gaze of the world; but they will repay us for seeking out and looking into them. Their simple habits; their industry, integrity, and thrift; their pleasure in doing good; their intense interest in nature's varied handiwork; their estimate of things conducive to comfort, peace, and happiness, over things luxurious and things ostentatious; their abhorrence of war; their active sympathy with all in distress, and their preference of the "good name which is better than precious ointment" over worldly glory, had all a faithful representative in Peter Collinson. In their full representation we do not think the Society has produced his superior. We do not say that he

was a better man than George Fox or William Penn; that he was so deep a thinker as Dr. Fothergill; that he did more to leave a name behind him than James Logan; that he was so great a naturalist as John Bartram; or, that he relieved as much distress as Elizabeth Fry. But, studying his character as it has been recently developed, it does appear to us that he combined more of all these respective qualities than either of the individuals named. One who has done more than any other towards this development, and who understands the whole subject as well as any man living, says of him, in a manuscript now under our eye—"he was one of the earliest and most distinguished cultivators, and most distinguished patrons, of the Natural Sciences in the Society of Friends; and, at the same time, an honour and an ornament to the sect." It must be acknowledged that the same authority says of Dr. Fothergill, the intimate friend of Peter Collinson, that he "regards him as the most accomplished Quaker that ever lived, whether considered as a man of science, or as a philanthropist"—adding, "while the Society of Friends may ever be proud of their great lawgiver Penn, the lovers of nature among them may boast of a Logan, a Collinson, a Fothergill, and a Marshall; to each of whom a *genus* has been dedicated, that will preserve the memory of their worth and services as long as the plants which bear their names shall continue to grow." But the pre-eminence in accomplishments among Friends, which our correspondent assigns to Dr. Fothergill, relates particularly to science and philanthropy. As a practical utilitarian, a helper of others to do good to their fellow-men, and to attain the heights and depths of scientific discovery; to push their researches through difficulties and dangers to earth's remotest bounds, and perhaps in some other characteristic excellencies, Peter Collinson surpassed him; although it must at the same time be confessed also, he was not so good a Whig, nor so great a friend to our revolutionary movement.

Could we ask Dr. Franklin—"who, of all men, best deserved a statue, in commemoration of active, disinterested, and valuable services in building up the Philadelphia Library?" he would say, "Peter Collinson." Those most knowing in the early history of this institution now say, that the marble which occu-

pies a niche in its front, would have found a more fitting place in front of the Philosophical Hall opposite. Ask Franklin again, "from whom he derived the information, and who furnished him with the hints and put into his hands the actual means whereby he made his splendid discovery of the identity of lightning and electricity," and he will tell you, "Peter Collinson."* It is melancholy to think that his thirty years gratuitous and invaluable services for the Library should have been terminated by this excellent man, as we have good authority to believe, under a sense that they had not been duly estimated by those having it in charge.

He was the only man in the Royal Society at London who appreciated Franklin's letters announcing his discovery; which, when first communicated there, were frowned down, sneered at, and refused a place in their published transactions. Peter Collinson had them published, drew the attention of knowing men to them, excited admiration of the wonderful secret disclosed, and was among the very first to foresee and proclaim Franklin's undying renown.

He did more than any man living to help to make John Bartram what he became, and without his aid Bartram could never have accomplished one half his wonderful achievements. Dr. Fothergill goes so far as to say, "That eminent naturalist, John Bartram, may almost be said to have been created such by my friend's assistance," "constantly exciting him to persevere in investigating the plants of America, which he has executed with indefatigable labour through a long course of years, and with amazing success."

* In Dr. Lettsom's edition of Dr. Fothergill's works we find a letter from Dr. Franklin to Michael Collinson, Esq., dated "Craven Street, Feb. 8, 1770," from which we give an extract. After referring to and describing the valuable services rendered to the Philadelphia Library, he goes on to say:

"During the same time he transmitted to the Directors of the Library the earliest accounts of every new European improvement in agriculture and the arts, and every philosophical discovery; among which, in 1745, he sent over an account of the new German experiments in electricity, together with a glass tube, and some direction for using it, so as to repeat these experiments. This was the first notice I had of that curious subject, which I afterwards prosecuted with some diligence, being encouraged by the friendly reception he gave to the letters I wrote to him upon it. Please to accept this small testimony of mine to his memory, for which I shall ever have the utmost respect; and believe me, with sincere esteem,

Dear Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

B. Franklin."

It is an interesting fact, that it should have been reserved for our own time and for our own country, to bring to light far more than was before known of the life, history, and scientific habits and correspondence of that eminent and excellent man, who was a London merchant, and who died about the middle of the last century. True, the English themselves acknowledge, that it was an American who first told them what they wanted to know about Sebastian Cabot. The Edinburg Reviewers, even before that, had found out that "they should soon learn to love the Americans if they sent them many more such books," as one which Robert Walsh had written about France.

The recent work by Dr. Darlington, a Pennsylvanian, has awakened deep interest in England, with regard to one of their own sons collaterally introduced, and is equally well spoken of on both sides the water. It is entitled, "Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall;" but nearly one half of its five hundred and ninety-five pages of fair, large, open type, is occupied with the letters of Peter Collinson. No Philadelphian can read it without feeling that the next statue erected in the city of brotherly love after those of Penn and Franklin, and that contemplated in honour of Washington, should be one to perpetuate the memory of what she owes to Peter Collinson. Whoever reads it will find interesting matters of colonial history; minute particulars illustrating the character of the intercourse between this country and the old for fifty years before the Revolution, which he sees no where else.

But to return to Peter Collinson—since sounding his praises so loud, we must be permitted to call up Southey to our support. He thus sums up in few words, what was known and thought of this London friend of our own Logan, Franklin and Bartram, in his time:

"Peter Collinson, whose pious memory ought to be a standing toast at the meetings of the Hortieultural Society, used to say that he never knew an instance in which the pursuit of such pleasure as the culture of a garden affords, did not find men temperate and virtuous, or make them so. And this may be affirmed as an undeniable and not unimportant fact relating to the lower classes of society, that whenever the garden of a cot-

tage or other humble dwelling is carefully and neatly kept, neatness and thrift and domestic comfort will be found within doors.

"When Mr. Allison settled at Thaxed-Grange, English gardens were beginning generally to profit by the benevolent and happy endeavours of Peter Collinson to improve them. That singularly good man availed himself of his mercantile connection, and of the opportunities afforded him by the Royal Society, of which he was one of the most diligent and useful members, to procure seeds and plants from all parts of the world, and these he liberally communicated to his friends. So they found their way first into the gardens of the curious, then of the rich, and lastly, when their beauty recommended them, spread themselves in those of ordinary persons. He divided his time between the counting-house in Grace-church street, and his country house and garden at Mill Hill near Hendon; it might have grieved him could he have foreseen that his grounds there would pass into the hands of a purchaser who in mere ignorance rooted out the rarest plants, and cut down trees which were scarcely to be found in perfection any where else in the kingdom at that time.

"Mr. Collinson was a man of whom it was truly said that, not having any public station, he was the means of procuring national advantages for his country, and possessed an influence which wealth cannot purchase, and will be honoured when titles are forgotten. For thirty years he executed gratuitously the commissions of the Philadelphia Subscription Library, the first that was established in America; he assisted the directors in their choice of books, took the whole care of collecting and shipping them, and transmitted to the directors the earliest account of every improvement in agriculture and the arts, and of every philosophical discovery.

"Franklin, who was the founder of that library, made his first electrical experiments with an apparatus that had been sent to it as a present by Peter Collinson. He deemed it, therefore, a proper mark of acknowledgment to inform him of the success with which it had been used, and his first essays on electricity were originally communicated to this good man. They were

read in the Royal Society, 'where they were not thought worth so much notice as to be printed in their transactions;' and his paper in which the sameness of lightning with electricity was first asserted, was laughed at by the connoisseurs. Peter Collinson, however, gave the letters to Cave for the Gentleman's Magazine. Cave forming a better judgment than the Royal Society had done, printed them separately in a pamphlet for which Dr. Fothergill wrote a preface; the pamphlet by successive additions swelled to a volume in quarto which went through five editions, and, as Franklin observes, 'cost Cave nothing for copy money.'

"What a contrast between this English Quaker and Monsieur La Cour at Leyden, who, having raised a double tuberose from the seed, and propagated it by the roots till he had as many as he could find room to plant, destroyed the rest as fast as they were produced, that he might boast of being the only person in Europe who possessed it."

We present this passage entire, from that curious book of miscellanies, "The Doctor," which having no index, and one part having no connection with another, except that each was written down by Southey, few know all the good things it contains. The author's allusion to Franklin and the conduct of the Royal Society, are in a spirit above the prejudices which sometimes influence the judgment of a poet-laureate, and there are some who will suspect that Southey was not aware of the high compliment he was bestowing upon this country in his praise of Peter Collinson; or, where it was that Peter found such extensive means of conferring good upon his fellow subjects of the kingdom of England. It has a marked emphasis as coming from a high churchman, in reference to a simple quaker.

There is true magnanimity in the manner he speaks of, and leaves behind him an abiding testimonial to reprove, the Royal Society's treatment of Franklin's great discovery; his political affinities, for the greater part of his life, were of the *Wedderburne* school, and those prejudices and partialities which influence most men, imparting a tinge to their feelings and clouding their judgments, were in sympathy with the king's attorney-general in his signally notorious arraignment of Franklin

before the British nation.* Whoever looks at his likeness in the life just published by his son, will see more of the expression of a lover of truth and nature, than of a servile hanger-on to monarchy and aristocracy. Its pages tell us also, that in his college days, he planned, with Coleridge and others, a settlement in this Western world, as Hampden and Cromwell had once done. He was, perhaps, the best informed man, upon the greatest variety of subjects, of his day; and, if we mistake not, will in time be judged more charitably by our countrymen.

But what about this book which tells us so much that we did not know before of Peter Collinson, without any reference to him in the title-page?

Its first few pages are devoted to a brief sketch of the progress of botany in North America—comprehensive and condensed—beginning with the work of Jac. Cornutus on the plants of Canada, published in 1635, and John Josslyn's New England rarities of 1672, and coming down to the doings of the "accomplished and indefatigable" Asa Gray now *in medias res*. In looking over this sketch it is interesting to see such names as those of Logan, Clayton, Colden, Mitchell, Muhlenberg, intimately connected with the history of natural science.

We next find a biographical sketch of John Bartram, principally taken from a work by his son; followed by a description of a visit to him at the age of seventy, purporting to be from the pen of a Russian gentleman, which is a perfect daguerreotype picture of him and his surroundings, giving us an equally life-like sketch of the inner as of the outer man.†

* Those who search out the secret springs of action which produce great events, may discover here what gave that intenseness to the animosity which prepared our countrymen for blood.

† As this paper is a literary curiosity, we copy a letter from "the honourable and venerable Samuel Breck, of Philadelphia," to be found in a note at page 44 of the memorials, which gives the following account of Hector Saint John de Crevecœur, who published letters as an American Farmer, and is now ascertained to have once appeared as Iwan Alexiowitz, the Russian gentleman referred to.

"In the year 1787 (says Mr. Breck) I arrived at Paris from the Royal and Military College of Soreze, in the then province of Languedoc, where I had spent more than four years. Thomas Jefferson, who was our plenipotentiary at the Court of Louis XVI., was travelling in Italy. A young Virginian, Mr. Short, received me in the Minister's name, being his secretary, and made me acquainted with a very amiable Frenchman, who had resided in the United States, and written there a work, entitled, 'Letters from an American Farmer,' flattering and favourable to our country. This gentleman was Hector Saint John de Crevecœur.

The greater part of the volume is then taken up with the correspondence of John Bartram. The reminiscences of Humphry Marshall and his correspondence, occupy comparatively few pages, but all instructive and interesting.

The letters of Peter Collinson spread over a period of thirty-four years, and furnish a large portion of the *materiel* of which the work is composed. This *materiel* has been reclaimed from the dust, and mould, and lumber, of seventy years gone by, furbished up, arranged, and presented to us in an intelligible and attractive shape, without any apparent ambition on the part of the editor, but to do justice to his subject. His intense love of this is apparent from the care, and time, and labour bestowed upon it. That it was worth all it cost to bring these mouldering relics to light, every man of science, every man of sense, and every man of heart will say, who reads the book.

His work was exceedingly popular in France, and the fame acquired by it was a passport to the highest circles. The romantic descriptions in which he had indulged, in reference to the manners and primitive habits of our countrymen, made some of the great lords and ladies of Paris desirous to see a native American; among others a Polish princess took a fancy to see me, upon Saint John's report to her of his acquaintance with me, and invited me to dine with her. I went there accompanied by Mons. Crevecœur.

"That gentleman took me another day to dine with Mons. De Beaumenoir, at his apartments at the Hotel des Invalides, of which he was governor, and who had a daughter about to embark for New York, in the same packet that Mr. De Crevecœur and I had both taken passage. She was coming out to America, under St. John's protection, to marry M. De La Forest, who was then French consul at New York, and afterwards became a man of some note, as a diplomatist under Napoleon, who raised him to the dignity of a baron of his empire. St. John himself had been made consul general by King Louis.

"That kind friend took me, one morning, to visit Brissot De Warville, who served Philip d'Egalite (father of king Louis Phillippe) in some capacity, and had apartments at his residence, the Palais Royale. There we were received by Brissot. The Marquis de Valady, son-in-law of the Marquis de Vandreuil, presented me with a copy of St. John's letters, which I still possess. St. John was by nature, by education, and by his writings, a philanthropist; a man of serene temper and pure benevolence; the milk of human kindness circulated in every vein; of manners unassuming, prompt to serve, slow to censure; intelligent, beloved, and highly worthy of the esteem and respect he every where received. His society on ship-board was a treasure.

"He had a daughter, whose early history was marked by passages sufficiently curious and eventful, to make her the heroine of a novel. She married Mr. Otto, a French gentleman, who was an attaché, I think, to the Consular Office; and who rose under the revolutionary government of France to considerable diplomatic rank, even to the embassy to England for a short time."

The voyage above referred to is the same mentioned by Mr. Breck in his interesting letter recently published, wherein he describes New York as it appeared on his landing there, before we had a Constitution.

Some have thought it required sifting, and that there was some chaff which might be dispensed with in another edition. This may have been the general opinion on its first appearance; and we confess ourselves to have been of this mind until after perusing it carefully. But the oftener we read it, the more difficult do we find the task to point out any thing that should be omitted—the more unwilling are we to part with a single page or an individual letter. It abounds in those blessed little amenities which go to make life happy and a book entertaining; intermixed with ten thousand minutiæ of the observations, studies and speculations of diligent inquirers into the secrets of Natural History, at the first dawn, as it were, of the sun of science. Its *naïveté* and simplicity, nay, its very imperfections even, add to its interest, after we become a little accustomed to them, inasmuch as they make it all a reality, taking us into the actual presence of those who lived a hundred years agone.

The editor cannot fail to attract to himself some portion of the admiration he has awakened for those whose memory he embalms. The work is worthy of the expense, good taste, and artistic skill with which it has been presented to us by the publishers, if it were only to illustrate the truth of what Linnæus said of Bartram, and what Fothergill said of Collinson's relations to him—"*The greatest natural botanist in the world.*" This from one to whom botanists concede the title of "The immortal Swede," is, most truly—*Laus, laudari a laudato viro*—the greatest natural botanist in the world, in the time of Linnæus, upon the authority of Linnæus! And Peter Collinson "may almost be said to have created him such!" The lovers of nature everywhere, to whom the London merchant pointed him out, regarded him with admiration; the *savans* of Europe anxiously sought his correspondence; nobles and princes patronized his labours, and learned societies conferred upon him the highest testimonials of esteem. He was not only a man of science, but a man of genius. He was also endowed with extraordinary capacities of body as well as mind, enabling him to endure fatigue, encounter danger, overcome difficulties, undergo privation, and persevere to the end, whatever great object he had in view. Like Newton, in simple facts he saw great principles, and traced them out with profound interest and untiring

assiduity. Thus he became a man of great attainments. But he was not only a man of science, a man of genius, and a man of great capacities—he was a man of great virtues. His life is scarce more distinguished by his discoveries in the secrets of nature, than by his reverence for the great Author of those secrets, and love of his fellow creatures, for whose enjoyment in common with his own, they were in infinite wisdom contrived. His enthusiastic devotion to the study of nature's handiwork did not prevent his attention to the common business of life, the cultivation of his fields, provision for his family, building his house "with his own hands," "training up his children in the way in which they should go," and settling them in life. He was prudent, temperate, charitable, hospitable; maintaining a strict regard for the rights of others, and being scrupulously attentive to all the proprieties of life. It is among the most striking and interesting things to be remarked upon the long and cherished intimacy between him and the excellent Peter Collinson, that Peter's early letters abound with oft repeated and emphatic cautions to his friend John, not to allow these delightful studies of nature, equally cherished by them both, to interfere with attention to the duties of life, industry in business, economy, and care of his private affairs; and that the result should have been, while the London merchant, the prudent counsellor, was successful in business for a time, amassed a large estate, and to the last was highly and universally esteemed for substantial virtues, he fell himself into the enticing snare against which he had so anxiously guarded his friend, leaving an estate greatly dilapidated when he died; while John Bartram held on to the last, with his industries, economies, and care of his estate. The arrears of his claims upon Peter Collinson had accumulated to an amount which gave great anxiety to the son who succeeded him, and drew out the melancholy fact, that his father had felt himself obliged, at over seventy years of age, after a life so much devoted to the public, to ask a small pension from the king, and that it had been denied him.

Our authority for what Linnæus said of Bartram is Francis Lieber. Such applause from one so much applauded, must of itself cause naturalists to look with intense interest into memorials of his life and doings. All liberal and inquiring minds

must be interested to know something of his biography, of whom, one of the highest compliments which could be paid to so good a man as Peter Collinson by the just and discriminating Fothergill, was to say, that he made John Bartram what he was.

He was of the third generation after those who came over with Penn, and settled as agriculturists upon the banks of the Delaware along side of their predecessors, the Swedes, and where the two races have since mingled their blood and extended themselves, constituting now an industrious, virtuous, and thriving population, with agricultural improvements, and a general state of worldly prosperity arising from this source, unsurpassed in any quarter of the Union. In his early career he was cotemporary with James Logan, who was himself a distinguished naturalist, and one of the first to appreciate the great idea of Linnæus; having tested by his own experiments, early, the truth of the sexes of plants. This learned and eminent man took a deep interest in John Bartram's devotion to natural science, and helped to give him character with Peter Collinson, and make him known to the *savans* abroad, to whom, at that time, an opportunity to correspond with a great natural botanist in the new world was of inestimable value. He was also, as we have already seen, cotemporary with Benjamin Franklin, who contributed in no small degree with Logan and Collinson to extend his reputation abroad. Indeed it may with truth be said that there was scarcely an individual in this country, after Logan and Franklin, who made himself more highly esteemed in Europe in the age in which he lived, than this Pennsylvania farmer.

The ancient county of Chester, adjoining Philadelphia on the south and west, was originally settled by the countrymen of Linnæus, and their descendants still flourish in the same region. When William Penn came over, many of his agricultural friends, with ample means and the characteristic virtue of thrift, located themselves, as before observed, in this county. But little more than a century and a half has rolled by, and there are now near a hundred houses of worship of the society of Friends in what was once Chester county; the county of Delaware having since been divided off from it on the south-east. This county gave

birth to John Bartram and Humphry Marshall, and it was fit and proper that their natal soil should also produce for them a memorialist. Its capital town, from whence this work originates, is not a little signalized for its attention to botanical and horticultural pursuits. It has its Hall of the Cabinet of Natural Science and its Horticultural Hall, with extensive collections in the various departments of the works of nature. A taste for the study of the natural sciences, and special delight in the cultivation of trees, plants, fruits and flowers, would seem to be indigenous with the dwellers in that region. Their anniversary horticultural exhibition is a great gala day, bringing together thousands of the substantial citizens, with wives and children, their countenances lighted up with a smile which indicates the joy they take in it.

Bartram and Marshall were farmers, and the sons of farmers; they cultivated their own acres and built their own houses "with their own hands." The woodcuts of these houses as they now stand, which we see in Dr. Darlington's book, give some idea of the substantial and the comfortable which prevailed among Friends in the construction of their dwellings, in Chester county, a hundred years gone by. In mind, and in reputation, these sons of the soil and distinguished naturalists were also self-cultivated, self-educated men. Brought into intimate contact, by their daily avocations, with some of the most interesting works of nature, they did not close their eyes, as so many of us do, to the beauties and wonders by which they were surrounded. They regarded with scrutinizing curiosity the springing blade, the opening bud, the blooming flower, the ripening fruit, with which nature seemed alive in all but infinite varieties. They soon found it to be among their highest earthly pleasures to make themselves acquainted with the secrets, principles, and and unnumbered varieties of the system, in this department of nature's wonder-workings. The enthusiasm with which respectively and successively they devoted themselves to the study, and the industry and perseverance with which they followed it, was accompanied with a modesty, prudence, worth, and other sterling virtues, which must endear their memory to all who read their lives, and give it a place in the inner shrine of every

naturalist. Linnæus, Sir Hans Sloane, Solander, Philip Miller, Gronovius, and Dillenius were among the correspondents of John Bartram. Dr. Fothergill, Sir Joseph Banks, and Dr. Franklin were among those of Humphry Marshall.

No two men in this country ever contributed so much to the botanical treasures of England, nor anything like so much to the chief ornaments of her grounds.

In proof of Bartram's *genius*, some letters of this self-educated Pennsylvania farmer may be cited, which are scarcely surpassed in beauty of thought and style by anything in our language.

The following passage from the work before us, teaches us how naturalists give their hearts to each other:

In a letter from Dr. Garden to Linnæus, dated Charleston, South Carolina, March 15, 1755, that gentleman says: 'When I came to New York, I immediately inquired for *Coldenhamia*, the seat of that most eminent botanist, Mr. Colden. Here, by good fortune, I first met with John Bartram, returning from the Blue Mountains, as they are called. How grateful was such a meeting to me! And how unusual in this part of the world! What congratulations and what salutations passed between us! How happy should I be to pass my life with men so distinguished by genius, acuteness, and liberality, as well as by eminent botanical learning and experience! Men, in whom the greatest knowledge and skill are united to the most amiable candour,

> ——— *Animæ, quales neque candidiores*
> *Terra tulit.'*

Such an estimate of Bartram, and such a report of him to the great master of the science in which they all rejoiced, is confirmed by the following letter, which bears date in 1762, and shows that their kind feelings were reciprocal. If there is any thing to surpass it in our language, it has not met our eye. The letter is from John Bartram to Dr. Garden.

"My dear worthy friend, I am much affected every time that I read thy pious reflections on the wonderful works of the omnipotent and omniscient Creator. The more we search and accurately examine his works in nature, the more wisdom we discover, whether we observe the mineral, vegetable, or animal

kingdom. But, as I am chiefly employed with the vegetable, I shall enlarge more upon it.

"What charming colours appear in the various tribes, in the regular succession of the vernal and autumnal flowers—these so nobly bold, those so delicately languid! What a glow is enkindled in some, what a gloss shines in others! With what a masterly skill is every one of the varying tints disposed! Here, they seem to be thrown on with an easy dash of security and freedom; there, they are adjusted by the nicest touches. The verdure of the empalement, or the shading of the petals, impart new liveliness to the whole, whether they are blended or arranged. Some are intersected with delicate stripes, or studded with radiant spots; others affect to be genteelly powdered, or neatly fringed; others are plain in their aspect, and please with their naked simplicity. Some are arrayed in purple; some charm with the virgin's white; others are dashed with crimson; while others are robed in scarlet. Some glitter like silver lace; others shine as if embroidered with gold. Some rise with curious cups, or pendulous bells; some are disposed in spreading umbels, others crowd in spiked clusters; some are dispersed on spreading branches of lofty trees, on dangling catkins; others sit contented on the humble shrub; some seated on high in the twining vine, and wafted to and fro; others garnish the prostrate, creeping plant. All these have their particular excellences; some for the beauty of their flowers; others their sweet scent; many the elegance of foliage, or the goodness of their fruit; some the nourishment that their roots afford us; others please the fancy with their regular growth; some are admired for their odd appearance, and many that offend the taste, smell, and sight, too, are of virtue in physic.

"But when we nearly examine the various motions of plants and flowers, in their evening contraction and morning expansion, they seem to be operated upon by something superior to only heat and cold, or shade and sunshine; such as the surprising tribes of the sensitive plants, and the petals of many flowers shutting close up in rainy weather, or in the evening, until the female part is fully impregnated: and if we won't allow them real feeling, or what we call sense, it must be some action next degree inferior to it, for which we want a proper

epithet, or the immediate finger of God, to whom be all glory and praise." * * * * * *

"I don't dwell so long on the vegetable kingdom, as though I thought the wisdom and power of God were only manifest therein. The contemplation of the mineral, and especially the animal, will equally incline the pious heart to overflow with daily adorations and praises to the grand Giver and Supporter of universal life. But what amazing distant glories are disclosed in a midnight scene! Vast are the bodies which roll in the immense expanse! Orbs beyond orbs without number, suns beyond suns, systems beyond systems, with their proper inhabitants of the great Jehovah's empire, how can we look at these without amazement, or contemplate the Divine Majesty that rules them, without the most humble adoration? Esteeming ourselves, with all our wisdom, but as one of the smallest atoms of dust praising the living God, the great I AM."

The promptings of this beautiful effusion will be better understood perhaps by here perusing one or two extracts from Dr. Garden's prior letters to him:

"How eminently happy are those hours, which the humble and philosophic mind spends in investigating and contemplating the inconceivable beauties and mechanism of the works of nature; the true manifestations of that supremely wise and powerful Agent who daily upholds and blesses us.

"May that Fatherly Being continue to enlighten your mind, till that hour come, when the parting of this veil will lay before your eyes a new and more glorious field of contemplation, and still more unutterable sights of bliss."

Dr. Garden had before written to him in these words:

"I rejoice with you, on your increasing collection of these curious productions of the all-wise hand of our omnipotent Creator. May your soul be daily more filled with an humble admiration of his works, and your lips exercised in his praise."

* * * * *

"When this scene of things passes away, and the great and first Author of all leads us to fields of a more rich and fertile clime, there shall we proceed with fresh vigour and enlarged faculties to view him nearer, worship and adore more strongly, and live more willingly within the pale of universal love. How

great is our God! How wonderful are his works, sought out of all them that take pleasure therein. Your letters, particularly, give me pleasure. They always contain something new and entertaining on some new-discovered work of God."

We now cite some passages from the correspondence, to show how Peter Collinson helped John Bartram, and was in truth the great means whereby he became so distinguished as to be "the greatest natural botanist in the world." Peter Collinson's first published letter is dated in 1734. In 1736, we find this paragraph: "Thy kind neighbour, James Logan, is so good as to order me to buy thee *Parkinson's Herbal.* He has shown a very tender regard for thee, in his letter to me. It may look grateful, every now and then, to call and enquire after thy friend Logan's welfare. He is a great man in every capacity, and for whom I have the highest value."

About the same time James Logan writes thus to the young but rising naturalist:

"FRIEND J. BARTRAM—Last night, in the twilight, I received the enclosed, and opened it by mistake. Last year Peter sent me some tables, which I never examined till since I last saw thee. They are six very large sheets, in which the author [Linnæus] digests all the productions of nature in classes.

"His method in the vegetables is altogether new, for he takes all his distinctions from the *stamina* and the *styles*, the first of which he calls husbands, and the other wives.

"The performance is very curious, and at this time worth thy notice. I would send it to thee, but, being in Latin, it will want some explanation, which after I have given thee, thou wilt, I believe, be fully able to deal with it thyself, since thou generally knows the plants' names. If thou wilt step to town to-morrow, thou wilt find me there with them at E. Shippen's, or J. Pemberton's, from twelve to three. I want also to say something further to thee, on microscopical observations.

"Thy real friend,

"J. LOGAN.

"Stenton, 19th of June, 1736."

This letter furnishes the evidence that Peter Collinson was the first one to call Logan's attention to the great discovery of Linnæus, and put the means in his power which led him to those experiments whereby he tested its truth, and made the publication which added so greatly to his own fame.

The next year Peter concludes a letter to his friend thus:

"Now, dear John, I have made some running remarks on thy curious letter, which contains so many fine remarks, that it deserved to be read before the Royal Society; and thee has their thanks for it, desiring thee to continue thy observations, and communicate them. I say make no apology. Thy style is much beyond what one might expect from a man of thy education. The facts are well described, and very intelligible."

In another, the same year, he says to him:

"Thy map of Schuylkill, is very prettily done, and very informing; now I can read and travel at the same time. Lord Petre has seen it, and is much pleased with that and thy journal; one helps to illustrate the other. I intend to communicate it to a curious map-maker: it may be of use to him in laying down that part of the river Schuylkill, undescribed."

March 3, 1741–2.—He writes:

"Dear friend John:—By our good friend Captain Wright, I have sent Sir Hans's kind present, of his Natural History of Jamaica, in two volumes. These I have put in a box I had made on purpose for them, and directed it on two places for thee; and with it I sent on board, in a canvass wrapper, a large bundle of paper, a present from Dr. Dillenius, which, I think, will furnish thee with paper for specimens, and for seeds, for thy life time. It is fine Dutch paper, and very fit for such purposes, because it will bear ink."

(Then, after cordially thanking him for divers rare and curious objects of Natural History, just received, a bare reference to each of which occupies two printed pages, he goes on,)

"I thank thee for thy curious present of thy map, and thy draught of the fall of the river Owegos (?). I was really both delighted and surprised to see it so naturally done, and at thy ingenuity in the performance. Upon my word, friend John, I can't help admiring thy abilities in so many instances. I shall

be sparing to say what more I think. A man of thy prudence will place this to a right account, to encourage thee to proceed gently in these curious things, which belong to a man of leisure and not to a man of business. The main chance must be minded. Many an ingenious man has lost himself for want of this regard, by devoting too much of his time to these matters. A hint thee will take in friendship: thy obliging, grateful disposition may carry thee too far. I am glad and delight much in all these things—none more: but then I would not purchase them at the expense of my friend's precious time—to the detriment of his interest, and business, (now, dear John, take me right.) I showed them to Sir Hans. He was much pleased. Lord Petre deservedly much admires them; and, indeed, does every one that sees them, when they are told who was the performer.

"All this is writ by rote, or from memory, for I dare not, nay, I cannot, look into my letters; for I have no time to add more, but to tell thee—in the trunk of the Library Company, thee'll find a suit of clothes for thyself. This may serve to protect thy outward man, being a drugget coat, black waistcoat, and shagg breeches. And now, that thou may see I am not thoughtless of thy better part, I send thee R. Barclay's *Apology*, to replenish thy inward man. So farewell."

In a postscript he adds:

"There is a map, and another parcel or two besides for thee, and Catesby's books; and Dr. Dillenius will send thee his History of Mosses."

It is but just that we should say, John Bartram's views differed in many respects from those of his friend Collinson, both in his religious and political creed, and this is perhaps the proper place to refer to it.

When Bartram acknowledged the receipt of the last letter and its accompaniments, he concludes thus:

"I am greatly obliged to thee for thy present of a suit of clothes, which just came in the right time; and Barclay's *Apology* I shall take care of for thy sake. It answers thy advice much better than if thee had sent me one of Natural History, or Botany, which I should have spent ten times the

hours in reading of, while I have laboured for the maintenance of my family. Indeed, I have little respect to *apologies* and disputes about the ceremonial parts of religion, which often introduce animosities, confusion, and disorders of the mind—and sometimes body too: but, dear Peter, let us worship the One Almighty Power, in sincerity of heart, with resignation to his divine will, doing to others as we would have them do to us, if we were in their circumstances. Living in love and innocency, we may die in hope."

There are many other passages throughout the correspondence, which indicate that the germ of those seeds which have since rent the society in twain, was cherished by these friends respectively, in opposition to each other, a century past.

John Bartram also seems to have agreed with Logan* as to the necessity of defensive war, while Peter Collinson adhered to strict views of Friends on this subject.

It still remains a study for the casuists, and is worthy of the best thoughts and most profound consideration of the wisest men, whether William Penn's great idea of founding a State, upon the principle of "love to God, and good will to man;" without recourse, under any conceivable circumstances to defensive war—to all necessary resistance to attack, or assault, could have been carried into effect without such men as James Logan at his right hand, whose principles so far adapted themselves to the actually existing state of things as to do what was necessary to be done, when the alternative came; to die yourself, suffer wives and children, old and young, the brightest and the best, to be cut down and all your human hopes destroyed, or to take the lives of your murderous assailants.

Logan's idea was, "that all government is founded on force," and involves the necessity of defensive war; and he expresses the surprise with which he learned from Penn, on their first voyage to this country, the different views held by his patron the great philanthropist.

Franklin relates a singular anecdote of great point, as having

*See "A letter from James Logan to the Society of Friends, on the subject of their opposition in the Legislature to all means for the defence of the colony, September 22d, 1741." *Article* V. *of the Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. I. No.* 1, *May*, 1851.

come from Logan himself, detailing an occurrence on this voyage which led to an interchange of views.

Many distinguished individuals conforming to the principles of Friends in other respects, have been of James Logan's mind, in this particular. Of this number may be mentioned, John Dickinson and William Rawle, as well as John Bartram.

But the letter of James Logan, which now first appears in print, we are told was held by the committee of the yearly meeting to which it had been referred "unfit to be read to the meeting."

There were frequent passages between them as to Pitt, of whom Bartram was a great admirer. The following is from Collinson, in 1763:

"But my dear John, I am sorry to say thou art of that unhappy cast of mind there is no pleasing.

"Look into Pitt's peace, and see what a pitiful figure we should have made when he adopted Montcalm's boundary for our colonies. As Pitt did it, and accepted it, and made it the foundation of his peace—it was glorious! Pray look back and see what slaughter and destruction the Cherokees made (when Pitt's British glory was lost in Germany) on the back settlements of Carolina; but every thing the turn-coat did was glorious with my dear John! He heard all their cruelties, but did not then open his lips to complain. Whilst Pitt was sacrificing thousands of the best British heroes to his projects on the coast of France, to gratify his vanity—all was glorious!

"My dear John, take heart, and don't be carried away with reports. Revive thy drooping spirits, and look forward and hope for the best." . . .

"*Glorious* Pitt so presides in my dear John's mind he is invincible to complaints, except on the *sorry peace* that hath given so great an empire to Britain!" . . .

"I have a great respect for Pitt, and he has his merits; but every thing he did was not glorious, though my friend John thinks so."

But their most remarkable difference of views perhaps—one frequently, fully, and we may say ably discussed between them, was as to our treatment of the Indians. Bartram seems to have felt that their extermination was inevitable upon the approach

of civilized man; as much so as that of the beasts of the forest, and the most venomous reptiles; that they were irreclaimable; incapable of civilization; that all Christian efforts were lost upon them; while Collinson uniformly, earnestly, and perseveringly inculcated opposite views.

All will be interested to see a portion of this correspondence respecting the natives. It will be found curious, interesting, and instructive.

JOHN BARTRAM TO PETER COLLINSON.

"*February* 21, 1756.

DEAR PETER—We are now in a grievous distressed condition; the barbarous, inhuman, ungrateful natives weekly murdering our back inhabitants; and those few Indians that profess some friendship to us, are watching for an opportunity to ruin us. And we that are near the city are under apprehensions too from the neutral French, which are sent among us full of resentment and revenge, although they yet appear tolerably civil when we feed them with the best we can afford. They are very fond of their brethren, the Irish and Dutch Romans, which are very numerous amongst us, many of which openly declare their wishes that the French and Indians would destroy us all; and others of them privately rejoice at our calamities. O deplorable condition! that we suspect our friend of treachery while he is willing to assist us, and can't discover our enemy till it is too late!

"By what we can understand by the reports of our back inhabitants, most of the Indians which are so cruel, are such as were almost daily familiars at their houses, ate, drank, cursed, and swore together—were even intimate playmates; and now, without any provocation, destroy all before them with fire, ball, and tomahawk. They commonly now shoot with rifles, with which they will at a great distance, from behind a tree, fence, ditch or rock, or under the covert of leaves, take such sure aim as seldom misseth their mark. If they attack a house that is pretty well manned, they creep behind some fence, or hedge, or tree, and shoot red hot iron slugs, or punk, into the roof, and fire the house over their heads; and if they run out they are sure to be shot at, and most or all of them killed. If they

come to a house where most of the family are women and children, they break into it, kill them all, plunder the house, and burn it with the dead in it; or if any escape out, they pursue and kill them. If the cattle are in the stable, they fire it and burn the stable; if they are out, they are shot, and the barn burnt. If our captains pursue them in the level woods, they skip from tree to tree like monkeys; if in the mountains, like wild goats they leap from rock to rock, or hide themselves, and attack us in flank and rear, when, but the minute before, we pursued their track and thought they were all before us. They are like the angel of death—give us the mortal stroke when we think ourselves secure from danger.

"O Pennsylvania! thou that was the most flourishing and peaceable province in North America, art now scourged by the most barbarous creatures in the universe. All ages, sexes, and stations, have no mercy extended to them." . . .

History does not contain a more graphic description of the character of early Indian warfare. Those amongst us who are disposed to be very severe upon the first settlers in New England for their frequent contests with the natives, and indulge themselves in inviduous comparisons, might read this correspondence with profit. The question has two sides; and let us ever remember, with Jeremy Taylor, that severe judgment should begin at home.

JOHN BARTRAM TO PETER COLLINSON.

"*September* 30, 1763.

DEAR PETER—I have now travelled near thirty years through our provinces, and in some, twenty times in the same provinces, and yet never, as I remember, once found one single species in all after times, that I did not observe in my first journey through the same province. But many times I found that plant the first which neither I nor any person could find after, which plants, I suppose, were destroyed by the cattle. . . . The first time I crossed the Shenandoah I saw one or two plants, or rather stalk and seed of the *Meadia*, on its bank. I jumped off, got the seed, and brought it home, sent part to thee, and part I sowed myself—both which succeeded; and if I had not gone to that spot, perhaps it had been wholly lost to the world.

John Clayton asked me where I found it; I described the very spot to him, but neither he nor any person from him could find it after. O! what a noble discovery I could have made on the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi, if I had gone down, and the Indians had been peaceably inclined, as I knew many plants that grew on its northern branches. But we are at present all disappointed.

"I read lately, in our newspaper, of a noble and absolutely necessary scheme that was proposed in England, if it was practicable; that was, to search all the country of Canada and Louisiana for all natural productions, convenient situations for manufactories, and different soils, minerals, and vegetables; the last of which I dare take upon myself, as I know more of the North American plants than any others. But this would alarm the Indians to the highest degree. All the discoverers would be exposed to the greatest savage cruelty—the gun, tomahawk, torture, or revengeful, devouring jaws. Before this scheme can be executed, the Indians must be subdued, or drove above a thousand miles back. No treaty will make discovery safe. Many years past, in our most peaceable times, far beyond the mountains, as I was walking in a path with an Indian guide, hired for two dollars, an Indian man met me and pulled off my hat in a great passion, and chawed it all round—I suppose to show me that he would eat me if I came into that country again."

"*October* 23*d*, 1763.

"Dear Peter—* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The most probable, and only method to establish a lasting peace with the barbarous Indians, is to bang them stoutly, and make them sensible that we are men whom they for many years despised as women; until then, it is only throwing away men, blood, and treasure, to make peace with them. They will not keep to any treaty of peace. They all are, with their fathers, the French, resolved to drive the English out of North America. And although some tribes pretend to be neutral friends, it is only with a design to supply the rest with ammunition to murder us. Perhaps now, and only now, is the critical time offered to

Britain to secure not only her old possessions, but her so much boasted new acquisitions, in sending us sufficient supplies to repel effectually those barbarous savages."

PETER COLLINSON TO JOHN BARTRAM.

"Ridgeway House, *December* 6, 1763.

"I am here retired, all alone, from the bustle and hurry of the town, meditating on the comforts I enjoy; and while the old log is burning, the fire of friendship is blazing—warms my imagination with reflecting on the variety of incidents that hath attended our long and agreeable correspondence.

"My dear John, thou dost not consider the law of right, and doing to others as we would be done unto.

"We, every manner of way, trick, cheat, and abuse these Indians with impunity. They were notoriously jockeyed and cheated out of their land in your province, by a man walking a tract of ground in one day, that was to be purchased of them.

"Your Governor promised the Indians, if they would not join the French, that when the war was over our troops would withdraw from Pittsburg. They sent to claim this promise, but were shuffled off. They resented it, as that fortress was situated on their hunting country.

"I could fill this letter with our arbitrary proceedings, all the colonies through; with our arbitrary, illegal taking their lands from them, making them drunk, and cheating them of their property. As their merciless, barbarous methods of revenge and resentment are so well known, our people should be more careful how they provoke them. Let a person of power come and take five or ten acres of my friend John's land from him, and give him half price, or no price for it, how easy and resigned he would be, and submit to such usage! But if an Indian resents it in this way, instead of doing him justice, and making peace with him, nothing but fire and faggot will do with my friend John! He does not search into the bottom of these insurrections. They are smothered up, because we are the aggressors. But see my two proposals, in the October Gentleman's Magazine, for a peace with the Indians.

* * * * * * * *

"What a glorious scene is opened in that rich country about

Pensacola—if that despised country is worthy thy visitation. But because Pitt did not get it, thou canst not venture there on any pretence! All beyond the Carolinas is forbidden ground. They are none of thy darling Pitt's acquisitions!

* * * * * * * *

"I hope what I have writ will be read with candour. Our long friendship will allow us to rally one another, and crack a joke without offence, as none was intended by thy sincere friend,

P. Collinson."

"London, *January* 1, 1763 (4).

"I am very thankful to the great Author of my being that I enter the new year in perfect good health and spirits. I heartily wish the like comfortable situation may attend my dear friend and his family.

* * * * * * * *

"Thy quick discernment of plants is a knack peculiar to thyself, and is attained by the long exercise of thy faculties in that amusement, and is like the hare finders with us. Some can't discover them if close under their feet; others see them at a great distance.

"Indeed, my dear John, I must congratulate you on that happy discovery of my favourite *Meadia*. It is really remarkable none should be found since.

"I hear nothing more of that proposal thee mentions; but if there were any real intention of carrying it into execution, no one properer than thyself for Natural History and Botany.

"That the Indians should be alarmed at our sounding or measuring—I don't wonder they should be jealous of our invasion of their property. Every man is tenacious of his native rights, and if you invade their rights, you must take the consequences. Let those be well banged—I may say well hanged—that, by their unjust proceedings, provoked the Indians to hostilities, knowing before-hand their cruel resentments."

Bartram says to Collinson:

"*March 4th*, 1764.

* * * * * * * *

"I think our Indians received a full value for that cheating

walk, and pretended to be fully satisfied with what they received above the first agreement; and as for Pittsburg, they let the French settle and build there; then why may not the English, after they had drove the French out, keep possession of it? And as the Indians have committed such barbarous destruction on our people, we have more reason to destroy them and possess their land than you have to keep Canada. And must all our provinces suffer a prodigious yearly expense, and have thousands of our innocent people barbarously murdered, because some of our traders made them drunk to get a skin cheap?—or an Irishman settles on a bit of their land which they will never make use of? And if we must settle any more land, or any of the branches of the Mississippi, pray say no more about our great British empire, while we must not be a farthing the better for it.

"I should be exceedingly pleased, if I could afford it, to make a thorough search, not only at Pensacola, but the coast of Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and the banks of the Mississippi. I make no difference *who got it*, if I could but safely travel in it.

"My dear friend, I am so far from taking offence at thy familiar way of writing, that it gives me much pleasure."

COLLINSON TO BARTRAM.

"*March* 7, 1764.

* * * * * * * *

"Is it reasonable to think the Indians will love us, after such a cruel, unprovoked slaughter at Lancaster, &c.? I hope the authors will be made examples of justice."

"Mill Hill, *May* 28, 1766.

* * * * * * * *

"In all thy expeditions, didst thee fall in with any Indians? what nation? and how did they behave? Is there any disposition in them to continue in peace and friendship? There is much talk of civilizing them. A good, sensible man, named Hammerer, a foreigner, who was long in London, could not be easy without going to reside among the Cherokees, in order to try to bring them to a sense of moral duties."

What Bartram saw and had to encounter in his botanical excursions through western New York at that early day, will be better understood by those who read the "Narrative of a Journey made in the year 1737, by Conrad Weiser, from Tulpehocken to Onondago," lately published by the Pennsylvania Historical Society. After overcoming all but unendurable hardships on his journey, in the mouths of February and March, upon his arrival among the natives of that then savage frontier, he gives us this account of a conversation with them. "I asked them how it happened that they were so short of provisions now, while twelve years ago they had a greater supply than all the other Indians; and now their children looked like dead persons, and suffered much from hunger. They answered, that now game was scarce, and that hunting had strangely failed since last winter; some of them had procured nothing at all. That the Lord and Creator of the world was resolved to destroy the Indians. One of their seers, whom they named, had seen a vision of God, who had said to him the following words: 'You inquire after the cause why game has become scarce. I will tell you. You kill it for the sake of the skins which you give for strong liquor, and drown your senses, and kill one another, and carry on a dreadful debauchery. Therefore have I driven the wild animals out of the country, for they are mine. If you will do good and cease from your sins I will bring them back; if not, I will destroy them from off the face of the earth.'

"I inquired if they believed what the seer had seen and heard. They answered, yes, some believed it would happen so, others also believed it, but gave themselves no concern about it. Time will show, said they, what is to happen to us; rum will kill us, and leave the land clear for the Europeans without strife or purchase." p. 17.

Upon another occasion he tells us:

"This was the hardest and most fatiguing day's journey I had ever made; my bodily strength was so much exhausted that I trembled and shook so much all over, I thought I must fall from weariness, and perish. I stepped aside and sat down under a tree to die, which I hoped would be hastened by the cold approaching night. When my companions remarked my absence, they waited for me some time, then returned to seek me,

and found me sitting under a tree. But I could not be persuaded to proceed, for I thought it beyond my power. The entreaties of the old chief and the sensible reasoning of Shikelimo* (who said that evil days were better for us than good, for the first often warned us against sins and washed them out, while the latter often enticed us to sin), caused me to alter my resolution, and I arose."

Peter Collinson enlisted several of his friends to contribute £10 each, as a yearly stipend, to stimulate, and partially remunerate Bartram for his researches and the treasures he sent them from the new world; and finally had him appointed king's botanist, with a salary of £50 a year.

The interest expressed by Lord Petre was truly wonderful, and nothing can exceed the mournful outpouring of the heart in a letter which announces the early death of this excellent nobleman, and which, for the pathos of its allusion to the parting, is worthy to be placed along side of Dr. Garden's illustration of how naturalists become attached to each other on their first acquaintance. But the letter must speak for itself.

"London, *July* 3*d*, 1742.

"OH! FRIEND JOHN:—I can't express the concern of mind that I am under, on so many accounts. I have lost my friend, my brother. The man I loved, and was dearer to me than all men—is no more. I could fill this sheet and many more; but Oh! my anxiety of mind is so great, that I can hardly write; and yet I must tell thee, that on Friday, July 20, our dear friend Lord Petre was carried off by the small pox, in the thirtieth year of his age. Hard, hard, cruel hard, to be taken from his friends, his family, his country, in the prime of life; when he had so many thousand things locked up in his heart, for the benefit of them all—now lost in embryo.

"I can go no further, but to assure thee that I am thy friend.

P. COLLINSON."

"All our schemes are broke.

"Send no seeds for him, nor the Duke of Norfolk; for now, he that gave motion, is motionless—all is at an end.

"As I know this will be a great disappointment to thee, if thou hast a mind to send the seeds, as was ordered for Lord

* Father of the Logan whom Jefferson has made memorable.

Petre and Duke of Norfolk on thy own account and risk—I will do what I can to dispose of them. The Duke of Norfolk shall have the preference; but there is no obliging him to take them, as I had not the order from him, but from Lord Petre.

"Send those for the Duke of Richmond and P. Miller.

"Lord Petre was a fine, tall, comely personage—handsome—had the presence of a prince; yet was so happily mixed, that love and awe were begot at the same time. The affability and sweetness of his temper were beyond expression, without the least mixture of pride or haughtiness. With an engaging smile he always met his friends. But Oh! the endowments of his mind were not to be described. Few or none could excel him in the knowledge of the liberal arts and sciences. He was a great mechanic as well as a great mathematician; ready at figures and calculations, and elegant in his tastes.

"In his religious way,* an example of great piety; his morals of great temperance and sobriety; no loose word, or *double entendre*, did I ever hear—(this is something of the man.) For his virtues, his excellencies, and his endowments, I loved him, and he me, more like a brother than a friend."

Thirty years after their correspondence had commenced, Peter Collinson writes thus to John Bartram:

"I have pleasure upon pleasure beyond measure, with perusing my dear John's letters of October 31st, with the rare plants in Eden."

—— "Think, my dear John, with what amazement and delight I, with Dr. Solander, surveyed the quire of specimens. He thinks near half are new genera. This will enrich the fountain of knowledge."—— "But what surprises us most, is the *Tipitiwitchet* Sensitive. It is quite a new species, a new genus." (*Dionœa muscipula.*)——"

Again, soon after—

"I am glad, my dear John, I can send our friend Solander's catalogue of thy last curious collection of specimens. There are wonderful things amongst them, especially the Sensitive, *Empetrum*," &c. * * * * * *

"They enrich our knowledge, and anticipate our pleasures,

* Lord Petre belonged to the Roman Catholic Church.

and give us a good idea of the riches in store, to gratify the botanists of after ages. O, botany! delightfulest of all sciences! There is no end of thy gratifications. All botanists will join with me in thanking my dear John for his unwearied pains to gratify every inquisitive genius. I have sent Linnæus a specimen, and one leaf of *Tipitiwitchet* Sensitive: only to him would I spare such a jewel. Pray send more specimens. I am afraid we can never raise it—Linnæus will be in raptures at the sight of it."

Again under date of August 4th, 1763:

"My garden, like thine, makes a glorious appearance; with fine long-spiked purple *Ononis;* with the all-spice of Carolina [*Calycanthus floridus, L.,*] abundantly in flower—spreading its perfumes abroad; the detectable red-flowering *Acacia;* my laurel-leafed *Magnolia,* with its noble blossoms, which will continue for two months or more. The great *Rhododendron* has been glorious beyond expression; and before, I told thee of the mountain *Magnolia,* and the surprising flowers of the red and yellow *Sarracenia.* Thus, my dear John, thou sees I am not much behind thee in a fine show, but when thy Eden plants flower, I shall not be able to bear the report of them."

——"Consider, my dear John, what pleasure I feel now, I can give thee an order for a ten guinea box, for young Lord Petre. Little did I think, when I gave thee the first like order for his valuable father in 1735 or 1736, that I should live to give the like for his son. It may be truly said that the spirit of Elijah rests on Elisha, for he began this year with a box of thy seeds."

In acknowledging this, Bartram thus expresses himself:

"I am heartily glad that young Lord Petre is possessed of the botanical taste of his father. I wish he may resemble him in virtue. I have intended to inquire after him and his mother in every late letter. The pear raised from her seed hath borne a number of the finest relished fruit. I think a better is not in the world."

In a note to which, the editor informs us, "This tree, known as 'Lady Petre's Pear tree,' is still (1848) flourishing at the Bartram garden, standing close by the house."

Peter Collinson, in 1764, when noticing Bartram's last

remark, says: "It has been thy patience to wait, but my pleasure to hear of the delicious pear raised from Lady Petre's seed; but she, dear good woman, is gone to rest."

In 1765 he makes this announcement:

"I have the pleasure to inform my good friend, that my repeated solicitations have not been in vain. I this day received certain intelligence from our gracious king that he had appointed thee his botanist, with a salary of fifty pounds a year."

These are a few of the many, many specimens of the acts of kindness, expressions of sympathy and admiration, and long abiding, devoted friendship, which these letters present, holding up Peter Collinson as a pattern for the doers of good in all succeeding ages.

"He was one of the earliest and most constant correspondents of Linnæus, and was highly distinguished in the circle of naturalists and antiquaries in London, for nearly half a century."

It is a melancholy fact, to know from authentic sources, that the political prejudices of his son Michael, should have led him to undervalue his father's most intimate friend, John Fothergill, and detract from Fothergill's merit in that interesting sketch of the life of Collinson which appeared soon after his death. The undervaluation of Franklin and Bartram, which appears in the same work once published,* (now happily out of print, a manuscript copy only having come under our eye,) by Michael, betrays an intenseness of political prejudice growing out of the war between the two countries, of which the son of such a man could not have been conscious. If others have been afflicted with the sight of a veritable copy of such a work, they must console themselves with the following passage from one of Franklin's letters—"If we may estimate the goodness of a man by his disposition to do good, and his constant endeavours and success in doing it, I can hardly conceive that a better man has ever existed;"—speaking of him† who was the first to sound Peter Collinson's praises, when he went from earth to heaven.

But even Peter Collinson, with Dr. Fothergill at his right

* Upon looking more carefully at the introduction, it appears that the edition printed was "*private and confined*," not "*a public one.*"

† Dr. Fothergill.

hand, could hardly have made Bartram what he became, but for what he says of himself:

"I had always since ten years old, a great inclination for plants, and knew all that I once observed by sight, though not their proper names, having no persons or books to instruct me;" and, for what his son says of him—"He had all, or most of the education that could at that time be acquired in our country schools; and whenever an opportunity offered, he studied such of the Latin and Greek grammars and classics as his circumstances enabled him to purchase, and always sought the society of the most learned and virtuous men." The son also says, that the intimate friendship and correspondence between his father and Peter Collinson continued fifty years, although the letters brought to light by Dr. Darlington, cover a period of but thirty-four. He purchased the place which his garden has made classic ground, at sheriff sale in 1728, and built the house still standing there in 1731.

Bartram's garden has been an object of interest the world over, for a century past. Unique in its character and extent on this side the water, it became early somewhat famous. It was not only attractive to naturalists, but was generally visited by strangers who came to Philadelphia to spend any time, and frequently by the passing traveller. Its precise location is on the west bank of the Schuylkill, a little below Gray's Ferry, an intervening bluff hiding it from the Woodlands, originally retired from the great public road leading south. Now, indeed, the railroad passes through a deep cut directly in rear of the house. We rejoice that since the appearance of these memorials it has fallen into hands which, as far as possible, will preserve what may keep alive its interesting memories. It was once feared, that in the changes of time, and chance, and fortune, this classic spot, where for many a long year things curious and beautiful in nature were cultivated, trained, and developed by a master hand, might become desecrated by occupation for the business purposes of every day life; and that not being able to preserve both "the beautiful and the useful," we should have had to console ourselves that our own Franklin had classic authority for placing "the useful" first, had we been condemned to see Bartram's Garden transformed to a coal yard. Philadel-

phians may thank Dr. Darlington's book, probably, for the escape.

Whoever visits the Bartram garden now, let him be sure to inquire for the "Lady Petre's pear tree;" and when he next attends the anniversary exhibition of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, let him remember to look at a specimen of its fruit which he will certainly find there. The president, secretary, or the second of the committee on fruits, while they live, will as certainly one of them be at hand to point out this product of a tree from seed planted more than a century ago, of fruit grown on the grounds of a noble horticulturist who was also a horticulturist nobleman, in England, in Bartram's garden, on the banks of the Schuylkill, by the agency of Peter Collinson.

We have referred to three officers of an existing society in connection with reminiscences of their distinguished predecessors in horticulture, because we know of no others who have done more to promote and extend the usefulness of this society; and we know of no society which has added more to the worldly comforts, the cheerfulness and happiness of all, in a city famed for its abounding good things, and more especially for the number of institutions, where "wisdom dwells with prudence, and finds out knowledge of witty inventions" to do good.

We had intended giving a passage or two from Dr. Fothergill's letter, on the death of his friend, but our prescribed limits forbid. For an opportunity to do this, copying from the original edition, we are indebted to that indefatigable and accomplished naturalist, Dr. Francis Boott,* of London, who, com-

* Since this article was commenced, we came across, at the Philadelphia Library, unlooked for, in a volume labelled "Pamphlets on Ethnology, &c.," a work with this title page—"Hortus Collinsonianus. An account of plants cultivated by the late Peter Collinson, Esq., F.R.S., arranged alphabetically, according to their modern names, from the catalogue of his garden, and other manuscripts. Not Published. Swansea: Printed by N. C. Murray and D. Rees, MDCCCXLIII." Its preface signed L. W. Dillwyn, Sketty Hall, March 8, 1843, in a full and intercsting account of the work, gives us the following facts. "The gardens at Peckham and Mill Hill had attained such a high celebrity, that a publication of Mr. Collinson's Catalogue appears to have been called for by some of the most distinguished naturalists, and the reason for his noncompliance with their wishes is thus given in a letter of his, dated May 12, 1756, to his friend Linnæus:—'You must remember I am a merchant, a man of great business, with many affairs in my

bining American sympathies from his birth among us, with intimate relations to the many eminent lovers of nature around him, since this correspondence appeared, has furnished evidence of an intense desire to bring to light all that pertains to one who did so much good in his day and generation on both sides the water, and made so little noise in doing it.

We hope to be excused for indulging in so many extracts, if the reader shall find them give reality to the idea of the great and good John Fothergill, that Peter Collinson made John Bartram what he was; and if they shall lead more people to know than knew it before, that this Pennsylvania gardener of the London merchant's training, was, himself, a great man, in other respects, besides being the greatest natural botanist of his time.

head and on my hands. I can never pretend to publish a catalogue of my garden, unless I had one of your ingenious pupils to digest or methodize it for me. It only serves now for my own private use.'" See Sir J. E. Smith's Correspondence of Linnæus, Vol. 1. p. 39.

He closes his prefatory remarks with the copy of a memorandum, to which Mr. Collinson had added his signature in 1763.

"I often stand with wonder and amazement when I view the inconceivable variety of flowers, shrubs, and trees, now in our gardens, and what were there forty years ago; in that time what quantities from all North America have annually been collected by my means and procuring, and for some years past a great variety of seeds are brought from China, and many fine plants raised; the China Mulberry I first raised, and from Siberia many curious shrubs and flowers. Very few gardens, if any, excel mine at Mill Hill, the rare exotics of which are my delight."

The horticulturist will find himself amply repaid by looking over this rare and curious, "not published" work, which he will find bound up with the pamphlets on Ethnology, in the Philadelphia Library, as stated. But where did it come from, and how did it get there? We have before referred to the interest awakened by Dr. Darlington's late work in England. One of the many interesting tokens of this was the reception, by the author, from L. W. Dillwyn, through the agency of Dr. Boott, of five copies of the *Hortus Collinsonianus*, one of which Doctor Darlington presented to the Philadelphia Library. These are the only copies, probably, to be found here.

In connection with this subject, it should also be stated, that the letter-book of James Logan, containing copies of many letters to Peter Collinson, is still extant, and a large file of the original letters of this prince of horticulturists in his day, is carefully preserved among the archives of the Logan family. Let us hope that some gifted one may yet arise, who will do more justice than has yet been done to each of these distinguished names.

W^m H. Green

ART. III. — *History of the Old Covenant.* By J. H. Kurtz. Vol. I. Berlin, 1848, 8vo. pp. 301.*

AMONG the most interesting and important questions arising in connexion with the study of the Old Testament is that which concerns its relation to the New. This too is confessedly one of the most difficult and disputed questions in Biblical interpretation; and upon which as various and conflicting theories have been entertained as upon any other. The difficulty lies in the details, and in the attempt to give accurate definitions and lay down precise rules. In the general it is very plain that the Old Dispensation was preparatory to the New, and prophetic of it. But there is much that is vague and intangible about such a statement. And it is when we come to ask after its limits, and to fix with exactness its meaning, when we come to inquire definitely to what extent, in what sense, and in how large a part of it the Old Testament is prophetic of Christ, or preparatory for his coming and work, that we begin to discern the difficulties with which the subject is encompassed.

That there are in the Old Testament both predictions and types of a coming Messiah is very clear. That it awakened among the Jews long before the advent expectations of his coming—expectations, which were shared wherever the Scriptures were circulated, is matter of history. The unquestionable authority of the New Testament too, both by express declarations and by frequent implication, requires us to believe that Moses and the prophets wrote of Christ. The general position, therefore, that Christ is spoken of in the Old Testament is impregnable. But how far is he to be found there?

If we admit nothing to be written respecting Christ, but those specific statements of the prophets made *ex professo* respecting a personal Messiah, we shall find indeed only scattered intimations of him here and there. He will not even thus be banished from the Old Testament; but he will be confined to comparatively a very small compass in that portion of Holy Scripture.

* Geschichte des Alten Bundes von Joh. Heinr. Kurtz. u. s. w.

Some works,—able and useful works, too, and carrying the weight of invincible demonstration with them,—which have been written to show how the prophecies have been fulfilled in our Redeemer, have yet we fear to some extent weakened the cause, which they undertook to maintain, by allowing the impression to be silently left upon the mind, that it is only or mainly in isolated predictions scattered here and there, that Jesus is to be found. It ought to be brought distinctly out that these are only a part, and a very inconsiderable part of the testimony there contained, that the doctrine of the Messiah does not rest merely upon disconnected proof-texts, however numerous or explicit; but only that in them there comes more prominently into view what the whole drift and current of Old Testament Scripture equally conspires to teach.

The student of the Old Testament, from reasons which have already been alluded to, cannot be long engaged in its study before arriving at the conviction that Christ is foretold there. There are predictions and types which are so clear as upon their bare inspection to compel instantly this conclusion. But after reaching this point it will not be long before he is compelled to take another step, and admit that these explicit predictions of a Messiah and these manifest types are not the only things which speak of him. He will find it impossible upon any satisfactory and consistent principles to limit the Messianic content of Scripture exclusively to these. All the reasons which will constrain him to forsake this ground, need not be here detailed. We shall single out two, which are of themselves sufficiently stringent.

One is the exceeding abruptness and the isolated character, which would thus be attributed to these acknowledged Messianic paragraphs. The dying patriarch, Jacob, is describing to his sons the portion their descendants shall respectively possess in the land of Canaan, when suddenly, with nothing to indicate a transition, he speaks of the coming of Shiloh, and then as suddenly returns to his original theme, and goes on with the partition of Canaan. Isaiah is giving to Ahaz a sign, that the two kings warring against him should not accomplish their hostile purpose, and he tells him of the virgin's son. In the prediction which occupies the last twenty-seven chapters of his book, all

is so intermingled, and so apparently spoken of the same subject, that while of some parts Jerome has well said that it seems more as though we were reading a gospel than a prophecy, it is yet impossible to make a separation, and say with accuracy which verses refer to Christ and which to the time of the Babylonish exile. An announcement is made to David of a son, who shall sit upon his throne and build a temple for the Lord, which runs imperceptibly into a prediction of Him, who is the greatest of his descendants, and the most glorious of his successors. The Psalms appear to be describing the kingdom of David or of Solomon, and almost before we are aware, certainly without advising us of any change of subject, we find attributes ascribed to it of universality, perpetuity, &c., which are the standing characteristics of Messiah's reign, and which never pertained and never can pertain to any other. Again, David or some other suffering saint seems to be describing in his own person the sorrows he has endured, and his abandonment of God, when suddenly, with no intimation that the same description is not continued, we light upon passages which are among the most evident predictions of Christ anywhere to be found. Now, it is impossible to refer these explicit predictions to Christ, and at the same time assume that the context, with which they are so intimately united, has no reference, bears no relation to him, without a violence of procedure which would be tolerated in the exposition of no other book. Verses must be rent out of their connexion, and applied to an entirely different subject, without anything on the face of the passage to justify it. If no principle be laid down, no rule established, but only whenever anything is said by a sacred writer that can be applied to Christ, (no matter what the immediate subject of which he is speaking,) this is assumed to be a prediction of him, and the rest of the discourse to relate to something wholly different, what is this but to make the Scripture the mere plaything of a capricious fancy, and to obtrude upon it as its meaning, not that which the scope of the writer would indicate, but whatever any interpreter may choose?

The same is true of the types of Scripture. There are here and there in the history and institutions of the Old Testament, types so clear and manifest, that their reference to Christ will

not be denied by any believer in revelation. But if it be affirmed that these stand alone in their reference to him, they present themselves in a strange isolation; and the question instantly arises, to which no satisfactory answer can be given, By what right are these considered predictive of Christ, when no allusion to him is found in all by which they are surrounded? Are we at liberty to go through the history of Israel, and pick out all that bears a real or seeming analogy to the history of Christ, and discarding all the rest as irrelevant, erect out of these random and violently sundered fragments a figure of him that was to come? To whose mind can such a course of procedure carry conviction? or, in the interpretation of what book except the Bible would such trifling be accepted as its just sense? If the Bible be an intelligible book, with a fixed meaning of its own other than that which any interpreter may at will fix upon it—if it be the product of a rational mind and addressed to rational minds, all such capricious dealing with it must be discarded. It is by such an arbitrary mode of not only departing from all just principles, but of acting irrespective of any settled principles whatever, that such incongruous and extravagant senses have been forced upon Scripture as have in some quarters brought the very name of types into disrepute, and made the whole idea of their existence an object of ridicule and contempt.

The other argument, which we shall here mention as constraining to the belief that Christ is to be found elsewhere than in the express Messianic predictions and the manifest types, is drawn from the authority of the New Testament. The Holy Spirit is surely the best expositor of his own mind. The Spirit, which guided the apostles and evangelists, is the same that spake through Moses and the prophets. He can tell us with infallible authority, what was his meaning in any thing that he inspired the holy men of old to say. Now we find the writers of the New Testament quoting the language of the Old, or alluding to it as applicable to Christ, declaring that it was fulfilled in him, drawing from it inferences as to his character and work, and that not only from its explicit predictions and types, but equally from such parts as on the theory of those who find Christ nowhere but in these, have no reference to him whatever.

And after all the deductions that can be made on the ground of the Old Testament being used in the New by way of accommodation rather than of explication, it is yet impossible for him who examines the inspired interpretations given of the Old Testament with any candour, to avoid the conclusion that Christ is represented as spoken of in many passages where no distinct mention of him lies upon the surface; and if their authority be admitted as infallible, of course he must be there.

Here, then, we come to be pressed by the difficulty of finding that certain rule, those settled principles, which shall approve themselves as sound before an enlightened judgment, by which to decide where references to Christ are to be assumed, and how far they are to be pressed; so that we may not on the one hand deny to the Scriptures what they actually contain, nor on the other bring in upon them what has no existence but in our own imagination. There must be some rule besides mere conjecture or caprice. The point of perplexity in the whole subject, is the determination of what that rule is. And it is in the endeavour to fix upon it that such various and conflicting theories of interpretation have been broached. Aside from all examination it would seem to be the most obvious and simplest rule to refer to Christ only such predictions as are explicitly made of him, and such types as manifestly point to their fulfilment in him. But from reasons which have just been adduced, the finding of a Messianic content in these, and limiting it to them, must be given up as untenable. The authority of the New Testament is against it. The structure of the Old Testament itself, and the context in which these predictions and types stand, is against it. They cannot be torn from their connexion, and referred to a totally different subject from that to which all around them refers, but by the most violent and arbitrary procedure. Either then these types and predictions themselves have no direct relation to Christ, or else the entire passages in which they stand cannot be separated from all relation to him. Some, who were unbelievers in a supernatural revelation, have not scrupled to take the first horn of this dilemma, and have maintained that no direct prediction of Christ, or which is tantamount to the same thing, no prediction of him at all properly so called, is to be found in the Old Testament; that its language invariably

referred to some other subject as indicated by the connexion, and if it is applied to Christ, it can only be in the way of accommodation, and altogether apart from the real scope of the writer. When they are confronted with the manifest incongruity of the language with any other subject than Christ, they make a shift to explain it away as a figure of speech, hyperbole, oriental imagery, or something of the sort. Some have even pushed their consistency to the still more absurd length of denying that the Jewish people entertained any expectation of a Messiah's coming. Our readers, however, would not thank us for proving either that the Jews entertained expectations of a Messiah's coming, or that such expectations were founded on their sacred books. If then we are compelled to admit this, there is only one other horn to the dilemma stated above, and it must be acknowledged not only that Christ is to be found in the Old Testament in its plain predictions and its evident types, but that he is to be found in it elsewhere also.

It is not our design here to enumerate all the methods which have been proposed of solving the question before us, nor to enter upon the merits and demerits of each in detail. Several of the early fathers and others assumed an allegorical sense of Scripture different from its plain and obvious meaning, and always underlying it, often indeed in their expositions superseding it. Others have employed every variety of method in dealing with scripture types. One class in order to make out a type everywhere has assumed the most fanciful and grotesque analogies. Another has affirmed with positiveness that nothing should be admitted to be a type, for which there cannot be adduced the express warrant of the New Testament writers in so many words. While another still has been willing to admit a type there also, where it would be natural to conclude that one was contained by proceeding on the same principles, which the inspired writers of the New Testament appear to have followed. The fault of both the allegorical and the typical methods just referred to, lies in assuming that there is either everywhere or at least in certain parts of the Old Testament, what has been called a double sense, one obvious, one concealed; one designed by the writer, and lying within his immediate scope, the other designed by the Holy Spirit to refer to

an entirely different subject from that which was intended by the writer, or which would be understood by his immediate readers. Thus it is supposed that an Old Testament writer might be speaking of David, or Solomon, or Judah, and mean nothing more, and those of his own day see nothing more in it; whereas we in New Testament times, might see that the Spirit designed in this language to describe Christ and the Christian Church.

The objection to this theory is not to be found perhaps in the fact that it interprets the Bible differently from all other books; for the uniqueness in the mode of its composition, in that it has a divine and a human author, certainly renders it conceivable that it might contain such distinct senses. A more serious objection is found in the want of any certain or satisfactory criterion to tell us in what passages the Spirit designed a different sense from that which the human penman had, and what the sense of the Spirit was. Who is qualified to decide this point? And is it not apparent that the assumption of such a sense with no rule to determine where it is, or what it is, leaves every thing to vague conjecture, deprives us of all certainty in the interpretation of Scripture, and makes it in fact whatever any interpreter may choose to make it? A more serious objection still is, that it mistakes entirely the position and design of this portion of God's revelation, and its relation to the people and the age to which it was given as their instructor and guide. It disregards the significancy of the Old Testament for Old Testament times, as though it could not be explained by itself, and had no meaning for them for whom it was primarily and especially designed. It assumes that in the sense of the Spirit it was unintelligible to them; and in fact that this was never unveiled, until it was rendered comparatively unnecessary by the superior clearness of the New Testament. The revelation made to any age, though significant for all coming time, was specially adapted to the wants and capacities of that age. A hidden sense of the kind spoken of above, would be of no use to the Old Testament saints, for it was undiscoverable by them; nor is it of use to us, for we have the same things which it is supposed to teach, taught more plainly in passages where that sense is obvious.

The double sense of which we have spoken, must not be confounded with that interpretation which assigns to the same prophecy a two-fold or even manifold accomplishment. Nor must it be supposed, that in saying what we have of the former, we have meant in any wise to discredit the latter. It is very frequently the case, that the same prophecy, after having been fulfilled in a lower, is fulfilled again in a higher subject; sometimes there is a series of fulfilments of ever increasing magnitude and extent, until in the last the acme is reached of perfect correspondence with the prophetic picture. But this is a very different thing from the assertion, that there is in the words of inspiration a concealed sense, which the Spirit of God intended, but which no rule of explication could ever evolve out of them.

The views of our author upon this subject are these. God's eternal purpose of redeeming fallen man is laid at the foundation of all human history, at least as that is viewed in the Bible. The sacred history of the world is from first to last nothing more nor less than the history of redemption; a history which is not yet fully unfolded, and will not be, until the curse shall be entirely done away, and the last ransomed of earth raised to the complete inheritance of the children of God. This work in its gradual progress to the consummation, has its successive stages, through which it has passed or has yet to pass; and it rests for its accomplishment upon another purpose, that of the incarnation. God assumes human nature in order to raise man to a participation of the divine. The incarnation thus becomes the central point in human history, as it is the hinge on which the destinies of the world are suspended. All things converge to bring it about, that its effects may then diverge over the earth. Every thing is bent first to prepare the way for the coming of the Son of God, as that which shall provide salvation and spread it over all mankind. His coming, as the salvation which he effects, is not a thing by itself, unlooked for, with no previous preparation, and nothing to induce it, flashing suddenly and unaccountably upon the world as a meteoric phenomenon, but the end of a long process, the termination of a series which had it from the first in view, and was framing its steady progress towards its accomplishment. This is no mere growth of nature, no product of natural causes, either acting of themselves

or under superior control. The result is due to God's almighty agency, yet not exerting itself in the way of some sudden unexplained intervention of bare omnipotence, but gradually maturing the fruit, whose seeds had ages before been cast into the soil of human history. This, which was true of the history of the world in general before the advent, was true in a very special manner of that portion of the race which was under particular divine conduct with reference to this very thing, which was made the depository of divine revelation, and from the midst of which the salvation of the world was to go forth. The incarnation of the Son of God with a view to the salvation of man is thus made the capstone of the Old Testament pyramid, the apex towards which all was converging, and as each successive course was laid from the foundation up, it was so placed as to indicate what the whole would be when completed, and to awaken the anticipation of what was yet to come. In this sense the whole of that history is predictive of the future. It bears in itself the evidences of a plan, unfinished indeed, but so regular in its structure and so evident in its design that from any stage whatever of its advancement, there may be derived data sufficient on which to base a conception more or less accurate of the whole.

Now this plan of God not left for human sagacity to discover and figure out, but revealed, and under such gracious superintendence as secures that it shall not be ultimately defeated, but be ever advancing to its accomplishment, renders sacred history, which is the field of its development, predictive in two ways, both from its positive and its negative side, both by reason of its possessions and its needs, what has been gained, and what is still lacking, what it has, and what it has not.

This plan is furthered to its completion not so much by aggregation like the successive courses of a building, as by what more resembles an organic development; not so much by superposition from without as by an unfolding from within. That is from the first given to man in embryo, which is destined for him in its perfection. At any period in this progress, then, what is possessed is nothing for itself, it is not the end but only a step towards the end, and as such a sign of what is yet to come. It

has ever in it the germ of a succeeding future, waiting for its season to be unfolded. Just as the seed reveals to the observer the future plant wrapped up in itself, or as the bud holds in it the flower, and the flower the fruit, and this again is but the seed of a new growth, so each stage of the history has that in it, which marks it as preparatory to a succeeding stage—that which it would not have were it the end beyond which nothing is to be looked for. Each fresh advance grows out of that last preceding, and is itself prognostic of the next.

The negative side of the sacred history is equally predictive with the positive. A perfect Saviour and a complete salvation is the end designed. It is only necessary, therefore, that a deficiency or a want should make itself felt in order to furnish an indication of something to be provided as its supply. The partial is predictive of the complete, the limited of the universal. Every thing imperfect, every felt necessity which is not as yet adequately met, reveals a new constituent which will be required to make up that which is to come in which there shall be no imperfection.

While, however, all the history is thus tending to its ultimate goal, and is every where predictive of it, it is not so equally in every part. It does not flow with a steady, uniform current throughout; but there are premonitions of the sublime cataract, in which it is to have its issue, in the many antecedent waterfalls scattered along its course. Before it reaches the end it passes through several crises, as it were, in which the characteristics of the end come more evidently out, are brought more prominently into view; which are in a more eminent sense preliminary, a foreshadowing of what is yet to come. As in climbing a mountain we rise by a succession of steep ascents followed by a level space or even slight declivities, each of these ascents being in brief what the mountain is on a grander scale; so in the history we find some characters and some events, in which he for whose coming all is a preparation, is more plainly imaged forth. While all is typical, these are types *par excellence*. It is as though the history were a living thing, and were endowed with an instinctive struggling to bring forth the like of that which is its grand and ultimate product. Abraham, David,

Solomon, clearly foreshadowed Christ, and the period of the Exodus overflowed with typical references to him; while in other men and other times the prediction was often faint.

The preparation which was going forward on Old Testament ground for the coming down of God into the flesh, had both its divine and its human factors. The plan was of God, the efficiency was of God; yet its unfolding was to take place upon the arena of human history, the product in a measure of the free agency of man. Hence the possibility of an abnormal as well as of a normal development. The plan being of God, could not be endangered as to its ultimate success; yet for a season, through the culpability of man, it might seem to stand still, or even to go backward, and there be nothing to point to the destined end. The men, to whom the process was confided, might betray their trust; and for that season the type would go wholly out in darkness. Only those who act the part assigned them, and in some good measure correspond to the ideal pattern of what they ought to be, are predictive, and only in so far as they do this are they predictive. All the rest are excrescences on the plant, not part of its natural healthy growth, not belonging properly to it. Thus the kings of the theocracy, as a whole, are emblems of Messiah the Prince; but among those kings, pious princes such as David and Hezekiah are to be reckoned specific types of Christ, while in wicked princes such as Ahaz and Jehoiachin, the type is almost, if not quite obscured. Solomon reigning righteously is predictive of Christ, but not Solomon building high places for the abominations of the heathen.

That this development, which God is conducting amongst men, may not be on the one hand as respects them a violent or an unconscious one, but that they may be free, intelligent, and responsible actors in it; and that it may on the other hand be raised above all possibility of failure through their ignorance or perverseness, two things were necessary—they must be enlightened, and they must be controlled.

In the first place, they amongst whom this plan is unfolding, must be made acquainted with the end toward which all is tending, and with the place which each advance as it is made holds in the general scheme. The plan did not originate with them. The grace and wisdom of God projected it. It is not any thing

springing from them, but solely the presence of God in the history, which renders it predictive. As a general rule men never understand their own age; much less could they detect this supernatural plan, and discover its real nature, unless it were revealed to them from heaven. This revelation is the aim of prophecy. It is addressed to them who live when it is spoken, for their benefit, to solve the problem of their own times, to make known their present duty, to give them the encouragement, the consolation, the warning, the direction they require. Hence with this as its task, prophecy cannot reveal every thing at once, nor every thing indiscriminately. It would be out of place, useless, and injurious; would retard instead of furthering the development, or shape it out of due proportion. Merely to give a proof of the Divine omniscience to future generations, or to authenticate the claims of the Messiah when he should come, is not its aim. The Messiah had independent testimonials in himself sufficient to convince; and it would be strange, if so large a part of divine revelation were intended to be a sealed book, and answer no valuable end for centuries after it was communicated. It was intended primarily and mainly for the prophet's contemporaries; and that not with the view of gratifying a vain curiosity in its passion to pry into the future, but to throw light upon the present, and to set it in its true relation to what is yet to come. It draws its lessons of duty, encouragement, or warning, from the whole plan of God, that which remains to be unfolded as well as that which has been unfolded already; yet only such lessons as are appropriate to the present. Consequently, though without being absolutely bound to this, it yet prevailingly looks upon the future as it is the product of the present, sees it through the medium of the present. What prophecy shall disclose is not a question as to the extent of God's omniscience, but as to man's capacities and wants. The language of the Saviour regarding his own teachings is equally applicable to the teachings of his Spirit, as he spoke by the prophets. "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." He spake as they were able to receive it. Every thing in its proper place, order, and measure, is the universal law of the divine procedure and distribution. The plant is not created before there is a soil in which it may root itself.

Nor does the fruit attach itself to the stem until the bud and the blossom have first preceded it. God might have revealed to Adam, (whatever infidels may say to the contrary,) every event that has ever occurred, or is yet to occur, upon this world's surface. But prophecy would thus be degraded to mere soothsaying. And is it not apparent that such random, uncalled-for predictions, having only the doubtful merit of disclosing a distant future, but with no particular end in view, and of no particular use to the times when it was made known, would have been vastly inferior to the wisdom and goodness of that system of disclosure which pervades the prophecies, by which the present is made the mirror of the future, and the future is made to educate the present?

Thus is produced what may be called an organic connexion of the Old Testament prophecy and its history. One grows with the other, and they are inseparably entwined together. As the plan of God in the history advances to its completion, prophecy is unfolded with a corresponding ratio. At the outset its announcements are made chiefly in general outlines, then become gradually more full and distinct. With every fresh want that makes itself felt, prophecy draws a new trait in the coming Saviour by which that want shall be supplied. With every image of the future good which the grace of God brings into the history, prophecy points again at the great original of whom this is the imperfect foreshadowing. To anticipate the progress of the history, and hold him up as a remedy for evils which had never yet been experienced, or to describe him by images which have no type in the present, and no significancy, no felt reality for it, would be unseasonable and unwise. At each point of time what the people needed to know just then was revealed to them; future necessities were left to be supplied as they should arise. A prophecy, which was required by the condition of things in the time of Isaiah, would have been wholly out of place delivered to Abraham. Prophecy has thus its historic aspect, as the history has its prophetic aspect. They are closely linked in together, and correspond ever in their advances; the prophecy keeping pace with the history as its interpreter, or outrunning it as its guide.

Such was the end to be answered by one of the divine func-

tions of the sacred history—one of the modes in which God interfered to conduct it to its destined end. Prophecy was to enlighten man. It has been already said that in order to prevent failure and ensure a happy issue, it was needful that man, though free and acting freely, should nevertheless be controlled. This required another mode of divine interference, and introduces a new divine function into the history. God dwells indeed in all history, conducting it to the end which he has purposed shall be accomplished by it. But the history of that people, among whom the salvation of the race was to unfold itself, he pervaded in a very especial manner. The purposed result was not one of natural ability but of divine grace. Left to the conduct of men there would have been a perpetual degeneracy and a certain failure. There was needed, therefore, constant strengthening and correction from above to set it right, and keep it so, and push it forward to completion. God not merely presided over it, superintending, directing, overruling, but was ever in it, pervading, vivifying it by his sovereign almighty agency, and ensuring that the result should be brought about. This supernatural agency of God in the Old Testament history is more or less distinct according to circumstances, and to the exigencies of each particular case. Sometimes these call for immediate, direct, almighty intervention, or what is ordinarily called the miracle in the proper sense; at others it falls more into the back ground, and accomplishes all its ends without being so distinctly perceived. The history is miraculous throughout, *i. e.*, it is ever under supernatural control, though what are strictly termed miracles are not found on every page. They never appear uncalled for; yet they are never lacking when needed.

Both the divine functions of the history, therefore, the prophecy and the miracle co-operate throughout to strengthen and to direct it to its appointed end of paving the way for the incarnation of the Son of God. Yet they are not equally manifest upon the surface of the history in all its parts. Both may at certain periods, and even for long periods cease entirely as to their external manifestation, though not as to their actual existence, and real though concealed operation. Light and strengthening are first given, and then the history is left to itself for

a while, receiving no additional communication, but subsisting on that furnished in the past, until new necessities call once more for fresh supplies.

Thus viewed, all appearance of isolation or abruptness is taken from what is supernatural in the Old Testament. Its miracles, its prophecies, are not mere arbitrary phenomena, without any particular necessity or appropriateness, or connexion with what goes before or follows after, but are integral functions of the history, necessary to its proper unfolding according to a preconceived plan. They are God's hand in history, visible indeed in every portion of it, but more prominently displayed, whenever the occasion demands it.

Christ is thus presented in the volume before us as the end of the whole of the Old Testament; not the subject of a few scattered predictions merely, or shadowed forth in a few isolated types, but every thing that it contains meets its accomplishment in him. As far as the Old Testament is a consistent scheme, of which all the parts harmonize to one common result, he is the completion of the whole.

The manner in which the progress of things in the heathen world stood related to the coming Saviour, presents an interesting topic for investigation which our author rather indicates than enters upon. Even here he finds that which is predictive of Christ. There is a development here also; but it is a hot-bed growth, and abnormal. The deep-seated and ever-clamorous wants of human nature made themselves felt; but men sought to supply them for themselves having no revelation from heaven; and things shot up into monster shapes, because the heathen world was not, like Israel, under supernatural conduct. The nations were suffered the while to walk in their own ways. A recent and popular English writer has taken up this idea, and to some extent unfolded it in a treatise on the Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom.* But there is much ground yet to be explored, and much rich fruit yet, we doubt not, to be gathered. We look with no common interest upon the researches which are now making into the mythologies and the religions of the ancient heathen world; and we are persuaded that the

* Christ the Desire of all Nations, or the Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom, being the Hulsean Lectures for the year 1846, by R. C. Trench, M. A.

result in every case will be, as it has been strikingly already, to demonstrate not only how immeasurably superior Christianity is to every form of Pagan superstition, but also how these last are ever monstrous and abnormal growths adhering about those very truths, which Christianity presents us in their purity and in their genuine development. In general, Kurtz assigns to heathenism both a negative and a positive work in preparation for the coming of Christ. The negative was to reveal men's moral and spiritual necessities, and the impossibility of their supplying them themselves, that after an experience of the total failure of all their own devices, they might the more readily accept of God's plan when made known to them. The positive was to develope an intellectual culture and refinement, and whatever lay within the sphere of men's native abilities, which might be turned over to the uses of the Christian Church, when the time for its establishment should arrive. And it is remarkable how, when heathenism had accomplished this its appointed task, it sank away itself to barbarism, and has produced only the most stunted and valueless intellectual growths since.

The history of the Old Covenant as defined in the volume before us forms one section of the history of Redemption, and is in a measure complete in itself, having as the common aim to which it all tended, the incarnation. The history of Redemption stretches from the creation and the fall to the consummation of all things, and the complete deliverance of the sons of God. The history of the Old Covenant though linked with what precedes as the conditions in which it had its origin, and contributing to what follows by the results which it unfolds, is yet in strictness limited by the call of Abraham as its commencement, and the coming of Christ as its close. Two schemes of development had been started previously, and though a valuable purpose had been answered by each of them, they were without a successful result as to effecting the redemption of man. The first had from the excessive wickedness which overspread the world, to be violently broken off, and all mankind destroyed. One godly family was saved, and another unfolding took place in the line of its descendants. But the same depraved tendency was not slow in manifesting itself again; and it became apparent that if effective measures were not taken to stay

the progress of corruption, it would speedily become incurable and there would be another failure. It was then that God selected one among the descendants of Shem to be the starting point of a new development, to be the germ of a race in the midst of which salvation might unfold itself, not for his individual benefit merely, nor for that of his offspring, but that thus the redemption of the world might be effected. Abram was called to be the father of a people who should be severed from all others, fenced in by a restrictive economy so framed as to shut out as far as possible all unfriendly influences, trained up amidst divine interpositions and communications of the divine will, and kept in constant expectancy of the future good. When Christ should come, then first might these barriers be thrown down, which had served their purpose of preventing the incursions of an ungodly world from destroying the infant Church, but which must no longer be permitted to remain after it has attained to full age, to trammel its strong arm, or to limit the sphere of its manly operations.

The history is thus divided: From the creation to the call of Abraham is preliminary. The 1st period contains the history of the chosen family to its descent into Egypt. The 2d, its establishment as a people, embracing the times of Moses, Joshua and the Judges. 3d. The kingdom. 4th. The exile and return. 5th. The period of expectation, whose task it was to prepare for the salvation now on the eve of appearing. 6th. The period of fulfilment, whose object is the salvation exhibited in Christ, its reception by the covenant people, the dissolution of the Old Covenant in the judgment upon them, and the hopes and prospects which, on the ground of prophecy, yet await them in the future. The volume before us is occupied with the book of Genesis, and includes therefore the preliminary and the family periods. Passing by the former, we shall follow our author sufficiently in the latter to give some idea of his views and his method of treating his subject.

The family period was in the strictest sense a preparatory one; it was the foundation stage of a dispensation, which was itself preparatory. It belonged to this age to provide a people and a land for the unfolding of the promised salvation. So long as the chosen seed consisted of but one or two individuals

or a single family, and that wandering from place to place with no fixed habitation, the redemption that was to overspread the world could not be introduced through them. The first thing to be done, then, in preparation for the salvation that was to come, was to provide a nation and a land. This was the end after which the patriarchal age was striving; this was the prime want, which was awakened in their minds; it was this to which the leadings of God were conducting them. When this should be accomplished the first stage would be passed. It was with reference to this, therefore, in particular, that they needed to be assured that it should be effected, that what in their times seemed primarily to obstruct the entrance of the promised good for the world should be taken out of the way; their descendants should grow to a mighty nation, should be settled in Canaan, and the world should be redeemed. It was not until after this first step was taken, and Israel had become a nation and Canaan was theirs, that it was made apparent that not the time of complete fulfilment had arrived, but only that the first stage of approach to it had been traversed. A sense of fresh wants was awakened in the chosen seed, and there was needed the assurance of God that these too should be supplied, and should not be permitted to stand for ever in the way of the expected deliverance. To conclude, therefore, from the prominence assigned to a large posterity and the inheritance of Canaan in the revelations made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that this was all they looked for, that their expectations were wholly of a temporal and earthly nature, and that they had no idea of a spiritual redemption, is not only to run counter to the authority of the New Testament, which in repeated passages declares the reverse, but to mistake all the aims and tendencies of the history itself. The end ever held before them was the blessing of God upon all nations; and a multiplied seed and the promised land were regarded ever not as temporal advantages, not as an end in themselves, but as opening the way to the salvation of the world, which was through this medium to be effected.

The call of Abraham was grounded in both an objective and a subjective necessity. On the one hand it was necessary in order to sunder him from the idolatrous influences to which he was exposed in the land of his kindred, and to make of his

descendants an independent people instead of a mere co-ordinate branch of a larger stock; and on the other it was necessary to his training in faith, obedience, and self-denial, that he should be required on the bare command of God to renounce the good things of the present in hope of a better future. The promise made to him that in his seed all nations should be blessed, is Messianic in as far as it points to the coming salvation; but it contains no definite and clear intimation of a personal Redeemer, through whom this should be effected. It is the seed of Abraham in its entireness, and collectively that is presented as the bearer of the blessing. The hopes of the patriarchs were all connected with the expansion of the individual into a great people. Not until this expansion had first taken place was the hope of salvation concentrated, as in the predictions from Moses onward, upon an individual from amongst this seed. The promise made to Abraham is an advance upon that made to our first parents, inasmuch as it limits to a single race what had before been predicted as arising out of Eve's descendants, and inasmuch as what was barely negative there, the crushing of the tempter, has become positive here, a blessing upon all the families of the earth.

In what befell Abram in Egypt is seen how God delivers his chosen out of the embarrassment into which his own culpable conduct had thrown him, and how even the monarch of Egypt must bow before him, and restore what he had taken from him. Lot is separated from Abram as the last remnant of his kindred that still adhered to him; and the promise of Canaan and of a large posterity is repeated with more fulness than before. The land is given to him and to his seed for ever—a grant which remains good, says Kurtz, though Israel be exiled from his inheritance for seventy, or even for eighteen hundred years. Abram next appears as the defender of the land from foreign violence and the chastiser of its foes, having in the victory which by God's help he gains over Chedorlaomer, a pledge of divine aid and protection against all its future enemies. On his return Melchizedek meets and blesses him. This mysterious personage has been taken respectively for Shem, for Ham, for Enoch, for a man created directly of God just for that juncture, for an angel, for the Son of God appearing antecedently to his

humiliation in human form, and by one sect of ancient heretics for the Holy Ghost. He was, however, a pious Canaanitish prince. The Salem, of which he was king, was a real place, and not merely a significant title, and that not identical with a supposed Shalem near to Shechem, (Gen. xxxiii. 18) nor with Salim on the banks of the Jordan, (John iii. 23) but with Jerusalem; as is proved by the testimony of Onkelos and of Josephus, by the identity of the names ("peace" and "possession of peace"), by Ps. lxxvi. 2, where incontestably Salem means Jerusalem, by the hereditary name of the king (Melchizedek, king of righteousness, identical with Adonizedec, lord of righteousness, Josh. x. 3), by its vicinity to the king's dale (Gen. xiv. 17) the spot where Absalom afterwards reared his pillar (2 Sam. xviii. 18), now known as the valley of Jehoshaphat, and by its lying directly upon the route from Damascus, whither Abram pursued the flying kings, to Hebron where he had fixed his residence. At this point, where the roads to Sodom and to Hebron diverge, the king of Sodom comes up the valley of the Kidron to greet the victor, while Melchizedek descends from his royal citadel to bless him. The last surviving flower of the Noachic covenant thus gives its sanction and its blessing to the representative of the covenant that was destined to succeed them.

Thus far the record speaks of promises given to Abram; now a covenant is made (xv. 18,) and ratified on the part of God by the passage between the sundered parts of a sacrifice, of a symbol of the divine presence akin to that which appeared afterwards to Moses in the burning bush, or to the people in the pillar of fire and cloud, or in the tabernacle in the glory above the mercy-seat. For ten years Abram had been waiting in vain for his expected offspring, until he was almost ready to conclude that the steward of his house was destined to inherit his promises and his hopes. But his faith is reassured by the express declaration that a child of his own body should be his heir. In all that had thus far passed, no mention had been made of Sarah, and in her impatience she concludes that she can be the mother only by adoption of the promised seed, and hopes to find in the child of Hagar what she sought. The event soon shows the vanity of all expedients of man's devising to hasten unseasonably the fulfilment of what God had promised.

Thirteen years more of longing and expectation pass away for the fuller trial of the patriarch's faith, and more completely evidencing the barrenness of Sarah. The time was now approaching when grace would give what could no longer be hoped for from nature. Now first, there was required the ratification of the covenant on the part of Abraham, by the circumcision of himself and all the males of his household.

As to the origin of this rite the same controversy has been waged as about many others belonging to the Old Testament ceremonial, which resemble those found in Pagan worship. Were they adopted by the Pagans from the Jews, or by the Jews from the Pagans?—and, if the latter, how is this consistent with their forming part of a divine revelation? Kurtz has no hesitation in admitting that its practice in Egypt or in other lands may have preceded its adoption by Abraham; and this not because he assigns much weight to the testimony of Herodotus, that the inhabitants of Palestine borrowed this rite from Egypt, with which Jer. ix. 25, 26, and Ezek. xxxii. may be reconciled by the consideration that the Egyptians were not universally circumcised, but only the priests, and those who were admitted to the sacred mysteries. He places his admission rather on the ground of the relation found to subsist between the symbols of the Old Testament and of heathen worship generally, the embodiment of religious conceptions being to a large extent the same in both, while in many cases the priority is evidently not on the side of Israel. Without giving any decided opinion in this individual case, we yet agree so far with our author in his views, that we are not startled in the least to find in the outward forms of Pagan nations generally, or in the rites of Egypt in particular, much that bears an analogy to the ceremonial of the Jews. The peculiarity of Judaism is not that it employs a different kind of outward symbols from all the varieties of Paganism, but that its teachings through those symbols are the reverse of theirs; it teaches what they never knew, a true God and a holy religion. There is no copying of Pagan institutions, and introducing them with their Pagan errors attached, into the worship of God; but symbols, which were used in these institutions and profaned to idolatrous ends, are set in new combinations, purged of their profane ideas, and made to point to God and holiness. It would

be just as reasonable to demand that when God makes a verbal revelation, he should not do so through the medium of a language known and understood before, but should coin an entirely new tongue for the purpose—or that he should have it written in characters unused and unintelligible by man, as that when he makes a revelation in symbols he should employ such as none had ever used. It would be just as reasonable to insist that God should not make known his will through the Apostles in Greek, because that was the language of a profane, idolatrous nation, as that he must not make it known to Abraham or to Moses in Egyptian symbols, because they likewise were employed for idolatrous purposes. The writings of Paul are not reduced to a level with those of Plato, because they wrote in the same language, and used many of the same words; nor are the institutes of the Old Testament placed on a par with those of Egyptian priests, because there may be symbols common to them both. Everything turns not on the occurrence of similar outward forms, but on the ideas which they are set to express. Paul and Plato used the same language; but Paul used it to teach the revealed truths of God, Plato human philosophy. Moses used symbols in common with the Egyptian priests; but there cannot be a more absolute contrast than between the truths of the holy religion which he inculcated, and the falsehoods and delusions propagated by them. Yet while we speak thus, we feel bound to enter our protest against the course of those interpreters, who seem determined to deny to the Old Testament ceremonial not only the possession of anything divine, but even of anything original, and who affect to have discovered that all its institutions were copied either from the Egyptians or from other heathen nations. In the dress of the priests, and the day of atonement, and the plan of the tabernacle, and everything else we have some Egyptian analogy proved upon us by that wonder-working dilemma, in which Spencer led the way. Either the Egyptians did the same, and then it was borrowed from them; or they did differently, and then it was established for the sake of creating a distinction. In either case, the ground of the institution lay in Egypt. We have the Cherubim likened to the Sphinx, and we regret that Hengstenberg, in what we cannot but esteem an incautious zeal for Egyptian

analogies, lent this his sanction. We have the Hebrew ark paraded with cuts from the monuments of the Pharaohs, to prove an identity (Kitto's Cyclop., I. pp. 216-7), when Bähr has long ago demonstrated that there was nothing whatever in their fundamental structure or design in common; and that the ark bore actually more resemblance to a chest found by Captain Cook among the South Sea Islanders, carried by them on poles and called the house of God, than to anything discoverable in Egypt; when he has proved, too, that the rites of Israel contain analogies in many cases quite as striking with those of the remotest nations, and who had no possible intercourse with them, as with those of Egypt and other countries with which they were brought into immediate contact. Wherever it can be shown, therefore, that a particular rite of the Old Testament had its parallel among the heathen, or wherever it can be made probable that it had its origin in Egypt, we feel no difficulty in the admission, and think that in doing so we do not derogate in the least from its divine enactment and authority. Still we conceive it to be due to historic verity as well as to the just claims of religion, not to allow every casual resemblance to be straightway converted into a proof of identity, and to assert the originality of the inspired ceremonial, not only in the truths and ideas which it teaches, and which are everywhere original, but also in such outward forms as are in fact peculiar to itself.

We pass to the last and severest trial of Abraham's faith. The child of the promise has been born; the command of God comes, that he must be offered in sacrifice. It is needless to recite here even for the purpose of refuting them, the malignant misrepresentations which have been made of this, as though human sacrifices were offered by the Hebrews, or as though their God required them. Still the question is one which needs a solution, How could the Lord issue such a command? How could the same God, who, repeatedly in the law, expressed his abhorrence of such sacrifices, (Deut. xii. 31,) here enjoin them? It is to evade the difficulty, not to meet it, to say with Hengstenberg, that Abraham mistook the intention of the Divine command, which was not to *slay* Isaac, but to *offer* him to God; and that he committed the error of understanding that in a literal

and outward sense which was intended to be carried out in a figurative and spiritual sense only. The explanation given by our author is undoubtedly the true one, that the command was intended only as a trial. God never designed to allow it to be carried out to full accomplishment. It was his purpose from the first, to interfere just as he did interfere in the decisive moment. It was to discover the strength of Abraham's faith and the steadfastness of his obedience. And as soon as this was evidenced, and it was seen that the patriarch's faith did not stagger, and his unflinching obedience was made to appear, then the trial was complete. Isaac was already sacrificed in purpose; to slay him could have answered no further end.

But why was exactly this trial selected? Kurtz answers, it was that Abraham might be taught by his receiving Isaac back as it were from the dead, yet more than by the long delay of his birth, that he was the child not of natural descent but of the gracious promise. It was that he and Isaac might both be taught that all their possessions, even a dearest and best-loved child, and life itself are the Lord's, and must be surrendered at his bidding; and what was thus inculcated upon the first father and first son of the chosen race, was through them impressed upon all their posterity. But there was a deeper reason for it than these. The Canaanites, on every hill and under every green tree sacrificed their children in the service of their idols; and now it should be made to appear both to the patriarch and to others, whether he had as earnest an attachment to the true God as they to their miserable idols; whether he would make such sacrifices for the cause of the God he worshipped, as they for their cruel superstitions. There was a truth too, obscured and mingled as it was with horrid error, in the human sacrifices practised by the Canaanites, and indeed to a greater or less extent by almost every ancient heathen nation. This should here be sifted out and handed over to Abraham and his posterity to be a seed, whence might spring anticipations and longings after that, for whose full and complete revelation the world was not yet prepared. Human sacrifice was the convulsive effort of heathenism in its despair of finding an adequate mode of appeasing the anger of God. Men felt, and rightly felt that some expiation was necessary. They felt, and

this too, rightly, that the sacrifice of animals presented no adequate atonement for offences, in which man's life was the forfeit. They felt, and rightly again, that nothing in the wide world was too dear, nothing too precious, to give for regaining the favour of God. And in their desperation they offer up a human life as the costliest thing they knew, not heeding that they are offering to God an unwilling and therefore valueless victim, and a life which, itself sinful, cannot atone for sin, besides bringing on themselves the guilt of murder. This was man's solution, false and inhuman, as it was offensive to the Most High, of that dread question which agitates every conscience, How shall I be just with God? The true solution was not yet given to the world. It should not be, until the time appointed in the divine plan of saving mercy had arrived. Meanwhile it should be intimated that such a solution would be given, though for the present it was withheld. In the direction to offer Isaac it was evidently implied that the dearest and the best must be given unto God—that something more valuable than the life of an animal is needed as an atonement for human guilt; while in the staying Abraham's hand from giving the fatal stroke, it was declared that Isaac was not the sacrifice which was demanded; it was something more precious, something more pure than that beloved child; what it should be was left for God to reveal. And in the pointing out of the ram to be placed upon the altar in the stead of Isaac, it was declared that until the true sacrifice should appear, animal sacrifices, though in themselves inoperative and insufficient to wash away sin, received the divine sanction and would be admitted as prefiguring that which was to come. The disclosing, therefore, as is here done, of the imperfection that inhered in animal sacrifices, and that there was nothing then adequate to take their place was equivalent to a pledge on the part of a gracious God, that there should be a perfect sacrifice provided and offered, and that its sovereign efficacy should even then be reckoned unto those, who in faith and pious fear offered up what was temporarily and until its appearing admitted in its place. And now it is easy to see why Abraham was directed to go to the mountains of Moriah to offer up his son, where subsequently in the temple, were to be offered those animal sacrifices, which here received a divine

legitimation for their temporary purpose, and where, too, that offering the end of all sacrifice was in the fulness of time to be presented unto God on behalf of a guilty world.

We shall not pursue the history further; but we cannot pass by the blessing of Jacob without presenting our author's views upon that most interesting and important passage.

This is the last instance of a patriarchal blessing, because Jacob was the last single head of the chosen race. And this paternal blessing is not, as those of Abraham and Isaac had been, repeated and confirmed to the sons by God himself, probably because none were to be set aside here as Ishmael or Esau, that there was needed a fresh divine investiture for the rightful heir. Since all the sons were together partakers of the promise, the divine ratification of this already made to the parent was valid for all coming generations.

The patriarch's time had come to be gathered to his fathers. He had summoned his sons around his bedside to see their father die; and as he looked upon them, his eye ranges forward in prophetic vision to the time when all would be fulfilled, which God had promised to Abraham, and to Isaac, and repeated likewise to himself. The departing seer beholds in faith and by the spirit of inspiration, all accomplished which he had been taught to expect, and all those hindrances and evils removed, in which the present came sensibly short of its realization. Israel, no longer a single family, or a few families, is swollen to a great nation; the period of their wanderings and their exile has given place to the confirmed possession of the promised land; and the expected salvation has come, and makes its victorious way of blessing over all the earth. Enraptured by the sight, he feels impelled to tell his sons what shall befall them "in the last days."

The period thus fixed in the outset as the one traversed by the prediction, is not the future indefinitely. The same expression occurs in fifteen other passages in the Old Testament, and one corresponding to it occurs several times in the New. Its meaning invariably is the ultimate future, the period of complete accomplishment, in a word, the Messianic period. It must mean the same here. That the prophecy is principally employed upon the occupation of the promised land, is not

ineonsistent with this interpretation. That was to Jaeob's view the time of the end. The promises of God, and the leadings of his providence, Jaeob's expeetations and hopes, were all direeted to this, a numerous posterity possessing the land of Canaan as a medium of blessing to the race. The point of Israel's settlement in Canaan was presented to the eye of the patriareh as lying preeisely on a range with the salvation of the world; and without marking the chronologieal interval whieh separates them, he sees them both together. This representation is imperfect, but it is not false. It does not diselose all that God's omniseienee might have revealed about the times and the periods. But all that it does diselose, finds its complete and aeeurate fulfilment either in one event, or in the other of those contemplated, or perhaps in both. These events do not synehronize in aetual faet, it is true; but there is a bond whieh links them together sufficient to justify the intimate eonnexion in whieh they here appear. The possession of Canaan by a great nation of Israel's descendants, was in order to the salvation of the world. The former was an important step in the unfolding of that graeious plan, by which the latter was to be seeured. Yet when that step eame to be taken, it would be found that the point of ultimate aeeomplishment lay still far in the distanee; other neeessities will have to be met, and other obstaeles to be taken out of the way; mueh will still remain to be done in preparation before the blessing on all nations ean be realized. But this interval is not revealed to Jaeob. The salvation of the world lies to him immediately behind the possession of Canaan, and the two things appear to coalesee. Without being eonseious, apparently, of any abruptness of transition or of intermingling separate events, he passes readily from one to the other, or speaks indifferently of either, or even of both at onee.

The passage of most interest in this prophoey is the blessing pronouneed upon Judah. That we have here a predietion of the peaceful dominion of the Redeemer to be established over all nations, has almost the united weight of all the interpreters of Seripture in its favour. This is the aneient Jewish understanding of the passage, and the one whieh has always prevailed among Christian writers. That it is in faet Messianic,

and was so intended by the patriarch himself, appears not only from the way in which it has been commonly understood, from the scope of the entire prophecy in which it stands, from the introductory words, which distinctly mark it as having in view the last days or the Messianic period; but also from the impossibility of inventing any other meaning, which can, with even tolerable plausibility, be put upon it. The one which has most pretensions in its favour, understands by Shiloh, (v. 10,) the place of that name, where the tabernacle was pitched by Joshua, and where it still abode in the days of Eli, and so translates the verse as to read, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, &c., until he comes to Shiloh." But besides the grammatical difficulties which might be urged, and besides the fact that there is no evidence that such a place as Shiloh existed in the time of Jacob, and that it is highly probable that it derived both its origin and its name from the host of Israel encamping there temporarily after the subjugation of the land was completed, there would be a great incongruity in connecting this prophecy with a place, which even if it existed, was so inconsiderable as never once to be mentioned in the sojourning of either Jacob or his fathers in the land of Canaan, and that too while the rest of the prophecy enters into no such minute detail, but spends itself rather upon the great outlines of future destiny. But without delaying to mention other grounds, by which this interpretation may be shown to be untenable, there is one farther consideration, which is of itself sufficient to establish its unsoundness, and that is, it absolutely divests the prediction of all its meaning. What sense would there be in saying that the sceptre should not depart from Judah until he comes to Shiloh, when in fact he had never then received the sceptre at all? The only thing which can in that case be pointed out as its fulfilment is, that Judah went first in the order of the tribes as they marched through the wilderness. But that was no such pre-eminence as is here asserted. The sceptre and the lawgiver belonged to a different tribe from that of Judah. It was first Moses a Levite, and then Joshua an Ephraimite, who led them. And although there were things which might be gathered under the general head of the fulfilment of this prediction before the days of David, it was not until in him Judah attained the

sovereignty, that the superiority here assigned that tribe received any marked accomplishment. The denial of the genuineness of the prophecy even, furnishes no escape from this difficulty; for no one in the time of David or of the Judges, could have written this supposing it to describe what had in his days already occurred. Nor does Tuch mend the matter, by translating "as long as they shall come to Shiloh" in their annual festivals, *i. e.* in the writer's intention, for ever; for besides violating the grammatical construction, and giving to the words a sense wholly inadmissible, he obtrudes upon the writer the expectation that the sanctuary would be for ever without a fixed place of abode, and makes the future rule of Judah dependent on the continuance of a state of things, with the cessation of which, Asaph on the other hand, links the commencement of the sovereignty of that tribe, Ps. lxxviii. 60, 67—72.

What, then, does Shiloh here mean? Calvin follows some Jewish interpreters, in supposing it to be an obsolete word meaning *his* (Judah's) *son*. But of the existence of such a word, or of its having this sense, there is no evidence. A large number of the ancient and most valuable versions render it "he to whom it belongs," or "for whom it is reserved." This passage would then find a parallel in Ezek. xxi. 27, "until he come, whose right it is." The chief, in fact the decisive objection against this explanation of the word is, that it not only assumes an unusual grammatical form, and an unusual and harsh ellipsis, but it requires an unwarranted alteration of the text. The true meaning of Shiloh, according to its derivation, is *rest* or *peace*. This is, by the majority of commentators, taken as the abstract for the concrete, and understood as a personal designation of the Messiah, equivalent to the *Peacemaker*. To this Kurtz objects that Shiloh must, for grammatical reasons, be the object, and not the subject of the verb; and that the expectation of a personal Messiah was foreign to the patriarchal period. The promises and hopes of that period, and the immediate wants that were felt, all related to the expansion from one to a great people. The introduction of the future good was as yet revealed only in the indefinite form, which made this people in their totality the medium of blessing, the

bearer of salvation to the world. It was only after this expansion had taken place, and the necessity began to be felt of concentration, of deliverances effected for the people by an individual head and ruler, that there was a basis in the history on which to ground the expectation that redemption should be by one raised up from among the people. It was not until a necessity arose, which called forth a Moses, a Joshua, or a David for its temporary supply, that the idea could attain consistency and shape of their antitype in an individual, personal Messiah. The Mosaic period furnishes the first and still somewhat indefinite prediction of an individual Redeemer (Deut. xviii., 18, 19); the history of David first brings his personality clearly and distinctly out. On these grounds, which he certainly puts with much ingenuity, Kurtz defends his rendering: "Until he (Judah) comes to rest, (a state of quiet, peaceful possession,) and the obedience of the peoples is yielded unto him." The "until" marks not the limit or cessation of his dominion, but the entrance of that period when every disturbing power shall cease, and all that could threaten its perpetuity shall be at an end. The sceptre shall not depart from Judah until his victory is universal and complete, and then, of course, it never shall depart. *

* Some interpreters of note and ability have understood this prophecy simply to declare that the temporal government of Judah should be continued until Shiloh's coming, and that then it should be broken up and destroyed; and this coincides so remarkably with the actual event, that it seems at first view to have a strong recommendation in its favour. But this appears to be a very mechanical mode of interpretation. There is an outward, superficial cleaving to the letter; but the spirit is lost sight of. Whoever duly considers either the analogy of Scripture or the scope of the prophecy before us, must be satisfied that there is here promised to Judah a sceptre and a lawgiver in all time to come; not one that should endure until Shiloh's coming and then be irretrievably lost, but one which should then first be fully and firmly established. To raise the hopes of God's chosen people, and encourage them in all times of despondency, they are assured of a sovereignty in Judah which shall not be overwhelmed till the last victory is gained, and the last foe is destroyed, and it is set in triumph over a submissive world; and beyond that the most timid and doubting need no assurance of its continuance. It is the universal testimony of the prophets that the kingdom of Judah and the throne of David were destined to stand, not for a limited period, but for ever. The kingdom of Judah is never, either in the Old Testament or in the New, put in contrast with that of the Messiah, as though the former were to give place to the latter, but they are invariably spoken of as coincident, the latter being the legitimate continuation of the former. Christ is not the founder of a new dynasty, but the culminating point of the old, in whom all that is completely realized which appeared faintly and imperfectly in them that preceded him. This being the unvarying representation

Judah appears in this passage as a resistless warrior, a lion capturing his prey, and whom none might venture to provoke. He wins his victorious way through conflict and strife, to universal empire and undisturbed repose. Then, when every foe is vanquished or destroyed, he sits down to enjoy in peace the fruits of victory. He rides upon the peaceful ass, and feeds on wine and milk. These blessings, which he wins as the prince and champion of his brethren, are for them as for himself; and even over the nations now willingly subject to him must the benefits of his peaceful dominion be expected to flow.

This blessing is Messianic in its character, but not exclusively so; and it is Messianic only because that is true of the Messiah alone in its full sense, which is here attributed to the tribe from which he sprang. It had several imperfect fulfilments before Christ came, as at various periods of the national history the portrait here sketched of Judah corresponded more or less with his actual character and condition. The part Judah took in the conquest of the land, the elevation of David to the throne of Israel, the extent of his dominion, and his victories over surrounding nations, the peaceful reign of Solomon, all fall legitimately within the range of this prediction, and are justly to be regarded as its partial fulfilments. And yet neither these nor any other events in the past fortunes of Judah are adequate to the language here employed. It meets its full accomplishment only in him to whom we have the authority of the New Testament for applying the symbol here given of the tribe, the Lion of the tribe of Judah.

The following passage, relating to the accomplishment of this prediction, we give almost in our author's own words: "In its most immediate application, it has respect to the same time with

of all the writers of Scripture of the perpetuity of the kingdom of Judah, its identity with the kingdom of the Messiah, and its elevation to the highest pitch of glory and prosperity in his person, it would be extremely strange if in the passage before us alone, the very one which we should expect to lie at the foundation of all the others, and give character to them all, a contrary view prevailed, and it was here declared that the sceptre of Judah should be of limited duration, and should be abolished in favour of another which should rise up after it. This view of the perpetuity of Judah's dominion, while it includes within itself the same historical fulfilment which is claimed on behalf of the more restricted understanding of the passage, includes likewise vastly more.

all the rest of the blessing of Jacob, the time of complete possession of the promised land. To Jacob's eye this moment marked the beginning of the last days, the time of the end. The relative rest, with which the pilgrimage of his seed ceased, is undistinguished from the absolute rest, the end and conclusion of that whole movement, which commenced with the call of Abraham. What, in the actual event, proves to be a long line, stretching from its commencement in the relative rest under Joshua, to its termination in the absolute rest under Christ, appears to him coincident with its initial point, behind which it all lies, and which as the commencement of a developement already includes in itself potentially the end, and is its prefiguration. The rest here promised found its first preliminary and imperfect exhibition in the time of Joshua; but that this fulfilment was only preliminary, was speedily shown by the still existing disquiet. Whilst, therefore, in the entrance of this relative rest the prophecy of Jacob enters upon its fulfilment, it continues in consequence of the yet remaining disquiet to be still prophetic, until in the introduction of the absolute rest it finds its highest and ultimate fulfilment.

"It is Judah's princely rank and bearing in his sovereignty over his brethren, and in his victorious conflict with his foes, which has won the rest and peace which he enjoys. Just in that measure, therefore, in which the time of Joshua exhibits the predicted repose, must the time before Joshua verify Judah's princely character. Had the rest under Joshua been the true, absolute rest, the pre-eminence of Judah must have revealed itself before that time in its most perfect form. But if, as we have seen, Jacob's prophecy of a future rest continues still prophetic, even after its first preliminary and imperfect exhibition under Joshua, the prophecy of Judah's distinction can in the time before Joshua have met with only a preliminary and partial fulfilment (his precedence in the order of march through the desert.) It must after this still continue prophetic, and point to a sovereignty of Judah, which should be constantly more and more unfolding itself, until its highest manifestation should rise as far above its earliest, as the absolute rest under Christ surpasses the relative under Joshua.

"This prophecy of the rest into which Judah as the prince,

representative, and champion of his brethren should enter with them, relates to the time of the end. Subjectively to Jacob the time of Joshua was the end; for then all the wants and needs of the patriarchal period which had pressed themselves on Jacob's consciousness, and all the requisites which Jacob knew as conditions of the coming salvation were supplied. But there were still other wants and needs, still other requisites and conditions of the coming salvation of which Jacob yet knew nothing, and which, in the time of Joshua, were not yet supplied. Objectively, therefore, this is not yet the end; and Jacob's prophecy, as the product not of his inward state alone but of the illuminating Spirit of God, points every future observer to a higher form of Judah's sovereignty than the precedence of that tribe in the desert, and to a higher rest than that which the possession of the promised land brought with it."

The genuineness of this prediction of Jacob has been most violently contested, but in a manner which plainly shows that the secret of the opposition made to it lies in the palpable proof of inspiration which it affords. The discord, which prevails in the ranks of its opposers with respect to the real date of its composition, affords no very favourable presumption in the outset as to the certainty of those criteria on which they rely. Heinrichs confidently refers it to the time of David, Tuch to that of Samuel, and Ewald with as much positiveness as either to that of Samson. Fortunately we are able to furnish as thorough and conclusive a demonstration of genuineness in this instance, as we can in the case of any disputed passage of the Bible whatever. Kurtz sums up the argument under four heads, which, for convenience, we arrange in a different order.

1. The blessing is as a whole too indefinite, deals too much in general outlines and too little in individual forms to be a *vaticinium post eventum*. It has no such merely external, accidental congruence with the events of any period, as a feigned prediction, put into the mouth of Jacob by one living in that period, would necessarily have. Many of the blessings were suggested by the names of Jacob's sons, or by some incident in their history, or some peculiarity in their temper, which the patriarch had marked; and they are in

some cases at least (a remark made by Hengstenberg, which may be worthy of attention) rather true of them as branches of the chosen people, than characteristic of them as individual tribes.

2. The contents of the prophecy and its form agree entirely with the views and expectations of Jacob, and have nothing in them that would be at all surprising as coming from him on the supposition that he were really endowed with prophetic foresight. The proof of this has been sufficiently exhibited already.

3. The blessing contains positive data, which compel us to refer its composition to the ante-Mosaic period. The dispersion of Levi here appears as a judgment upon him for his misconduct. But this was accomplished, after the unholy zeal of the parent had been succeeded by the pious zeal of his descendants, Exod. xxxii. 27—29, and the curse had in consequence been converted into a blessing, by his being honoured to be the priestly tribe, and receiving in consequence as his inheritance cities selected from all parts of the land. But nothing is here said of the dignity of Levi as invested with the priesthood, or as being in any wise distinguished above his brethren. There is only the language of rebuke and malediction. It is impossible, as even critics of the most destructive school have been compelled to acknowledge, that language, such as we find here, could have been used after the priestly succession was fixed in the line of Levi. Tuch indeed endeavours to escape this conclusion, by referring its composition to the period when the misconduct of the sons of Eli had brought the priesthood into disrepute, 1 Sam. ii. 17, and when Levites wandered through the land homeless, and ready to enter the service of any who would give them wages. Judg. xvii. 7—12. But we cannot say much in praise of that candour which thus extends without evidence the misconduct of a single vagabond Levite, or of Eli's two profligate sons, to the whole tribe to which they belonged. Nor, however low the sacerdotal tribe may have sunk in character or influence, would any writer of a truly theocratic spirit, as the author of this prophecy manifestly was, have represented that in such unqualified terms as a curse, which was the direct consequence of their investiture with the priesthood. And then the very instances referred to, show the opposite of that for which

they are adduced, and how high an estimate was set upon a connexion with the priestly tribe even in the case of one least worthy of such consideration. Judg. xvii. 13. Now, if this passage could not have been written after the priesthood was established in the tribe of Levi, and if, according to Tuch's own admission, this is as certain as any thing can be in the early history of Israel, that the priesthood was conferred upon Levi by Moses, the ante-Mosaic origin of this prophecy is indisputable. And if that be granted, it has now been carried back so near the time of its reputed origin, that no one would longer hesitate to admit its having been really uttered by Jacob.

4. There is no time after the fulfilment under Joshua, when all these various blessings could have had their origin. If with Tuch, on the ground of what is said of Levi, we refer its composition to the time of Samuel, or with Ewald, give the preference to the blessing of Dan, and fix it in the time of Samson, the blessing of Judah will stand plumply in the way. For how does the superior honour put upon this tribe accord with its miserable faint-heartedness in the time of Samson, Judg. xv. 9, etc., or with the insignificance of that tribe in the time of Samuel, which was such that it is but once or twice mentioned during the whole course of his ministry until the rise of David, and then not in a way calculated to make an impression of its prominence over other tribes? And besides, how do the other parts of the prophecy, which depict in such glowing colours the happy lot of the various tribes, agree with their wretched disorganized condition, their frequent apostacies, and the frequent oppressions to which they were subject in the times of the later judges, a period which our opponents delight in representing as one of even greater disorder than it really was?

Or if, to escape these difficulties, the composition of this prophecy be referred with Heinrichs to a still later date, the reign of David or Solomon, Charybdis will be cleared, but it is only to fall into Scylla. The blessing of Judah is provided for, but what is said of Levi presents a fatal obstacle. For from that time forward the sacerdotal tribe enjoyed the highest consideration; and the last faintest possibility has vanished of bringing the language of this malediction into any thing like harmony with the period assigned for its origin.

Now, if the tone of the whole prophecy, and particularly the blessing pronounced upon Judah, forbid our assigning it to the period of the judges, and on the other hand, the utterance respecting Levi excludes it from the time of David and Solomon, and this is the utmost limit to which it can by any possibility be carried, we are forced back again by this route also to our previous conclusion of its ante-Mosaic origin, or which is equivalent, its genuineness as a production of Jacob—a conclusion, which there is nothing to oppose, except the rationalistic dictum "there can be no real prophecy."

ART. IV.—*Panslavism and Germanism.* By Count Valerian Kransinski. London, 1846.
Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress and Decline of the Reformation in Poland, by do. London, 1840. 2 vols.
Lectures on the Religious History of the Slavonic Nations: by do. London, 1849.

UNTIL the outbreak of the recent revolution in the old world, we presume that comparatively few among us were aware that that the population of Europe included so many distinct and hostile races as were then engaged in fierce conflict for new rights, or old privileges. Yet it would seem that even the lapse of centuries has not effected a fusion of these diverse social elements, such as we see accomplished in our country in the course of a few years. On the contrary, their antagonism appears to be as vigorous as it was a thousand years ago; and those best acquainted with the subject, do not hesitate to affirm that unless the mighty power of the gospel is brought to bear upon the discordant and heaving mass, we may look for a more terrible explosion than any that history has recorded.

Of the Celtic race only a few remnants survive, and these (unless in Ireland) are politically considered of no great importance. But the Teutonic and Slavonic races number, each of them, many millions; are spread over vast regions, and still retain in undiminished strength the antipathies generated by

conquests which were won before Europe had emerged from the night of barbarism. The main design of the first of the works named at the head of this article* is to draw the attention of Britain and Germany to the position of the Slavonic race on the east of Europe, and to the important fact that it is the only barrier against the ambitious schemes of Russia. He labours to show, that to delay any longer the work of amalgamating these hostile races through the agency of the pure gospel, is seriously to endanger the civilization of Europe.

Of the several European races, the Slavonic is much the most numerous, and occupies the largest amount of territory. Russia is pre-eminently a Slavonic power, having under its dominion 53,592,000; Austria has 16,791,000, Prussia 2,108,000, Turkey 6,100,000, Cracow 130,000, Saxony 60,000. In a religious point of view, the race is divided as follows: Greeks 54,011,000, Græco-Romans 2,900,000, Romanists 19,359,000, Protestants 1,531,000. Within the last half century there has beeen a decided quickening of the Slavonic intellect, and many admirable works have been produced in every branch of literature and science. One important result of this intellectual awakening is the growing desire for a political union of the manifold divisions of the race, the establishment of a Slavonic nationality, and a growing willingness to array themselves under any power which holds out the hope that this deep seated longing may be gratified. Whether such a rallying point can be found is somewhat doubtful; but if it ever is, it must be in Russia. And yet it must be owned, that, if it be true that the Slavonians are now beginning to recognize the fact, that however particulars may be modified by climate, religion, or other causes, they are essentially one race, and that their dialects are so nearly related that the sailors of Ragusa can easily converse with the fishermen of Archangel, the realization of this fond dream—as many will regard it—is not impossible. M. Kransinski affirms that the feeling of nationality is stronger and more widely diffused than it has ever been, and is accompanied with the firm belief

* Some years ago, Mr. Kollar, a popular Slowack poet proposed the union of all the branches of the Slavonic family under one empire. *Panslavism* was the name which he gave to this project, and it has since been retained as a convenient generic appellative.

that the Slavonic race is destined to exert an influence on the politics of Europe proportionate to its numerical and territorial grandeur. The subject opens an interesting field for speculation, but our object at present is not so much to discuss the possibilities of the future, as to describe the events of the past, particularly those connected with the religious history of the race.

The first missionaries to the Slavonians were members of the Greek Church; in matters of faith and discipline they were closely allied to that Church, yet from an early period they recognized the authority of the Pope of Rome, and hence after the schism between the East and the West they went with the latter. Still their Popery was of a very moderate kind, amounting to little more than the acknowledgment of the Roman Pontiff as the supreme bishop. Divine service was performed in the vulgar tongue, the priests were allowed to marry, and the cup was given to the laity. Distasteful as these concessions were to Rome—whose motto has ever been, all or nothing—she was forced to yield them, as any direct attempt at their removal would have resulted in schism. With a view to extend the Papal power the Bishop of Prague was raised to the dignity of Archbishop, and about the same time the University of Prague was founded. But various causes combined to frustrate the well-laid schemes of the Pope. Happily for Bohemia, the monarch who then filled her throne—Charles IV. of Germany and I. of Bohemia—was a man of enlightened views, averse from war, anxious to elevate his people, and by no means disposed to become the tool of Papal ambition. During his long and peaceful reign, Bohemia made great progress, in wealth, in literature, and even in religion. Charles found the country exhausted by the constant wars in which his father had been engaged. He applied himself to the removal of abuses, and by a series of wise measures, by sacredly preserving the constitutional liberties of the kingdom, and by inviting the co-operation of all classes of his people, in carrying out his measures, he gained the most brilliant success. Nor was the policy of Charles the only obstacle in the way of Rome. Many Vaudois, driven by her ruthless bigotry from their ancient homes, had sought and found a refuge in Bohemia; so early as A. D. 1176, many of the followers of

Waldo settled in that country, and though obliged to act with extreme caution, they succeeded in gaining a great multitude of Bohemian adherents. Of course, so far as their influence went, it would be decidedly antagonistic to the Papacy.

Indeed the course of events in Bohemia, during the century before the birth of Luther, seemed to be precisely of a character to prepare that country for becoming one of the earliest centres of Protestantism. The liberties long enjoyed and so tenaciously asserted by the Bohemian Church; the limited extent of the Papal authority; the intellectual revival in the days of Charles I.; the wide diffusion of Waldensian doctrines, and more especially the effects produced by the labours and martyrdom of Huss, would almost inevitably have led an observer of the state of Europe at that period to conclude, that, whatever might be the fate of the Reformed Church in other kingdoms, she would not fail to be permanently established in Bohemia. Such undoubtedly would have been the result, if the successors of Charles had been equally worthy of the throne. That excellent monarch was hardly cold in his grave, before a drama was opened, which, whether we consider the marvellous scenes enacted or the extraordinary personages who appeared upon the stage, is not surpassed in interest by any other in the annals of Europe. In the ordering of a kind Providence, the long and peaceful reign of Charles was not only a breathing spell after years of exhausting turmoil, but a period during which the energies of a gallant people were recruited with a view to a most unequal, yet glorious struggle for their civil and religious freedom.

One of the most prominent actors in the scenes adverted to was John Huss. The life of this eminent Ante-Protestant Reformer has been so often told, and the chief incidents of his career are so generally known, that it is quite needless to dwell upon them at length. Born at Hussinetz, (from which place he got his name), of humble parents, he won for himself high distinction by his genius, learning, and piety. The Jesuit Balbinus with rare candour for one of his order, says of him, that "his modesty, his severe morals, his pure conduct, the sweetness of his temper, and his affability to the meanest, persuaded more than the greatest eloquence." He was equally at home in the pulpit and the professional chair. In 1393 he was admitted

Master of Arts at the University of Prague; in 1401 he was made Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy; and about the same time he was chosen Confessor to the Queen. The personal virtues and the winning eloquence of Huss could hardly fail to gain for him a commanding influence, but the immense popularity which he so speedily secured, was probably more owing to his strong national attachments, than to any other single cause. He was, in his sympathies and tastes, a thorough Bohemian. He cultivated the national language and literature with a noble zeal and permanent success, for the laws of Bohemian orthography, as fixed by Huss, have been ever since observed. But the immediate occasion of his popularity was the share he took in a contest which arose between the German and Bohemian members of the University of Prague. This institution, as we have before mentioned, was founded by Charles IV., A.D. 1347, on the model of the Universities of Paris and Bologna. By the statutes of these seminaries, foreigners were allowed one vote, and natives three, in all University matters; but as, at the opening of the University of Prague, a much greater number of doctors and masters came from Germany than from Bohemia, the old law of voting was reversed, three votes being given to foreigners, and only one to natives. As, in process of time, the reason of this arrangement ceased to exist, the Bohemians demanded that the rule should be changed, and that they should be allowed a larger share of power in the academic senate. The Germans, naturally enough, yet most unreasonably, refused the request, and resolved to hold fast to their ancient predominance. In the long contest which ensued, Huss took a prominent part, as the champion of his nation, and finally gained the victory—a result which so disgusted the Germans, that they left Prague in a body, and soon after laid the foundations of the University of Leipsic. From the active share which Huss took in this quarrel, his name became as odious throughout Germany as it was popular in Bohemia, and there is reason to believe that the animosity thus excited against him had something to do with the subsequent violation of the imperial safe-conduct, which has stamped the name of Sigismund, and of the Council of Constance, with indelible infamy.

The marriage of Richard II. of England to a Bohemian

princess brought the two countries, remote as they are from each other, into relations which readily account for the early introduction of the writings and opinions of Wickliffe into Bohemia. Huss was one of the first among his countrymen to adopt the views of the English Reformer, and he immediately began to publish his new convictions with boldness and success, both in his sermons and his academic lectures. Up to the time when the works of Wickliffe came into his hands, he had been a sincere and earnest-minded Catholic, but after his eyes were opened to the manifold corruptions of the dominant Church, he was as cordially detested by Rome for his heresy, as by Germany for his patriotism. Protected, however, by the monarch of Bohemia, and idolized by all classes of his countrymen, he could safely bid defiance to the thunders of the Vatican, as his enemies well knew, while in his native land, and hence the eagerness with which the latter sought to entice him away from his secure position. At last, in an evil hour, trusting to the pledged word and written promise of the emperor of Germany, that he should be protected in life and liberty, he consents to meet his Romish foes beyond the limits of Bohemia, and in the presence of the collected dignitaries of the so-called Catholic Church, expound and vindicate the faith he preached. The story of his appearance before the Council of Constance, of the shameless violation of public faith, of his base betrayal into the hands of the bigots thirsting for his blood, of his heroic constancy in the true faith, and of his glorious death, has been often told, and is doubtless familiar to most of our readers. Suffice it to say, that the news of his cruel fate, coupled as it was with an unheard of breach of public faith, roused Bohemia almost to phrenzy. She resented the murder of her cherished son as a foul insult offered to herself. The University of Prague, for which Huss had fought so manfully, and incurred so much odium, published an appeal to Europe in vindication of his principles, his character, and his life; a medal was struck in honour of him; and the day on which he died was ordered to be observed as a solemn annual festival to commemorate his martyrdom. The perfidy of the emperor received a few years afterwards a meet retribution in the loss of the Bohemian crown; while the bigotry of Rome, like "vaulting ambition,"

overleaped itself, for the death of Huss, instead of checking, gave a fresh impulse to the spread of those doctrines in the defence of which he had sacrificed his life. Vast numbers speedily gathered around the standard of reform, which was still borne aloft, though he who first unfurled it had been smitten down. The progress of the new movement was greatly favoured by the character of Winceslav, the reigning monarch, who was of an indolent turn, fond of pleasure, and averse from any policy which demanded energy in the government, or that exposed his kingdom to the danger of commotion, and though he had no sympathy with the doctrines of Huss, he had as little love for Romish priests.

Unhappily for the cause of truth, the followers of Huss, soon after his death, were divided into two parties, known as the Calixtins and the Taborites. The latter were prepared to carry out his principles to their legitimate results, and with this view wished to form a distinct communion; while the former were unwilling to abandon the old Church, and contented themselves with aiming at the removal of the more clamant abuses in doctrine and discipline. For a considerable time this disagreement was unattended by bitterness of feeling, but it necessarily weakened the power and influence of the large body which had risen in rebellion against the despotism of Rome, and which, if it had been of one mind as to the proper limits of reform, would probably have succeeded in planting the civil and religious liberty of Bohemia upon a firm and lasting foundation. By the death of Winceslav, the movement, which hitherto had been purely a religious one, assumed a political character. His brother, the Emperor Sigismund, claimed the vacant throne, and he would doubtless have been chosen to fill it, but for his base betrayal of Huss, and his well-known devotion to Rome. For both these reasons, especially the first of them, he was detested by the great mass of the nation, but odious as he had made himself, his claims were not peremptorily set aside. He was offered the crown upon condition of his giving a formal promise to maintain the liberties of the kingdom, and to carry out certain ecclesiastical reforms; but, as he refused these conditions, the Bohemians solemnly declared that he was unworthy of the throne. It was evident that an appeal must be made to arms.

Nor was the question simply one of succession; the Pope was as deeply concerned in its settlement as the Emperor. Accordingly Rome and Germany, with hearty good will, combined their forces for the double purpose of putting down Bohemian rebellion, and the extinction of Bohemian heresy. The contest which ensued was not merely a struggle between a tyrannical king and a people resolved to defend their rights; it also became from its very outset a war of religion, and a war of races. The odds were so fearfully against the Bohemians, that successful resistance seemed to be perfectly hopeless. Sigismund entered Bohemia at the head of an army containing five Electors, two Dukes, two Landgraves, more than fifty Princes of Germany, and over one hundred thousand soldiers. But the battle is not always to the strong, nor the race to the swift; this mighty host was defeated and utterly broken by the Bohemians, under the command of one of those extraordinary men who appear at rare intervals upon the stage of human affairs.

John Ziska, the Hussite leader to whom we refer, may be said to have been the Cromwell of Bohemia. Unlike the great English captain, he had indeed spent his earlier years in the profession of arms, and had seen a good deal of service, but like him he trained a multitude of rude peasants into an army of warriors "whose backs no enemy ever saw," and who never fought a battle without gaining a most decisive triumph. In his boyhood he lost an eye, and this circumstance gave rise to the nickname—Zisca (one eyed)—under which he became known to Europe.* During the siege of Raby by the Imperial forces he lost his other eye, yet it was after he had thus became totally blind that he evinced his most consummate generalship, and gained his most splendid victories. Zisca, who was at the time attached as chamberlain to the court of Winceslav, was profoundly affected by the martyrdom of Huss, though it must be owned that he regarded the event with the eye of a patriot rather than a Christian. It was the insult to his country that moved his soul. The king one day perceived his chamberlain, who had been before one of the gayest of courtiers, walking the corridors of the

* His family name was John Troeznowski. He was of noble descent, and was born at Troez, now his paternal estate, during the latter half of the 13th century.

palace with folded arms, and wrapt in deep meditation, and said to him—"Yanku (*i. e.* Johnny), what is the matter with you?"—"I cannot brook the insult offered to Bohemia at Constance by the murder of John Huss," was Zisca's reply. The king rejoined—"Neither you nor I are able to avenge this insult, *but should you have the means to do it, you have my permission.*" The eagerness with which Zisca caught at this idea, which his royal master threw out more in jest than earnest, clearly proves his thorough persuasion that stirring times were at hand. He at once secured under the hand and seal of the king the authority which he had verbally granted, and though he had then neither wealth nor influence, yet with the resolute energy of a great mind, he set about the execution of the plans he had meditated for the defence of his country against both Imperial and Papal tyranny. During the four years that elapsed between the martyrdom of Huss and the terrible war, of which that event was the principal cause, Zisca succeeded in enlisting a number of the wealthier nobles in his scheme, and when at last the crisis arrived, he saw gathering around his standard thousands of the peasants whom he had summoned to the defence of Bohemia, by one of those short and pungent epistles, which strike the most sensitive chord of a nation's heart, and cause it to vibrate with the most powerful effect.—"Dearest Brethren," said he, "imitate the example of your ancestors, who were always able to defend the cause of God and their own. For ourselves, my brethren, having always before our eyes the law of God and the good of the country, we must be very vigilant; and it is requisite that whoever is able to wield a knife, to throw a stone, or to lift a cudgel should be ready to march. Therefore I inform you that we are collecting troops from all parts in order to fight against the enemies of truth and the destroyers of our nation; and I beseech you to inform your preacher, that he should exhort the people in his sermons, to make war on the Antichrist, and that every one, old and young, should prepare himself for it.—Remember your first encounter, when you were few against many,—unarmed against armed men. God's hand is not shortened. Have courage and be ready. May God strengthen you! Zisca of the Chalice in the hope of God, chief of the Taborites." The limits of this article will not permit us to dwell upon the subse-

quent history of this remarkable man, or to give any details of the battles he won and the astonishing feats of courage and military skill which he displayed on the most difficult occasions. His career was most brilliant, though comparatively brief, as he was cut off by the plague on the 11 Oct. 1424, while besieging Przybislav. Even Cochlæus, who cordially hated him, confesses that he was the greatest general who ever lived, as he never lost a battle, and converted a motley throng of peasants and artizans into an army of accomplished and invincible warriors. After the loss of his sight, he was always conducted in a car close to the standard of the army, and after getting from his officers all the information they could give him relative to the features of the locality, the force and position of the enemy, he issued his orders. The most wonderful feature of his military exploits is, that after he became totally blind, he performed his most skilful strategic movements, in circumstances of extreme difficulty, with a rapidity and success which have hardly a parallel in the annals of modern warfare. Though Zisca early put himself at the head of the Taborites, the extreme section of the Hussites, he was probably led to do this, not so much by religious sympathy as by political considerations, and during his whole public career, he appears to have acted as a patriot defending the liberties of his country, rather than as a Christian Reformer seeking the purity of the Church. His views of gospel truth were on many points necessarily imperfect, for he had never been a scholar, and amid the turmoil of the camp research and meditation were impossible. But with all the defects of his faith, and the faults in his conduct, there is reason to believe that he was not a stranger to renewing grace; at all events his countrymen had abundant cause to cherish his memory, as they did with an almost idolatrous fondness, and to shed the bitter tears with which thousands watered his grave.

The Taborites now chose for their leader Procop the Tonsured, although a considerable portion of the Hussite army formed a distinct body under the name of Orphans. These last refused to recognize the authority of any single leader, declaring that no man in the wide world was worthy to succeed the peerless Zisca.

History has not given the same celebrity to the name of Pro-

cop as to that of the blind hero, whose place he took, and who, with prophetic discernment, had fixed upon him as his successor, yet the candid student of Procop's life will, we think, be forced to assent to the high estimate of his worth by his contemporaries, and to confess that he deserves to be ranked among the greatest men of his day. Little, if at all inferior to Zisca in military genius, he was endowed with qualities to which Zisca made no pretensions. He was an accomplished scholar and large-minded patriot, as well as a victorious general, and even when complete master of Bohemia, and the idolized leader of her triumphant armies, his constant aim and effort was not to aggrandize himself, but to restore to his country an honourable peace. Procop was the son of a noble without fortune. By the aid of a maternal uncle, who adopted him, he received a learned education, and was enabled to travel extensively through Italy, France, Spain, and Palestine. After his return home, he was induced, much against his will, to enter the priesthood, and hence received the nickname of the *Tonsured.* On the outbreak of the Hussite war, he abandoned the Church for the army, and attached himself to Zisca, who speedily discovered his great abilities, and as before stated, pointed him out as his successor. By his admiring countrymen he was called *Procop the Great*, and he certainly was more deserving of the title than some of those whose names it adorns.

The terror produced by Zisca's arms gave the Hussites a short interval of repose even after his death, during which they made occasional incursions into the adjacent provinces of Germany. At length the emperor prepared to invade Bohemia at the head of 200,000 of the choicest troops of Germany. The Hussites were far inferior in point of numbers, but they were animated with the confidence of success, generated by an unbroken series of triumphs. The two armies met on the plain of Toplitz, on the confines of the Germanic and Teutonic worlds. The Germans charged with the utmost impetuosity, and in the outset succeeded in breaking the first line of defence, but the violence of the effort, combined with the fatigues of a long march, had so exhausted them that they were unable to follow up the advantage. At this critical moment Procop gave the signal of attack, and pouring in his fresh and furious Hussites,

swept the field like a resistless flood. The rout of the Germans was complete, and the slaughter immense. Great, however, as were the material fruits of this victory, its moral advantages were still greater, as it confirmed the Bohemians in the belief that they were invincible.

Rome, now fully alive to the danger which threatened her spiritual sway in common with the imperial dominion, roused herself to meet the crisis, and by a bull, dated 16th February, 1427, published a crusade for the extermination of the rebellious heretics, whom she declared to be worse than Turks and Saracens. Europe had not for centuries heard such an appeal; yet the summons of the Pope were not unheeded. From the Elbe to the Rhine, the holy recruits were gathered; the rich burghers of the Hanse towns, and the hardy children of the Alps rallied around the joint standard of Pope and Emperor. The command of the crusade was given to Cardinal Beaufort, an Englishman and a Plantagenet, who found himself at the head of 90,000 horse and nearly 100,000 foot soldiers. In the presence of this formidable foe, the Bohemians forgot all their religious differences; men of all forms of faith, Taborites, Orphans, Calixtins, and even Catholics, and of all ranks, from the magnate to the mechanic, flew to the rescue of their common fatherland. Beaufort's army entered Bohemia in three divisions, and laid siege to the town of Meiss. The Bohemians instantly marched to meet the invaders, and the moment they appeared the crusaders fled, before a single blow had been struck—a fact which, strange as it seems, rests upon the testimony of Eneas Silvius, a contemporary historian. Besides a great multitude of prisoners, the amount of booty which fell into the hands of the victors was enormous; and it is even said that the riches gained on that memorable day laid the foundation of the present wealth of some of the most eminent families of Bohemia. The Pope wrote a letter of condolence to Beaufort, and urged him to renew the crusade, but the cardinal was quite satisfied with his short military experience, and wisely resolved to leave to others the task of eradicating heresy by force of arms. One happy effect of this union in defence of their country, was the removal of the asperity of the religious differences among the Bohemians. A truce of six months was

agreed upon between the Hussites and the Catholics, and at the end of it a Synod was called for the purpose of trying to heal their divisions.

Sigismund now made another trial of diplomacy, but as the Bohemians steadily insisted on their old demands, with which he was not yet ready to comply, nothing remained but to appeal again to arms. A new crusade was proclaimed, and notwithstanding the ill success of former efforts the bigotry of Rome, the thirst for revenge of Germany, and above all, the desire to regain the golden harvests which Bohemian valour had so largely reaped, combined to muster another mighty host of 40,000 cavalry and 90,000 foot. The crusading army, under the command of Cardinal Cesarini, aided by the Electors of Saxony, Brandenburgh, and Bavaria, entered Bohemia through the great forest which skirts its western boundary. Deceived by the skilful manœuvres of Procop, and by the news of dissension among the Hussites, they advanced with great confidence, and attacked the town of Taush. Procop, at the head of his Taborites, however, soon put the besiegers to flight; they rallied again at Reisenbergh, and took up a very strong position, but soon finding that the quarrels of their enemies were a mere feint, and that the main force of the latter was rapidly approaching, the crusaders of Cesarini followed the example set them by those of his brother Beaufort. The Duke of Bavaria was one of the first to flee, and in his haste to reach a place of safety he abandoned his equipage, in the hope that the plunder of it would attract and delay his pursuers. The Elector of Brandenburgh followed with equal speed. In fact, the only man who retained his courage amid the general panic was Cesarini, the priest; he strove hard to stem the torrent of fugitives, entreating them to call to mind the heroism of their pagan ancestors, and not to entail disgrace upon themselves and their country. Roused by the eloquence of the Cardinal, enforced as it was by his own brave example, they resolved to make a stand; their old position was resumed, but their courage was only momentary; at the first glimpse of the terrible Bohemian, the whole army threw down their arms and fled, bearing the heroic old Cardinal himself, sorely against his will, on the bosom of the terror-stricken crowd. Multitudes were overtaken and

slain. Two hundred wagons, several of them laden with gold and silver, and many more, as an old chronicler is careful to note, "with excellent wine," fell into the hands of the Bohemians. Cesarini lost his hat, cross, bell, and the Papal bull proclaiming the crusade.

The history of Bohemia during this eventful period, while fraught with scenes of romantic interest, suggests lessons that the patriot, as well as the Christian, may ponder with profit. We see in her a nation struggling against fearful odds for her liberties and her religion. Germany musters her hosts, Rome publishes a crusade, and summons her devotees from every land that bows to her sceptre, to join in the effort to subdue heresy and rebellion; yet, against the united power of Pope and Emperor, Bohemia stands up single-handed, and wins a succession of the most brilliant victories. How is this to be explained? The cause of it certainly is not sought in any peculiarity of race. The German is not inferior to the Slavon in any one of the elements of the soldier. The explanation is to be found mainly in the fact that the Bohemians were fighting *pro aris et focis;* they felt, with all the force of a religious conviction, that they were contending for the most precious blessings a nation can enjoy, against the most hateful tyranny that ever cursed the earth. Then again, they were acting only on the defensive; the battle was upon their own soil; and it pleased a kind Providence to raise up for them leaders endowed with military genius of the highest order, under whose guidance every soldier believed that he was marching to certain triumph. Happily for Bohemia, the seeds of her weakness and final misfortune—her sectarian differences—had not had time to germinate. Catholic and Calixtin had not yet learned to hate each other with a bitterness, all the more intense from the closeness of the tie that bound them together; and hence in the presence of the invading German, they forgot their dogmas and disputes, remembering only that they were Bohemians. And the glorious success which crowned their arms, even if it stood alone in the annals of the past, would go a good way towards proving that a brave and united people may safely bid defiance to any combination of foreign powers formed to subjugate or to crush them.

It was now manifest that neither the Emperor nor the Pope

could effect their designs in Bohemia by force of arms; indeed it is very doubtful whether another army of invasion could have been collected on any terms, for it was a common saying in Germany, that "every Hussite had a hundred devils in him." Diplomacy was now the last resort. Nor were the Bohemian leaders with all the laurels and wealth they had won, averse from peace; they longed for it, and in no aspect of his character does Procop appear more illustrious than in his eagerness to terminate the quarrel honourably. He held out in one hand the olive branch, even when wielding with the other the victor's sword. Sustained by his invincible Taborites, if he had pleased, perhaps he might have placed the crown on his own head; but his lofty patriotism was equal to his heroic valour, and he nobly resisted temptations by which so many conquerors have been conquered.

Soon after the opening of the Council of Basle, the Emperor addressed a letter to the Hussites, couched in affectionate terms, begging them to hold a conference on the points in dispute, at Basle, and promising their delegates full liberty of worship while in that city. They were not to be caught, however, by the honied words of a man whom they had ample reason to distrust, and it required considerable negotiation before their consent was obtained. At length they sent some three hundred delegates, among whom were priests belonging to their various sects, and a large body of laymen headed by Procop, and attended by the Polish ambassador. Eneas Silvius, who was present, has left us quite a lively account of their arrival at Basle. The whole population of the town were out to meet them, and as they gazed upon their strange dresses and terrible countenances, the simple Balois concluded that the wide-spread story must be true—that "every Hussite had a hundred devils in him."—All eyes were fixed upon Procop "the invincible, the valiant, the fearless, the indefatigable general," who had put to flight so many armies, and filled Europe with the fame of his exploits.

The delegates were instructed to demand the ratification of the *Four Articles*, which from first to last the Hussites had proposed as the basis of peace. These articles were as follows:

1. The word of God is to be freely announced by Christian priests throughout the kingdom of Bohemia and Moravia.

2. The venerable sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus

Christ is to be given in two kinds to adults as well as children, as instituted by Jesus Christ.

3. The priests and monks, many of whom meddle with the affairs of the State, are to be deprived of the worldly goods which they have in great abundance, and which cause them to neglect their sacred office; and their goods shall be restored to us, in order that, in accordance with the doctrine of the Gospels and the practice of the Apostles, the clergy should be subject to us, and living in poverty serve as a pattern of humility to others.

4. All public sins which are called mortal, and other trespasses of the law of God, are be punished according to the laws of the land, by those who have charge of them, without any regard to the persons committing them, in order to wipe from the kingdom of Bohemia the bad reputation of tolerating disorders.

The Basle fathers tried hard to inveigle the Hussite delegates into a doctrinal discussion, but nothing could induce the latter to abandon, or essentially modify their original position. In the course of the deliberations, Cesarini, one of the ablest of the Romish doctors, found that his old antagonist Procop, was as much his superior in the field of debate, as he had before been on the field of battle. One one occasion the cardinal reproached the Bohemians for holding the mendicant orders to be an invention of the devil. "True," said Procop, "for since they were not instituted by the patriarchs, nor by Moses, nor the prophets, nor Christ, nor his apostles, what else can they be but an invention of the devil and a work of darkness"—a reply that created a general burst of laughter in the council. After a residence at Basle of three months, the delegates succeeded in getting a solemn confirmation of the Four Articles, slightly modified, which were immediately published under the name of *Compactata*. Sigismund was accordingly recognized as king of Bohemia by the Catholics and Calixtins, to which latter party most of the magnates belonged; but the Taborites and Orphans, suspicious of the sincerity of both Emperor and Pope—and as subsequent events showed, with good reason—refused to receive him as their sovereign; and with Procop at their head, they resolved to prolong the contest. There can be

no doubt that Procop was prompted to take this step by the hope of placing the liberties of his country on a more secure basis, still, it must be admitted, that the step itself was unwise and unfortunate. The strife was no longer with foreign foes, but between different classes of Bohemians. On the 29th May, 1434, the Imperial and the Taborite armies met upon the plains of Lipan, about four miles from Prague; the Hussites fought with their accustomed valour, and would probably have added another to their long list of triumphs, but for the treason of Czapak, the leader of the Orebites, who with his cavalry fled from the field. Upon seeing this, Procop with his best troops rushed into the thickest of the fight, and fell overpowered by numbers, as Eneas Silvius finely observes, "*non tam victus, quam vincendo fessus.*"*

We cannot leave this singular episode in modern history, without noticing a circumstance which is even more marvellous than the military successes of Bohemia, and that is the progress made by her literature amid influences so unpropitious. While the war was going on, the lectures in the University of Prague were uninterrupted, and the education of the masses was vigorously prosecuted. Tracts on religious subjects, full of talent as well as zeal, were written by common artizans. Eneas Silvius relates that the Taborite women were familiar with the whole Bible, and of the Hussites generally, though he bitterly hated them as heretics, he says—"*Nam perfidum genus illud hominum hoc solum boni habet, quod literas amat.*"

From the close of the war until the Reformation, the history of Bohemia offers little that is worthy of particular notice. The division between the Calixtins and the Taborites gradually became wider and wider, their religious differences being greatly embittered by the unhappy civil war to which we have adverted. The latter were subjected to several severe persecutions, but the sect still lived. Under the name of the Bohemian Brethren, which they adopted in 1450, they formed a distinct religious community. In 1500 they had over two hundred places of worship. Though they retained the name and office of bishop, their mode of government was essentially Presbyterian,

* Historia Bohemiæ, chap. 51.

and as witnesses for the precious truth of the Gospel in an age when Europe was sunk in Papal darkness, their early history is full of interest.* On the accession of the house of Austria to the Bohemian throne they were bitterly persecuted, and great numbers were forced into exile; but notwithstanding their unfavourable position their zeal was unabated, and early in the 16th century they published a version of the Holy Scriptures in their own language. Ultimately the Bohemian Church became merged in that of the Moravian Brethren, chiefly through the agency of Count Zinzendorf, who in the 18th century gathered the few scattered remnants of the Church that survived in the country of its birth. So that the Moravians of the present day may be regarded as the lineal descendants (ecclesiastically) of the body founded by John Huss.

We have not room to enter into the details of the subsequent history of the Calixtins; we can only say that though the Pope, with characteristic duplicity, refused to sanction the Compactata, they were still maintained for more than a century after their enactment. The Protestant Reformation had a happy influence on the Calixtin or the Utraquist Church, as it was sometimes called, purifying its faith, and enlarging its limits. It continued to exist, in spite of a vigorous onset by the order of Jesuits, then in the first flush of its youth, until 1620. So deep and universal was the indignation which the Jesuits excited against themselves in Bohemia, that they were banished the country, and it was made treason on the part of any one ever to propose their return. King Ferdinand their devoted patron was dethroned, and Frederic, Palatine of the Rhine, was chosen to fill the vacant throne. No doubt one reason of the choice was the expectation which the Bohemians had, of being sustained by his father-in-law, James I. of England, as well as by the Protestant princes of Germany. But in this they were miserably disappointed. Though the battle really was one between Rome and the Reformation, between the great cause of Protestant freedom and Popish bondage, England and Germany abandoned Bohemia, allied as she was to them by the ties of a

* See Histoire Ancienne et Moderne de l'Église des Frères de Boheme et de Moravie, par A. Bost. 2 vols. Paris, 1844.

common faith, to certain ruin. She fell; and in a few years scarcely a trace of the Reformation could be found in the land which was the first to cast off the yoke of Rome. A severe and immediate punishment was inflicted by Ferdinand himself upon the Protestant sovereigns of Germany, for their base conduct towards the Bohemians. As soon as he had crushed the Bohemians, he began to trample on the religious and civil liberties of those who had deserted them in the hour of need. The consequence of this was the memorable Thirty Years' War, which desolated Germany. Perhaps the fate of Bohemia might have been different, if the days of that truly Christian hero, Gustavus Adolphus, who saved Germany from destruction, had been prolonged; but his work was done when he had succeeded in rolling back the flood which threatened to submerge Protestant Europe. Meanwhile Bohemia so long free was again bound in the chains of Romish tyranny; nor is it difficult to discover the causes of the seeming ease and rapidity with which the mournful process was accomplished. History shows that the success of a cause tells with more effect upon the masses than its intrinsic merits. To side with the victorious is easy and profitable. No wonder, therefore, that when the most intelligent and influential Bohemian Protestants had been driven into exile, or had perished on the scaffold, the remainder were driven like so many sheep into the pale of the Roman Church, or were tempted to conceal their real creed under an outward conformity to its rites.

But we cannot bring this article to a close without at least a brief notice of the religious history of another great branch of the Slavonic race—the Polish. As might be expected the ecclesiastical history of Poland has many points of affinity with that of Bohemia; the same agencies were at work in both countries, and in each they produced essentially the same results. The ground for reformation had been largely prepared in Poland before the movement began in the west of Europe, and there is reason to think that it would have originated in Poland, even if it had received no impulse from abroad. The doctrines of Luther spread with great rapidity in Polish Prussia, which was inhabited by a population chiefly of German origin; and so early as 1524, the Reformed cause had made such progress in Dantzic, the

principal city of the province, that five churches were given up to its adherents. A powerful and in the main a wholesome influence was exerted by the Universities of Cracow and Konigsberg, founded near the close of the 15th century. Then again Poland enjoyed a degree of religious freedom, which at that time was unknown in any other part of Europe. Crowds of persecuted foreigners here found a refuge and a home. At Cracow, Vilna, Posen, and other cities, there were French and Italian congregations; while not only in these towns, but in many other parts of Poland there were great numbers of Protestant Scotsmen settled.* In fact—without dwelling longer upon the causes of the result—so widely were the doctrines of the Reformation diffused, and at one time so vast were the numbers of Protestants, not only among the common people, but also among all ranks of the nobility, that the restoration of the Papal rule seemed quite as hopeless as it is at this moment in England.

The Protestant cause reached the zenith of its prosperity at the conclusion of the Concensus of Sandomir in 1570. It then embraced most of the leading families of Poland; its churches were numbered by thousands; schools were everywhere established, and many printing offices were in active operation sending forth literary and scientific as well as religious works. And it deserves to be noticed that this flourishing era of Polish Protestantism was the Augustan age of Polish literature. The majority of the lay members of the Polish Senate were either avowed Protestants or members of the Greek Church; and the king himself gave unmistakeable proof that his sympathies were on the side of the reformed. In fine, the Roman Church in Poland seemed to be on the brink of remediless ruin, yet she was saved, and enabled to regain her ancient dominion partly through the efforts of one of those powerful characters, who occasionally appear in history, accelerating or arresting for centuries the march of events, and partly through the matchless folly of her enemies. The character to whom we refer was Hosius, not inaptly styled the Great Cardinal.

* Many of the Scottish families were settled in Poland before the Reformation, but became its zealous friends. There are even now, says our author, many families in Poland of Scottish descent belonging to the class of the nobles. Among them are the Haliburtons, Bonars, Wilsons, Forsyths, Inglis and others.

Stanislaus Hosius (or Hosen) was born at Cracow in 1504, and as his name indicates was of German descent. After receiving as complete an education as his own country could furnish, he repaired to the University of Padua, and from thence to Bologna. On his return to Poland he entered the Church, and through the favour of the Queen to whose patronage he had been recommended, he rapidly rose to the highest dignities in his native land and in the Roman Church. He was made Cardinal by Pius IV. in 1561, and appointed President of the Council of Trent, in which office his conduct was such as to give the Pope entire satisfaction. He spent his last years at Rome, where he died in 1579. Bayle, in his elaborate eulogy of Hosius, pronounces him to be the greatest man that Poland had ever produced; this is doubtless an exaggerated estimate of the man, yet all authorities concur in the admission that his talents were of the highest order, that his piety was sincere, and that he was adorned with many noble virtues. No Roman prelate of his times resisted the progress of the Reformation with more zeal than Hosius, and his activity and ability were equal to his zeal. Like Napoleon he dictated to several amanuenses at the same time; during his meals he often transacted important business, answered letters which came to him from all quarters, or listened to the reading of some new work. With the political and religious history of Europe he was thoroughly acquainted, and kept himself well informed about the doings of each of the leading Reformers of his day, with a view to counteract his efforts. In order to oppose the progress of reform, he continually addressed the king, the higher nobility, and the clergy, and was incessantly active at diets, synods, chapters, and provincial assemblies. Yet amid these manifold public labours he found time to compose works, which have earned for him the reputation of being one of the greatest writers of his Church, and which have been translated into the principal languages of Europe. He wrote with equal facility in Latin, Polish, and German, with wonderful versatility adapting his style to the character and taste of his readers. Thus his Latin works show the erudite and subtle theologian, while in his German he successfully imitates the sturdiness of Luther's style, condescending to his broad humour, and coarse but striking expressions, and in

his Polish he assumes the light and playful manner suited to the taste of his countrymen.* He made a particular study of the polemical works which one class of Protestants wrote against another, and skilfully availed himself of the arguments, by which some of them were infatuated enough to urge the application of penal laws to those who erred in religious matters.

Such was the great antagonist of the Reformation in Poland, who, the more effectually to secure the subjugation of his country to the dominion of Rome, called to his assistance the newly-established order of Jesuits. These were enemies that might well excite alarm under any circumstances, and yet formidable as they were, their efforts would have been utterly fruitless, but for the amazing infatuation of the Protestants themselves. Sectarian bigotry and divisions were the real causes of the downfall of Poland. The Protestants were split into three principal parties, viz: the Bohemian, the Genevese or Reformed, and Lutheran. Between the Bohemian and the Genevese Churches the only point of difference was the episcopal form of government of the former, but this created no bar to their cordial communion and co-operation. These united Churches endeavoured to extend their alliance to the Lutherans, by far the most difficult part of the scheme, in consequence of the tenacity with which the latter held on to their peculiar dogma concerning the Eucharist, and their bigoted denunciation of all who did not agree with them. After a great deal of labour on the part of all parties, a kind of federal union was finally concluded on the 14th of April, 1570. Had it remained unimpaired the permanent triumph of the Protestants would have been the certain and speedy result; but the Lutherans were never hearty in it, and partly from this cause, and partly through the wiles of the Jesuits they were induced to abandon it. But it is only fair to add that Lutheran bigotry was not alone in damaging the cause of the Reformation; it received quite as much injury from the spurious liberality and daring speculation of a certain portion

* The principal works of Hosius are *Confessio Catholicæ Fidei Christianæ*, of which, his biographer Rescius says, thirty-two editions were published during the author's life; *De Expresso Verbo Dei; Propugnatio Christ. et Cathol. Doctrinæ; De Communione sub utraque Specie.* The best edition of his works is that of Cologne 1584.

of the Genevese Church. We of course refer to the soul-destroying heresy of Socinianism by which some of the Polish Churches began to be infected. No wonder that many devout and reflecting minds among the Catholics became alarmed when they saw such results flowing from the Reformed movement—bitter dissension among its professed friends, and heresies which destroyed the foundation of the Christian system; no wonder that multitudes, who at one time had been almost ready to abandon Rome, hesitated in the view of such effects of the new doctrines, and in the end became more devoted in their allegiance to her than ever before. Such a field was precisely the one for the Jesuits to work in; they did enter it, and gained what proved to be for Poland, most disastrous success. They could not eradicate the Reformed Church, but they brought her down from the lofty and dominant position which she once held, to the low estate in which she remained until quite recently, of a barely tolerated sect.

ART. V.—*The Typology of Scripture;* or, the Doctrine of Types investigated in its principles, and applied to the explanation of the earlier revelations of God, considered as preparatory exhibitions of the leading truths of the Gospel. By Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton. Vol. I.—Investigation of Principles and Patriarchal Period. Vol. II.—Mosaic Dispensation. Edinburgh, 1847. 12mo. pp. 1115.

Jonah: his Life, Character, and Mission, viewed in connexion with the Prophet's own times, and future manifestations of God's mind and will in prophecy. By the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton, Author of "Typology of Scripture." Edinburgh, 1849. 18mo. pp. 245.

Ezekiel, and the Book of his Prophecy. An Exposition. By the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton, Author of "Typology of Scripture," "Jonah," &c. Edinburgh, 1851. 8vo. pp. 460.

There is nothing in experimental science more curious and interesting, at least to the uninitiated multitude, than the changes wrought by chemical combination, in which the mixture of two substances produces a third wholly different in apparent qualities from both. There is something analogous

to this in intellectual and moral processes, especially in the modifications of opinion which arise from the concurrence of entirely different mental habits or modes of culture. The most remarkable example, in our own day, is afforded by the various combinations of the German element with the science and literature of other nations. The intellectual influence of that extraordinary people has been felt in some degree by every other in the civilized world, and by no two with precisely the same result. If we could trace this German influence in its effects upon the mind of France or Holland, we should no doubt find it terminating in results as different from one another as from those which we actually see in the Anglo-Saxon race. Even here, however, there are palpable distinctions and varieties, which it would be interesting to investigate, but which we can only indicate in passing.

The force of German mind was felt in the biblical science of America still earlier perhaps than in that of England. The impression here made was a deep and lasting one. The particular mode of thought, which happened then to be predominant among the German theologians, may still be traced among ourselves. It has even lasted longer here than in its native soil, as nations may be sometimes said to outlive themselves by surviving in their colonies. There is a reverence in New England for the dicta of De Wette and Gesenius, which is no longer felt among their countrymen. There is sometimes a religious awe in differing from them, even on the part of Christian men, that would seem absurd to the corresponding class of Germans. Essentially the same, and yet perceptibly unlike, is the effect of the like causes on the English Independents. In the Anglican writers, on the other hand, who have made themselves acquainted with the theological and biblical literature of the Germans, there is a strong predominance of English character and ways of thinking, which materially qualifies the German tincture, even when particularly strong. Of this, the most remarkable example is afforded by the works of Trench, in which, however, the new element is further modified by the unusually strong infusion of patristic learning.

But of all such combinations, the most interesting to our-

selves is in that of German culture, with its characteristic freedom and audacity, with the severer forms of Scottish Presbyterianism. The extent to which the process has been carried may be gathered from the fact, that the translation of Biblical works from the German is said to have been more extensive in Scotland than in either England or America. How this influence *ab extra* has affected the most rigid and the laxest class of Scottish theologians we have no means of determining, nor any such desire to know as we unquestionably feel in reference to the general mass of strong-built, well-informed, and orthodox yet independent Scottish minds, as represented by the educated clergy of the Free Church, in which we have all the national traits distinctly marked, without the local or ecclesiastical peculiarities of the establishment on one hand, or of the various seceding bodies on the other. It is certainly an interesting question, how does Germanism operate on this great body of intelligent and well-trained Calvinists, and we have looked with some impatience for the means and opportunity of solving the inquiry. After several partial and unsatisfying samples of the combination in question, we have now the advantage of a more complete one in the writings of the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, the last of which is little more than two months old. Having turned the volumes over somewhat hastily, but certainly not inattentively, to satisfy our own curiosity, we now propose to give some brief account of our impressions, not so much in the way of minute analysis or formal criticism as in that of general description.

The "Typology of Scripture" claims our first attention, not only by priority of date, but by the importance of the subject. There are indeed few topics connected with Biblical interpretation, which seem to be more in need of re-investigation. The old opinions have gone out of vogue, without being replaced by any better, or indeed by any other system, so that the whole subject has been long in a most unsettled state. This would be no great evil if typology were merely a matter of curious speculation; but embracing as it does some of the most difficult and interesting questions of interpretation, its perversion or neglect cannot fail to be attended by the most pernicious consequences.

Under these impressions, which have long been forming, we

opened Mr. Fairbairn's book with some misgiving, but were soon agreeably surprised by certain indications, which went far to reassure us, and by enumerating which we may best assist our readers in forming a correct idea of the work itself. The first favourable symptom that appeared was the convincing proof afforded, that the author had not merely "crammed" for the occasion, but had long and patiently revolved the subject in his mind, and thought out his own theory before he undertook to write his book. Another, near akin to this, was his freedom from the affectation of some writers, who remove difficulties by denying their existence. But in this book the difficulties of the subject are distinctly recognized and fairly appreciated. Had this test of competency and candour been wanting, we should scarcely have consented to accompany the author in his lucubrations. We have long since lost our faith in those empirics to whom every thing is easy. A writer must know something by experience of our doubts and perplexities, before we can expect him to remove them. But in this respect we have no fault to find with the Typology before us.

The book is recommended by another quality too often wanting in such cases. The author is acquainted with the history of his subject. He does not come to the discussion of it, with a few *ex parte* notions gathered from some recent writer. He knows not only where the difficulty lies, but what attempts have heretofore been made for its removal. The historical introduction by itself went far to command our confidence in the author's competence to discuss so delicate a subject. Contempt of history or of the past is one of the surest signs of a dogmatical empiricism.

Under this last head we include a knowledge of the modern German writings on the subject. This knowledge extends not only to the rationalists, but to the believing school or schools of Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Kurtz, Delitzsch, Caspari, and the like. Such knowledge we consider indispensable to a satisfactory discussion of the subject. Whatever may be thought of the German speculations, they have put a new face upon all such subjects. We go further, and affirm that the harm done by German infidelity is less than the good done by German faith combined with German learning. The questions raised by the

neologists have at least the merit of provoking their own answers.

At the same time, we are struck with the sturdy independence of the author's mind, in reference even to the best and safest of these German guides. There is no trace of the disposition, which we have too often seen in English and American writers, to regard a point as settled because this or that distinguished German says so. Mr. Fairbairn manfully maintains the right of private judgment against schools and doctors no less than against popes and councils. This circumstance creates a strong presumption in his favour, as an honest and independent seeker of the truth, without regard to mere authority or fashion.

Another merit of this treatise is its intellectual and scientific character. It is neither a dry catalogue of insulated facts, nor a cloud of vague abstractions, but a rational and logical discussion. It is no vain boast but a correct description when the author represents the contents of his book to be typology "investigated in its principles." It is no mean praise of it to say, as we have no hesitation in saying, that the best parts of it are those which deal with general facts and principles, and which require in their treatment large and comprehensive views of the design of revelation and the mutual connection of its parts. For such views the author's mind appears to have not only a strong predilection, but a more than ordinary aptitude.

A still more interesting feature of the work is the extent to which these large and often novel views are made to harmonize with the strictest requisitions of old fashioned Calvinistic orthodoxy. It is pleasing to see that the results of modern speculation and discussion on the Bible can be so naturally reconciled and brought into connexion with a sound theology. We have seen no evidence so clear as we discover in this treatise, of the fact that such a harmony is possible, and we wonder at the large amount of solid theological matter which the author has contrived without unnatural coercion to infuse into his bold and free investigation of the principles of scriptural typology.

The work is not only orthodox in creed, but evangelical in spirit, and practically useful in its tendency throughout. Its moral influence on well-disposed readers cannot fail to be a

good one. This is no small merit in an age when such discussions are so often either positively hurtful in their tendency, or at the best entirely negative and destitute of any definite religious character. The appearance of such a work is an encouraging prognostic of the speedy restoration of a union which has long been interrupted, that of learned and original discussion of disputed points with doctrinal soundness and a pious spirit.

But all these are preliminary generalities, having no peculiar references to the subject of typology. The qualities which we have pointed out might have been displayed, and with the same effect, in a treatise upon any other biblical topic. The main question is, what new light has the author thrown upon the types of Scripture? It will not be easy in the space allotted us, to do justice to the doctrine here propounded and maintained. A brief description, and a simple statement of our own views with respect to it, is all that we can here attempt, and that with the view of exciting rather than of satisfying the reader's curiosity.

The first particular that we shall mention is the clear statement and successful refutation of extreme opinions on the subject of typology, with which the author prefaces his own inquiry. We have never seen a fairer or more accurate exhibition of the different theories and methods of typical interpretation, with their respective disadvantages and weaknesses. The arbitrary complication of the old schemes, and the sceptical barrenness of those which have succeeded them, are here exposed with equal faithfulness and skill. We are particularly pleased with the respect paid to the piety and learning of such men as Cocceius and Witsius, even in dissenting from them, and the total absence of that flippant sciolism which imagines, or pretends that biblical learning was unknown before the rise of the infidel theology among the Germans.

Having set aside these opposite extremes of error, the extreme which can see no types in the Word of God, and that which can see nothing else, the author lays down certain principles by which the investigation and interpretation of the types which are there should be governed. The characteristic feature of his own scheme is its preference of permanent pervading types to those of a more special and occasional description. While he boldly questions or denies a multitude of typical analogies long

cherished in religious literature and what may be called popular theology, he recognizes others of gigantic magnitude, pervading the whole history of Israel and determining its structure and complexion. The grand peculiarities of this Typology, to English readers, will be found to consist in the typical character thus given to the history as such, and in the relation assumed or established between this and the prophecies, by means of which the author undertakes to solve the *quaestio vexata* of a double sense, without foregoing any of the benefits supposed by its advocates to flow from it, and at the same time, without forfeiting the confidence of its opponents.

This view of the matter, although new and perhaps startling to the majority of mere English readers, is by no means an invention or discovery of our author, nor is it so represented by himself. It is the fruit of a long series of investigations by the believing school of modern German critics, since the reaction from the extreme form of rationalistic infidelity. Of this new school the acknowledged founder, and still living head, is Hengstenberg, whose efforts have been powerfully seconded by the congenial although independent labours of such men as Hävernick, Kurtz, Delitzsch, Drechsler, Hofmann, and Caspari. Each of these writers has views peculiar to himself, but they all agree in their rejection of the old typology and in their adherence to the typical theory or principle of interpretation. One of the happiest efforts and strongest recommendations of their common doctrine, is the new charm which it gives to the Old Testament by bringing all its parts into organic unity, and substituting a generic exegesis for the specific whimsies and caprices of the old typologists.

Of this new method of interpretation, wholly German in its origin and earlier developments, the book before us is the first complete and systematic exhibition in the English language. This is in fact its greatest merit, and the one to which it specially lays claim. The author, far from making any secret of the source from which he draws, has multiplied his citations and quotations from the class of German writers just referred to, perhaps excessively. We have been much struck with the difference between the passages directly quoted, and the author's statement of the same ideas in his own words. Besides the

awkwardness and feebleness which almost always mar translations, there is a nationality about the mode of thought and of expression, which must greatly weaken their effect upon the English reader. What we most want in Great Britain and America, in reference to this field of inquiry, is the raw material of foreign learning and discovery wrought by native industry and skill into a thoroughly domestic manufacture. Mr. Fairbairn has contributed his share of both these kinds of labour; first as one of the translators of Hengstenberg's work upon the Psalms, and now as the author of the works before us. We are heartily glad that instead of simply dressing up his German favourites in English clothes, he has given them, so to speak, an English education; they are not merely imported but naturalized. In justice to him we must go still further, and bear witness to the fact, that although they have retained their identity in passing through his hands, they have received a very visible improvement. To all their native and exotic merits he has added the authentic stamp of Anglo-Saxon common sense. Even Hengstenberg is here stripped of the few German fopperies which hang about him in his native dress, such as his odd notions about numbers and some other pardonable whimsies. In this direction Mr. Fairbairn goes occasionally further than we are disposed to follow him, while on the other hand he has adhered to his authorities in some points which we think might better have been spared. But these are matters as to which diversity of taste and judgment is to be expected, and which do not in the least affect the general statement, that the Germans have lost nothing of originality and strength at Mr. Fairbairn's hands, and gained not a little in sound judgment and discretion.

But over and above all this, these learned and ingenious strangers have been not only introduced to the reading public of Britain and America, but brought as we have seen, into connection with a truly rational yet scriptural theology, both in its doctrinal or theoretical, and in its practical or moral aspects. On this account especially, besides the reasons before given, we regard this "Typology of Scripture" as a valuable addition to our biblical literature, opening even to the general reader but especially to ministers and students of theology, an easy access to the best results of German exegetical investigation, without

relaxing in the least the claims of an enlightened Calvinism on the understanding and the conscience. Though not entirely free from all obscurity of method and expression, the treatise is essentially a scientific one, and on that account the better suited as a text-book to the wants of students. To such we strongly recommend it, as a work which cannot be attentively perused without an intellectual effort or without a corresponding intellectual improvement, while its strong theological and practical tendencies can scarcely fail to make it still more useful in a higher sense.

It was altogether natural that Mr. Fairbairn, having satisfied himself as to the principles of typical interpretation, should desire to apply them to some definite portion both of history and prophecy. This he has attempted in the other works before us, but, we feel constrained to say, with less success than in the exhibition of his general theory. The failure, if it may be so described, has arisen in a great degree from the peculiar character and habits of the author's mind, and more especially from that predilection, which has been already mentioned, for large and comprehensive views, in preference to more detailed investigation. The very power of generalization which he obviously possesses seems to render him impatient of the slow and toilsome processes of exegesis. Although certainly a man of more than ordinary learning, he has given no convincing proof in these books of superior philological accomplishments, and still less of a taste for that kind of interpretation which includes among its direct objects the detection and exposure of the nicer shades of meaning, in addition to the faithful exhibition of what may be regarded as essential. It is obvious enough from the samples now before us, that his mind unwillingly submits to the trammels of continued exposition, and is constantly disposed to view things on a larger scale, to compare Scripture with Scripture, rather than to master and exhaust a single context. Of these two kinds of exegetical ability the one which we have represented Mr. Fairbairn as possessing will by most men be regarded as intrinsically higher than the one in which we represent him as deficient.

The little book on Jonah labours under the peculiar disadvantage which accompanies all continuous attempts at the solution

of enigmas. After all that Mr. Fairbairn has accomplished, the history of Jonah is, to a great extent, a riddle still. It will yet retain its place, with the Song of Solomon and a few other portions of the sacred canon, among the δυσνόητά τινα (2 Peter iii. 16), by which the faith and ingenuity of readers and interpreters in every age have been severely tried, without materially adding to the knowledge and the clear conviction, which the Church has all along possessed, as to the canonical authority and use of these perplexing Scriptures. To have shrunk from a new effort in the same direction, if it lay in his way, would have belied the characteristic intrepidity with which our author encounters every puzzling question, and expresses an opinion upon every doubtful point, so that there is scarcely in the course of these four volumes an instance of vacillating or suspended judgment. This is far better than the opposite extreme and gives a healthful tone to his writings, which may therefore serve as a corrective of the vagueness and uncertainty too common in contemporary exegesis. His error, we think, lies in having undertaken an extended exposition of what ought to have been only treated incidentally. We find accordingly that scarcely anything of real value has been added here to what was said upon the same subject in the Typology. As a further proof that the author labours under some peculiar disadvantage in this effort, we may mention that he sometimes does what we praised him for avoiding in his earlier work, extenuates the difficulties or denies them, and complains of previous interpreters for having missed what seems to him so obvious. The chief peculiarity or novelty of his interpretation lies in the assumption that Jonah's mission to Nineveh had reference throughout to the kingdom of Israel; and more especially, that his displeasure at the escape of the devoted city arose, not from peevishness of temper or official pride, but from a dread of the injurious effect of God's forbearance on his own deluded countrymen. We doubt whether all the author's ingenuity and learning will give currency to this opinion. We are sure, however, that the book, notwithstanding the defects which we have mentioned, will afford a great deal of instruction both to professional and general readers.

Much more ambitious in its aims, and (we may add without

offence) in its pretensions, is the work upon Ezekiel, an elegant octavo, the superior typography of which may be understood, we trust, as indicating the success of the Typology, and a wide demand for something more from the same pen. The intrepidity, for which we give the author credit, is strikingly exemplified in his readiness to grapple with the most enigmatical of all the prophets. The tone of the preface excites expectations which are scarcely realized, at least by a perfunctory perusal. Such a perusal is indeed rendered difficult by the external form of the author's exegetical method, which appears to be a favourite with Scotch interpreters, but which appears to us far less adapted to the popular utility of such works than the old fashioned practice of making the conventional divisions of the text more prominent, and indeed the frame work of the composition. Here, on the contrary, as in Dr. Brown's learned work upon First Peter, the text is broken up into masses varying in form and size, according to the sense indeed but so that the form of the original is merged in the stream or ocean of the exposition, and can only be seen rising to the surface here and there at irregular intervals. Now the two great uses of expository works are to be read continuously, and referred to occasionally; and both these ends are in our opinion much more effectually answered by well constructed annotations on the chapters and verses of the Hebrew or the English Bible, than by the most ingenious disguises or substitutes for these universally familiar forms.

Here too, as in the "Jonah," we observe a disposition to extenuate the difficulties, or to charge them on the errors of interpreters or the stupidity of readers, and an occasional impatience of minute investigation, in the very places where it seems most unavoidable, leading the author to adopt the conclusions of his favourite authorities, sometimes without sufficient reason, or to represent the questions which he cannot solve as wholly unimportant and unworthy of attention. This superiority to little things, however useful it may be in other cases, as a safeguard against trifling and belittling treatment of the greatest matters, can scarcely be regarded as a special qualification in an expounder of Ezekiel, who should either let the task alone or come to it prepared for the handling of the sharpest and

minutest points. This is so far from being inconsistent with the massive grandeur which is justly predicated of this prophet, that the combination of the two apparently incongruous attributes is just what constitutes the individuality of his prophetic style and character.

The foregoing strictures are not to be understood as denying to the work before us the praise of laborious and detailed interpretation, but only as imputing to it greater crudeness, less originality, and less convincing power, than to the author's work upon Typology. Except so far as the reasonings and conclusions of that treatise are repeated here, the author appears less at home and less at ease, less conscious of his strength, though not by any means less eager to exert it. We do not find the same appearance of slowly acquired, thoroughly digested knowledge, but rather that of hasty acquisition and imperfect meditation. This may be only an appearance; but even in that case it sufficiently evinces that the author's strength lies not so much in formal and continuous interpretation as in comprehensive and connected views of general truths and fundamental principles. To use a technical distinction, he shines less in exegesis than in hermeneutics. He is more successful in laying down the laws of exposition than in applying them to specific cases. We need scarcely add that the defects which we have pointed out, are such as arise not from any intellectual inferiority to what has been attempted, but rather from a cast of mind and mode of thought adapted to a task still higher.

Our impressions of these interesting works may now be easily summed up. The "Jonah" and "Ezekiel" are highly worthy of perusal, were it only as embodying the choicest fruits of the latest and best German studies, in a form adapted to the wants of English readers, by a writer of good scholarship, sound principles, strong mind, and Christian spirit. We cannot, however, conscientiously describe them as making any sensible advance upon the ground already occupied by eminent interpreters, or as affording any new key to the difficulties of the books which they interpret. The "Typology of Scripture," on the other hand, we look upon as really supplying a desideratum, and to a great extent filling a chasm which has long been felt to exist in our biblical literature.

If we might venture to suggest a task for the useful employment of our author's powers, it would be a systematic work on the antiquities of Scripture, in which the religious and the typical element should have its due predominance, instead of being superseded by the civil and the secular. This idea has been acted on already by Ewald in the archæological supplement to his History of Israel, but not in such a way as to satisfy the minds of evangelical Christians. Such a work would afford the opportunity of bringing out the substance of the "Typology" in new forms, or at least in still more striking applications than can be expected in compositions purely exegetical. If this should not be practicable or expedient we would recommend a new edition of the Typology, as soon as circumstances warrant it, with some improvement in the distribution and arrangement, and a great deal in the style, which is now disfigured by verbosity and Scottish idioms. Of this we should not venture, as Americans, to judge by any standard of our own; but we are not accustomed, even in contemporary English writers, to such frequent use of "timeous," "open up," and above all of the adverb "just," which may be reckoned as a kind of Scottish Shibboleth. There are other literary faults in these performances which would almost seem to indicate their having been prepared for oral delivery, but which sensibly detract from their effect as books designed to be deliberately read. Among these are the frequent repetitions and the long and involved sentences, which seem to be considered indispensable in public speech by many of our Scottish brethren. By pruning this luxuriance and in other ways condensing the expression without lessening the substance, this important work might be made accessible to many who are now unable or unwilling to make use of it. Its literary merit and its logical effect would also gain instead of losing by the change. But even as it is, we should rejoice to see it placed within the reach of American readers, and have no doubt that it would be permanently useful to the religious public generally, and in an eminent degree to ministers and students of theology, as an unpretending but invaluable aid in the exegetical study of the Scriptures, and in the regular expository labours of the desk and pulpit.

Art. VI.—*The General Assembly.*

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States met at St. Louis on Thursday May 15th and was opened with a sermon by the Rev. A. W. Leland, D.D., Moderator of the last Assembly. The Rev. E. P. Humphrey, D.D., of Louisville, Kentucky, was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. W. D. Howard, Clerk.

CASE OF THE REV. DR. DUNCAN McAULEY.

The Rev. Mr. Twitchell submitted the following case: The Rev. Dr. Duncan McAuley asked to be restored to the gospel ministry by the Presbytery of Louisiana. He was suspended from the ministry by the Presbytery of Toronto, Canada. The Presbytery of Louisiana wished to lay the papers in this case before the General Assembly, and to ask for advice. The Presbytery had this case long under their consideration, and referred it to a committee. The majority of the committee reported favourably with reference to Mr. McAuley's application. The minority against it.

On motion, the papers were referred to the Committee on Bills and Overtures. When this committee reported, the case was disposed of by adopting the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the report of the Committee of Bills and Overtures, in the case of Duncan McAuley, LL.D., be substituted by the following resolution, that if the Presbytery of Louisiana shall think it desirable that Dr. McAuley be restored to the functions of the ministry, they be directed to procure all the information accessible on the subject, especially the record of the Presbytery in Canada relating to the case, and to prepare all the papers in the case, and send them up to the General Assembly, that that body may take definitive action in the premises."

THE WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

The Directors and Trustees of the Western Theological Seminary, submitted their reports, which were committed to a special committee.

It was made the order of the day for Wednesday afternoon, at four o'clock, to proceed to the election of a Professor of Oriental Literature in the Western Theological Seminary.

The Assembly, agreeably to a standing rule, having implored the Divine guidance, proceeded to nominations, when the Rev. M. W. Jacobus was nominated to fill the vacant professorship, and it was stated that this nomination was in accordance with the wishes of the Board of Directors. Mr. Jacobus was elected on the day appointed, by an almost unanimous vote.

The Committee on the Reports of the Directors and of the Trustees of the Western Theological Seminary made a report, which was accepted, and is as follows, viz:

They recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That these reports be printed in the Appendix to the Minutes.

2. *Resolved*, That the Assembly learns with great satisfaction the progress which has been made by the friends of the Seminary towards its complete endowment.

The Committee further report that they have found in the minutes of the Board of Directors, which were put into their hands, a record at page —— of the proceedings on April 3, 1851, from which it appears that the Rev. Dr. McGill, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, &c., had sent into the Board, to be transmitted to this Assembly, his resignation; and that the Board, for reasons recorded, assumed the responsibility of withholding the same from the Assembly. The Committee do not find in the records any intimation that Dr. McGill, although the Board voted to inform him of their action in the case, has retracted his resignation; which therefore now comes before the Assembly for its consideration.

Whereupon, on motion of Mr. Howard, the following minute was adopted, viz:

Whereas, The Rev. Dr. McGill, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, &c. in the Western Theological Seminary, did, for

reasons satisfactory to himself, tender to this General Assembly, through the Board of Directors of that Seminary, the resignation of his Professorship. And whereas, in the progress of this affair, the cause which led to this act, on the part of Dr. McGill, is supposed to be effectually removed, so that although he could not see his way clear to withdraw his resignation, yet he is now willing to remain in his present post. And whereas, the interests of that important and increasingly useful institution most urgently demand the continuation of his services, therefore

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Assembly, Dr. McGill will most effectually serve the Church and promote the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom by remaining in his present office.

This minute was adopted, after a protracted discussion, by a vote unanimous with the exception of the two votes from the Cincinnati delegates. Dr. McGill having conditionally accepted a call to a church in Cincinnati, accounts for the delegates from that place wishing that his resignation might be accepted. In the course of the debate on this subject, the Rev. Mr. Howard read the following letter from Dr. McGill, which it is due to that gentleman to make a part of the history of this case.

LETTER FROM DR. McGILL.

I hope the General Assembly will pardon the trouble, and not deem it wholly irrelevant, for me to submit a concise statement of facts, connected with my resignation of the place which I have held for nine years. Much misrepresentation has been made, undesignedly, no doubt, for the most part, yet calculated *to perplex my mind* in the course of duty; if not also to diminish my usefulness. I had laboured four years, in two departments of the Seminary; and had become finally discouraged, with the impression that our defective organization of the Faculty would be continued an indefinite period longer; notwithstanding the injunction of the last General Assembly to increase the finances of the Institution, for the support of a third Professor.

A communication was received, last summer, from the Seventh Church of Cincinnati, submitting to me, that they would elect me to be their pastor, if I would favour their application; I answered, with expressions of fondness for the pastoral relation,

but of strong fear, that my health would not warrant a return to that manner of life. They continued the urgency however, and at length I proposed to visit them, at a convenient season; being unwilling that any people should call me to such a relation, without some experience of my ministration among them.

Before the time for that visit arrived, I received information wholly unexpected, that the Synod of Georgia had elected me to the vacant chair of their Seminary at Columbia. This invitation I was very much inclined to accept, and awaited the action of the Synod of South Carolina, in their vote of confirmation. While awaiting in this way, the time arrived for my visit to Cincinnati, during a short vacation in our Seminary, about the beginning of the year. But the visit was providentially hindered at the set time: and I did not deem it a duty to go, after my arrangement in the Seminary had been resumed.

The Synod of South Carolina confirmed the election in Georgia by a divided vote, and before I received a satisfactory explanation of it, I received another communication from Cincinnati, proposing to go on with a call, without my visit, if I would accept. This letter I answered by repeating the difficulties which lay before me; and which, I supposed, would discourage them from proceeding—yet intimating, that, if after all, they should deem it their duty to throw upon me the responsibility of deciding, I would accept, providing I could be satisfied that my health would allow it, and that my resignation at Allegheny would be accepted. I soon after received information, that they had fixed the time for proceeding to a formal call. I consulted some three or four intelligent and eminent medical friends, who strongly discouraged me from returning to pastoral labour. I sent a telegraphic dispatch, on the day appointed, stating the fact; which was read at the congregational meeting. They proceeded however to make out a unanimous call; and sent it by the hands of two commissioners. This singular urgency, under all the circumstances, seemed to be the hand of God shutting me up to that course of duty; and I accepted, precisely in the terms I had promised, and with the additional stipulation that, if possible, no publication of the call should be made, until the time came for my entering on its duties.

The question of health was one of deep and painful anxiety, on which every one around me expressed an opinion adverse to my decision. For this reason, and because the opposition in South Carolina had been satisfactorily explained, I reserved in my hands a declination of the offer from the South, some two weeks after this interview with the Commissioners from Cincinnati; when publications appeared, announcing in the most unqualified manner, my acceptance of that call. I instantly declined the offer from Columbia, lest my conduct might be misunderstood; and from that time, the 11th of March last, to this day, there has been no other issue before me, but that of Allegheny and Cincinnati. It is true that many noble hearted friends at the South have urged me to reconsider my declination; but the course pursued by some newspapers, and a multitude of talkers, has rendered this impossible.

Nor has there been any compromise, or retraction of my word to the people of Cincinnati. The strong resistance at Allegheny is certainly none of my procuring or expecting. But, on every account, it is one which I am bound to respect; and I do so far respect it, as to say that, if the Assembly sustain the action of our Board of Directors, and decline to take my resignation, I shall acquiesce, and cheerfully return to my post. But I cannot recall my resignation, inasmuch as the only satisfaction I received, that my difficulties there would be removed, came too late to govern my conduct in the premises. It is due the Directors to say, that they are worthy in every way of the trust committed to their hands, and have always treated your Professors there with kindness and paternal regard. *I could spend a life-time among them with comfort.* And had there been a prompter exertion, on the part of the churches and people, to make that Seminary what it ought to be, I would not have thought of leaving it for any other situation in the Church.

I regret, inexpressibly, that any personal matter of mine should be made to occupy, for a moment, the attention of the General Assembly; but I have been constrained to detail them thus far, that the reason may be apparent for casting myself *implicitly* on the will of the Assembly; and that the unfounded surmises of some, that there has been vacillation on my part, may be removed, not only for my own sake, but for the honour

of the Assembly itself, whose servant I am, in more than one relation. Very respectfully,

ALEX. T. MCGILL.

In explanation of the action of the Assembly in this case, it was resolved that the Assembly intended in the resolutions already adopted, to decline accepting the resignation of Dr. McGill.

CHEAP PAPER.

The General Assembly took up the consideration of a report from a committee appointed by the last General Assembly on the subject of a cheap religious weekly newspaper, for general circulation throughout the Church. The report, after a full exposition of the advantages of such a paper, proposed the following resolutions for adoption, viz:

1. *Resolved*, That instead of the "*Home and Foreign Record*," as now published, the Board of Publication be directed to issue and circulate, as early and extensively as possible, a religious weekly paper of the common size and form, on good material, of fair execution, and of the very best character, and at the rate of $1 a year, to be uniformly pre-paid.

2. That it be urged upon all our church courts, officers, and members, to aid the Board in the sustenation of the paper, and in its circulation, so that it may reach every family willing to receive it.

3. That in the opinion of the Assembly this paper should be the medium of communication from our Boards to the churches; and that, for a time, the several Boards should pay a reasonable compensation for the amount of room they shall occupy, this compensation to continue only so long as the circumstances of the paper shall require it.

4. That it shall be the duty of the Board to appoint an editor for the paper, who shall devote himself exclusively to its interests; also to keep an exact account with the paper, and to report annually to the Assembly.

5. That in view of the additional duty here laid upon the Board of Publication, it be recommended to the increased liberality of the churches.

The following letter from the Rev. Dr. James W. Alexander, a member of the above Committee, was read, dissenting from the majority report.

To the Chairman of the Committee on a Cheap Paper.

PRINCETON, April 5th, 1851.

My Dear Sir:—I have acknowledged the reception of your letter of the 27th, in regard to the cheap paper. I was ill, when the Committee met in Philadelphia, and have never heard what they did. At the time of your letter's arrival, Dr. Breckenridge had already sailed for Europe; so that a part of what you purpose is no longer possible. I am therefore reduced to the necessity of addressing my sole opinion, which I am able to do in a few words. As I do not expect to be at the Assembly, I should be glad if my humble judgment in the matter might be represented.

While I have no zeal whatever in the affair, and regret that I have been put on the Committee, I have, from the beginning, had a clear and determinate conviction against any attempt of the Church, as such, to issue a newspaper. My reasons are briefly these:

1. The hope of such cheapness as is promised, is in my view chimerical. And this judgment is founded on the concurrent testimony of practical printers and publishers.

2. Still more am I opposed to any such centralization of our journalism. It may do in records of facts and items of bare intelligence. But in a newspaper, according to our common notion of such a publication, a church organ must be one of two things, either a milk and water, trimming, lukewarm affair, which would die for want of patronage—or worse yet, a powerful party engine. In my humble judgment, it comports far better with the character of independence which belongs to Scottish Presbyterianism, to have a number of journals, each freely and courageously representing some set of opinions. Such generous warfare is good and healthful; and vastly more to my mind, than a religious *Moniteur*, or *Pekin Gazette*, issued by the central power.

3. In practice, it would be found impossible to satisfy the whole Church with a place of publication. New York? Philadelphia? Pittsburgh? Cincinnati? St. Louis? Columbia?—Is it

believed that our Philadelphia friends would go to New Orleans for reading?

4. Our existing Church papers, which are excellent, somewhat exhausted the appetite of the public for "government rations," *e. g.* the *Home and Foreign Record*, the *Foreign Missionary*, and the *Sunday School Visitor;* I might add, Dr. Van Rensselaer's two periodicals, though not under proper Church auspices.

In a word I do not see the crying necessity for such a work. Were it set a going to-morrow, I should feel no wish to subscribe for it, at a shilling. In the proportion of its success, it would injure and supplant many excellent journals, which do great good in their respective quarters, and merit the patronage which they receive. A vast corporation might indeed *undersell* them; but I cannot perceive the necessity for so violent a proceeding. The article of *news* must be somewhat old, before it could go from Cincinnati to New York. All the existing warmth of local attachments would be absent. I observed while in New York, how next to impossible it was, to make a New Yorker take *The Presbyterian*. He wanted his church news fresh from the oven. The stamp of the Church might lead some to subscribe, but would not lead them to enjoy what was either counter to their views, or so trimmed down as to suit all parties.

After all, I think persons remote from the actual operations of journalism will like the cheap proposal, and perhaps gather in sufficient strength to start it. If so, I would not desire to throw a straw in their way. J. W. ALEXANDER.

After a discussion of the general project, the whole subject was on motion of Dr. Plumer, laid on the table, by a vote of 113 yeas to 63 nays.

On the last day of the session this subject was called up and referred to a select committee to report to the next General Assembly.

DIVISION OF THE SYNOD OF NEW JERSEY.

Overture No. 2. A Memorial from the Presbytery of Newton, requesting that the Delaware river be the boundary between the Synods of New Jersey and Philadelphia.

An opposing Memorial was presented from the Presbytery of Raritan.

A Memorial from the Presbyteries of Philadelphia and Philadelphia Second, in favour of the Delaware river being the boundary. The Committee recommend that the request be granted, and that the Delaware river be the boundary.

This minute was so altered as to read thus:

"*Resolved*, That the boundary line be so changed as to make the Delaware river, up to the mouth of Martin's Creek, above Easton, the dividing line, and that the Presbyteries and churches on the Pennsylvania side of the river be transferred to the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia."

MISSIONS TO PAPAL COUNTRIES.

Overture No. 6. A Memorial from the Synod of New Jersey, proposing to the General Assembly the organization of a Bureau in connexion with the Board of Foreign Missions, for spreading the truth in Papal lands; which, on motion, was referred to a select committee of five, viz.: Messrs. Magie, Swift, Smith, Lowrie, and Littell.

This committee subsequently recommended the adoption of the following resolutions, viz.:

1. *Resolved*, That the Assembly would impress upon the Board of Foreign Missions a sense of the great importance of the work brought to view in this overture, though we are not prepared, at present, to recommend any new distinct agency for this specific result.

2. That the Board be especially instructed, as soon as suitable men can be obtained, to extend their operations to the valley of the Rio Grande, to Chagres, and Panama, and other places now open, or which in the Providence of God may be opened in South America and Mexico.

3. That the Assembly would recommend to the Board to take measures to have a separate collection made in the churches, for the diffusion of the light of evangelical truth in Papal countries, unless the same object can be as well reached in some other way.

4. That the Assembly would recommend to the Board to

appoint a sufficient number of agents, assigning to each a definite field of labour, whose duty it shall be to advance the work in every proper way, and especially, by bringing it before the church judicatories in their respective districts.

5. That in order to increase and enlarge our operations among the Indian tribes, the Board be authorized and encouraged to employ such additional assistance as the exigencies of this branch of the Missionary work may require.

The report was accepted, and, on motion of Dr. Plumer, the following resolution was added to the report of the committee, and, as so amended, it was adopted:

6. That all our people and churches be solemnly reminded of the duty of making prayer, without ceasing, to God, for the success of missionary efforts, not only among Pagans and Mahomedans, but also in Papal countries.

The subject of this overture was brought before the Synod of New Jersey last fall, in consequence of an address from the Rev. Dr. Baird, the representative of the American Protestant Union. That gentleman in a kind and liberal spirit urged with much zeal, that in view of the great importance of missions to Papal countries, of the rapidly increasing facilities for prosecuting the work, and of the little now done by our body in this interesting field, that the Presbyterian Church would either engage in this enterprise in a definite and organized manner, or give it up entirely, throwing open their congregations to the American Society, having this work as their special object. The Synod felt that the latter course was out of the question. It was opposed to the settled policy of the Church, to the fixed opinions and preferences of a large portion of our members, and to the frequently repeated decisions of our General Assembly. The thing, therefore, could not be done. The question then arose—Shall things continue in the state in which they now are?—this great work being left as a mere subordinate department of our Foreign Missionary operations, without any special appeal and separate collections, and all our churches left open to the visits and solicitations of the agents of another society. There was a general conviction that this, of all methods, was the most inexpedient. It was not to be expected that our

churches would enter into this work with proper zeal and liberality, if it was not separately and distinctly presented to them, and urged on their attention. Nor could we expect that, considering its great importance, and the interest so generally felt in the remarkable success with which God has blessed the efforts to promote evangelical religion in Papal countries, that our churches would shut their ears and hearts against the men who came to plead this cause before them. Nor, finally, could it be reasonably expected that the money raised by the appeals of agents of the American Society should be, as a general thing, sent to the treasury of our own Board. The fact stared the Synod in the face, that our Church was doing comparatively little through the Board of Foreign Missions, for this work; that a growing interest was felt on the subject by our churches, and that a large part of their contributions for this object was diverted to another channel. It was also plain that this double agency was embarassing and inefficient. The great majority of the Synod, therefore, entertained the strong conviction that something more should be done by our Church than had heretofore been attempted. Two plans were proposed. First, to organize a separate Board, with all its array of officers and agents, for this special purpose. To this it was objected, that it would involve a great increase of expense, and that the object might be accomplished by another and less cumbrous method. A second plan was, therefore, suggested, viz., to do in this case what had been already in part done in the Board of Missions, in regard to Church Extension. That matter was made a separate department; a separate collection was to be made for that object, and it was understood the Board had determined to appoint a separate secretary to devote himself to that particular department. In like manner, what the Synod determined to urge on the Assembly was the appointment, not of a new Board, but simply of a Bureau in connexion with the Board of Foreign Missions, for spreading the truth in Papal lands. What the Synod had at heart was to secure separate collections in all our churches for this great object. This the Assembly has sanctioned and recommended. To secure this object it was thought a separate officer of some kind, secretary or agent, would be absolutely necessary. This, too, the Assembly has virtually

sanctioned in the fourth of the resolutions above mentioned. We presume, therefore, that this disposition of the subject will be generally acceptable to the members of the Synod.

FOREIGN MISSIONS.

The order of the day was then taken up, viz: the Annual Report from the Board of Foreign Missions; when Dr. Swift, from the special Committee on this subject, presented the following report, which was adopted, viz:

The Committee to whom was referred the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions would recommend that this report be approved, and in connection with this recommendation they would offer for the consideration of the Assembly the following minute, viz:

1. *Resolved*, That the Assembly continues to regard with lively interest the foreign missionary work of our Church, and would acknowledge with devout gratitude to God his continued favour to, and his blessing upon it.

2. *Resolved*, That the early removal of valued labourers from important fields; the critical condition of the mission to Siam; the limited measure in which the effusions of the Holy Spirit appear to have been imparted to the members of most of the stations, and the want of a deep and cordial interest in this cause, on the part of some members of the Church, arising from the want of faith in God's word and love to Christ, and compassion for those who are sitting in darkness and the region and shadow of death, in some cases for the want of information as to the nature, importance, and condition of the Foreign Missions of our Church, the Assembly feel to be recognized as reasons for humiliation and sorrow, of repentance and prayer for pardon, and endeavours after new fidelity, by all those who have been heretofore negligent of this cause and work of God.

3. *Resolved*, That the Assembly can, notwithstanding these and other discouragements, view the work of spreading the everlasting gospel among unevangelized tribes and nations, as fraught with increased and substantial encouragement; the fields occupied by our Church, as those of great extent and promise; the varied and faithful labours of our missionaries as highly gratifying and auspicious in their character; and the increased

attention, especially by the aborigines of our country to the missionary education of the young—and they recognize, with special thanksgiving to God, the hopeful conversion of some who were totally Pagans, Romanists, and Jews, and the peaceful departure of others to the heavenly rest, as indications of the presence and blessing of God in this important department of our work.

4. *Resolved*, That the Assembly observe with much satisfaction the steady increase of the pecuniary offerings which are made by the churches to this cause, the manifest energy of the officers and agents of the Board, the wise and efficient supervision of the Executive Committee, and the growing interest of our body in this holy enterprise, and they would take the present occasion to call up all the friends of Christ among us, and all the churches, with a deeper feeling of dependence, a warmer zeal, a stronger faith and prayerfulness, a more expanded liberality, to go forward in the sacred work of evangelizing the nations, and establishing the cause and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in every land.

Hon. Walter Lowrie, Secretary of the Board, made detailed and interesting statements explanatory of the condition of the various missions, their success, and their wants. The Board have among the North American Indians, 10 ministers, 12 male, and 23 female assistants, 408 pupils, 6 churches, with 80 communicants; in Africa, 2 ministers, and 1 on the way, 3 churches, with 97 communicants, 2 candidates for the ministry, and 3 primary schools with 103 pupils; in India, 26 ministers, 23 Native Assistants, 22 schools—4 of them high schools—1 a Mission College with 150 students—5 are boarding schools with 115 female pupils, 3 only of the churches reported 157 communicants, and 4 printing presses. In China there are 11 ministers, 1 physician, 4 boarding schools with 120 pupils. Siam is the only discouraging Mission. The Board has 4 missionaries among the Jews, and there have been cheering cases of conversion. $2050 have been appropriated for operations in Papal Europe.

The receipts of the Board for the year have been $140,000,—$2400 over those of last year. The operations at the various missions develope many interesting facts. A native member of

one of our own mission churches has nearly completed the translation of Hodge's Way of Life, and Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. The native converts have heretofore been compelled to make a profession of Christianity at the expense of all their earthly goods, and still they are willing to get and give something to the cause of Christ. The little church at Jelunda has gone ahead in this respect of more than 150 of our churches at home. The entire valley of the Ganges is now almost entirely in the hands of Presbyterians. More than $5000 have been contributed in aid of the Missions by Europeans in India. Most of these Europeans are Episcopalians, but still they lend their aid because they believe the work to be the Lord's. The Board has been advancing during the year, but was never more in need of funds. Mr. Lowrie narrated a number of facts of thrilling interest, and then the resolutions offered by the Committee were adopted.

BOARD OF MISSIONS.

We have heard from various sources, that the exposition made by Rev. Dr. C. C. Jones of the operations and plans of this Board, was one of the most impressive and instructive addresses of the kind ever delivered before the Assembly. For two hours he commanded the attention of the house, while he surveyed the whole field of our Domestic Missions, exhibiting with singular clearness and effect the peculiarities and necessities of the several portions of our immense country. The strongest impression was produced both of the importance of the work, and of the high qualifications of the Secretary for the important post which he has been called upon to fill.

During the year the Board have employed 591 missionaries; supplied 1,043 churches and missionary stations; 2,047 persons have been received on profession of their faith; 1,631 have been received on certificate; there are 24,354 communicants in connection with these missionary churches; 592 Sabbath schools; 3,623 teachers; 22,470 Sabbath school scholars. As one hundred and seventy missionaries did not report, this summary falls short very considerably of the actual results. The total receipts of the year have been $88,654 84;—the expenditures, $85,271 51. The balance, $3,374 33, has been absorbed

by drafts already drawn. The amount received for Church Extension during the year has been $6,492 17—the whole of which has been expended in finishing thirty-nine churches. During the seven years of the existence of this scheme, 297 churches, making an average of 42 annually, have been aided to completion. The affairs of the Board are in a condition of rapidly increasing prosperity.

On motion, the Report of the Committee on the Board of Missions was taken up, and the following resolutions were adopted:

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

2. *Resolved*, That in view of the vast field for Domestic Missions now opened in our country, and exhibited in detail in the Report, that it be earnestly recommended to all of the churches to make increased efforts to enlarge their contributions to that Board; and that it be recommended to our pastors and stated supplies to bring the facts presented in the Report of the Board fully before the people of their charge, and, if possible, introduce among them some systematic form of maturing their contributions.

3. *Resolved*, That the direction of the Assembly in 1844 (Minutes, pp. 374 and 375) be renewed; that a special collection be taken up in all the churches in aid of Church Extension, and that the Assembly rejoices in the success which has thus far attended this scheme, although the contributions have fallen far short of the importance and necessity of the scheme, and our own obligations to sustain it.

4. *Resolved*, That the results of the domestic missionary work of the General Assembly for the last twenty-one years, viz: the increase of our missionaries from 101 to 590; the increase of our funds from $12,000 to $79,000; the organization of 943 new churches; the erection of 1484 houses of worship; the addition of over 40,000 souls to the missionary churches, on profession of their faith; the constitution of a number of new Presbyteries and Synods, and a great enlargement of our territorial boundaries, and also the results of the past year, by the report, being most favourable—all furnish to the Assembly an occasion for profound gratitude to the God of

missions, and of encouragement to us to proceed vigorously with the work.

5. *Resolved*, That the Board of Missions be requested to keep in view the increasing number and religious wants of the German population in our country, and to do whatever may be practicable, to furnish them with the ministry and means of grace.

6. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly rejoices in the special interest which is manifested by so large a number of their Presbyteries in the work of Domestic Missions, and looks forward with an assured hope that this interest will become universal, and that it must result, under God, in incalculable blessings to our Church and country.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

The Committee to whom was referred the Report of the Directors of Princeton Theological Seminary, presented a report in part, and recommended the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That the Assembly unite with the Board in expressions of kindness and confidence towards the Rev. J. W. Alexander, D.D., who has for two years faithfully filled the office of Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government, and that believing the providence of God has called him to another field of service, his resignation of his professorship be and is hereby accepted.

2. *Resolved*, That the Rev. J. Addison Alexander, D.D., be, and he hereby is transferred from his present Professorship to that of Ecclesiastical History, and that his salary be the same as that of previous incumbents in the same office.

3. *Resolved*, That the Professorship of Biblical and Oriental Literature, made vacant by the above transfer of the Rev. J. Addison Alexander, be filled by this Assembly.

4. *Resolved*, That this Assembly, upon the adoption of the foregoing resolutions, will receive nominations, and fix a time for the election of a Professor of Biblical and Oriental Literature.

5. *Resolved*, That the salary of the Professor of Biblical and Oriental Literature be the same as that of the other Professors.

6. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Assembly, it is desirable for each of the Professors to give instruction in some portion of the sacred Scriptures, and the Board of Directors are hereby authorized to make such arrangements as shall effect this object, if the way be clear, and are requested to report their action on the subject to the next Assembly.

7. *Resolved*, That the following branches of instruction, viz. the Composition and Delivery of Sermons, and Church Government, which have hitherto belonged to the Professor of Church History, be transferred to the Professor of Pastoral Theology.

Dr. Plumer submitted the following as the eighth resolution on this business, which was adopted, viz.

Resolved, That henceforth the title of the Professorship of Church History be that of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History.

The Committee recommended the following additional resolutions, which were adopted, viz.:

1. *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Assembly are due, and they are hereby tendered to the Rev. Dr. Van Rensselaer, for his disinterested, faithful, and successful labours in increasing the funds of the Seminary.

2. *Resolved*, That the Assembly recommend to the Directors and Trustees of the Seminary to adopt speedy and energetic measures to complete the endowment of the Seminary.

3. *Resolved*, That the Assembly direct the Treasurer to restore to the permanent funds of the Seminary such sums collected by Dr. Van Rensselaer, as have been employed in defraying the current expenses, and invest and secure them by bond and mortgage, or in other permanent and unquestioned securities of the United States, or of some other state or city corporation.

The above resolutions were all adopted, though not with the same degree of unanimity. That by which the Assembly transferred Dr. J. Addison Alexander from the Biblical chair to that of Ecclesiastical History was adopted by a vote of 130 to 38. The other features of the report did not elicit much discussion. When nominations were made for a successor to Dr. Addison Alexander in the Biblical Department, the Rev. Dr. Magie nominated the Rev. William Henry Green, of Philadelphia; Dr. Krebs nominated the Rev. James Clark, D.D., President

of Washington College, Pennsylvania; Judge Hepburn nominated Dr. Thornwell, of South Carolina. Other nominations were made, but withdrawn at the request of the gentlemen mentioned. Neither Dr. Clark nor Dr. Thornwell was present. When the election took place, it appeared that Mr. Green had received 112 votes, Dr. Clark 31, Dr. Thornwell 23. Mr. Green was thereupon declared duly elected, and Drs. Plumer and Leyburn were appointed a committee to inform him of the fact.

The friends of the Seminary cannot fail to feel gratitude to God for the degree of unanimity by which these important measures were carried, and to their brethren of the Assembly for the kind spirit with which the discussion of questions, about which diversity of opinion could not fail to exist, was conducted. The seventh resolution, by which the subjects Composition and Delivery of Sermons, and Church Government, were transferred to the Professor of Pastoral Theology, was not designed for any temporary purpose, but to secure a more just and philosophical distribution of the topics of instruction. The proper arrangement of the departments in a theological faculty, has been the subject of much consideration in every country where such faculties exist. Bishop Marsh, in his lectures, states that the distribution which has received the sanction of long experience on the continent of Europe, and which he himself recommends, is into four departments. First, the biblical; second, the dogmatic; thirdly, the historical; fourthly, the practical. Under the fourth is included everything which belongs to the actual duties of the ministry; the composition and delivery of sermons; pastoral care; the government of the church, and administration of its discipline. This is the arrangement which has for years been contemplated, and towards which there has been a gradual approximation in the organization of the Seminary at Princeton, and in that of other similar institutions. When Drs. Alexander and Miller were appointed professors, the one of theology, the other of history, they divided between them the other departments which fell appropriately under neither of those heads. Dr. Alexander took Hebrew, biblical criticism, and pastoral care; Dr. Miller took the composition and delivery of sermons, which clearly has no special connexion with ecclesiastical history, and church government.

This was a temporary arrangement. When a third professor was appointed, Dr. Alexander gave up the biblical department, but retained that of pastoral care. Afterwards, with the consent of the Assembly, he gave up didactic theology, and retained the subjects relating more immediately to the pastoral work. The resignation of Dr. James W. Alexander, whose taste and talents gave him peculiar facilities for the conduct of instruction in the department of sacred rhetoric, seemed to the directors to present a favourable opportunity to make another step towards carrying into effect the arrangement which had been so long acted on in other institutions, and so long contemplated here. They therefore recommended to the Assembly that the departments of composition and delivery of sermons, and of church government, instead of being connected, as heretofore, with that of ecclesiastical history, should be referred to the professor of pastoral theology.

There are two other remarks which it may not be amiss here to make. The one is that the different departments cannot be kept entirely distinct, for the simple reason that they are not distinct. They overlap each other, or in other words, the same subject is of necessity to be viewed under different aspects and from different positions, and therefore comes up under different departments. The biblical professor, if he interprets Scripture, for example, must teach theology, and that in the most effectual way. How can he expound the word of God without bringing out the great doctrines which it teaches? The sacred historian must trespass on the same field. In giving the history of the Church, he must give the history of doctrines; he must unfold the various systems of error which have come in conflict with the truth; he must show the philosophical and historical origin of those errors, and in so doing, he is teaching theology in a most effective manner. The professor of didactic theology on his part, cannot keep clear of the field of history. In presenting the true system he must exhibit it in its relations to the antagonistic systems of error; he must trace in a measure the origin of those errors, and give his didactic instructions to a certain extent an historical form. So also, as the interpreter necessarily becomes a teacher of theology, so the theologian becomes an exegete. He must establish his doc-

trines by Scripture, and to do this he must interpret it. There is not, therefore, in practice such an entire separation between the several departments in a theological curriculum, as these separate designations might lead us to expect. In this connection, we may remark that one of the objections urged against the transfer of Dr. Addison Alexander to the historical department, was founded on the natural misapprehension to which we have just alluded. It was said that it was undesirable to take him away from the direct study and explanation of the Bible. Those who made that objection must for the moment have forgotten that the history of the Church is divided into three periods, the Old Testament period, the New Testament period, and the period from the death of John to the present time. The two former are entirely biblical. The first includes the exposition of the whole book of Genesis; then of all those books of Scripture which relate to the history, the laws, and institutions of the Hebrews; and of the manifold relations between the old and new dispensations. The second requires the vindication and exposition of the four evangelists, and of the Acts of the Apostles. There is not in the present state of theological knowledge and the present condition of the anti-Christian spirit and controversies a field comparable either in difficulty or importance to this. Every one knows that the attacks of the modern infidels of Germany have been mainly directed against the Old Testament history, and the history of Christ. What modern work has had the currency or produced the evils of Strauss's Life of Jesus? No mistake could, therefore, be greater than that the department of biblical and ecclesiastical history is likely to call off the attention of its incumbent from the direct study, vindication, and exposition of the word of God. So far from it, we look upon this arrangement as the very method to secure, with God's blessing, the preparation of precisely that class of works for which there is at present the most pressing need.

It necessarily follows from this intimate relation between the different departments of theology that it is difficult to decide to which of them some subjects ought to be referred. This is specially the case with regard to Church government. It has a very close connection with dogmatics. The nature, attributes, prerogatives, and organization of the Church are one of the

principal heads in every system of theology. They are all embraced in Calvin's Institutes. Turretin's *Locus "De Ecclesia"* comprehends them all. Indeed, the almost universally received classification of the subjects belonging to dogmatics is, Theology, Anthropology, Soterology and Ecclesiology, the last being by no means the least in extent or importance. On the other hand, this subject has close affinity with the historical department, because, in one view it is so much a question of fact. How was the Church organized by the apostles, and what changes did that primitive organization subsequently undergo? Then again there is obvious reason for referring it to the practical department, because it embraces so intimately the duties of the minister, as pastor, and ruler in the Church. Perhaps the extent and importance of this subject, embracing as it does the great principles involved in the Romish and prelatical controversies is a sufficient reason why it should be made a prominent topic in the wide field of Pastoral Theology.

As the Rev. W. H. Green, elected by the Assembly as the successor of Dr. Addison Alexander in the chair of Biblical Literature, is still a young man, and of necessity not extensively known in the Church, we may perhaps be excused for stating the following facts in his history. He graduated at a very early age with distinction at La Fayette College, Pennsylvania, and was appointed tutor of Greek and Latin in that Institution when he was only fifteen years old. When eighteen he was made Assistant Professor of Mathematics, though in fact the whole mathematical instruction of the institution was for a season committed to him. When he became a member of the Theological Seminary in this place, he distinguished himself as a scholar and student in every department, especially in that of languages. Besides attending punctually to his seminary duties he devoted much attention to the study of Arabic and read through the Koran in that language before he completed his course. As soon as he graduated he was appointed assistant teacher of Hebrew, in which capacity he acted for three years, gaining the confidence of the students, of his colleagues, and of the Directors, as an able and successful teacher. While thus engaged in the Seminary he acted for six months (in connection with the Rev. Mr. Gosman,) as stated supply of the first Presby-

terian church in this village; and subsequently he sustained the same relation for eighteen months to the second church in this place. For the last two years he has been the pastor of one of the most important congregations in Philadelphia, a station which he has successfully and honorably filled. Mr. Green is in the estimation of all who have known him eminently a safe man; a man to be relied upon not only for diligence and devotion to study, but for moderation and wisdom. That he has not intermitted his attention to biblical pursuits since his settlement in Philadelphia, is evident enough to those who recognize his pen in various contributions to the pages of this Journal, and especially in the summary of recent biblical intelligence contained in our last number.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Dr. Van Rensselaer, Secretary of the Board, presented the report. He stated that God had blessed the Board of Education with the usual prosperity during the year. There was reason for encouragement. Forty-nine candidates had entered the ministry. The increase of candidates during the past year has been small, although the increase of our population has been one million and the increase of our church members ten thousand.

Our beloved youth shrink from the sacred office; some because of its fearful greatness; some because of inducements of gain and worldly distinction, &c. The fact exists—we have not enough of workmen. Fathers should be instructed that it is their duty to give up their sons to the Lord. Youth must be impressed with the claims God has upon them. Church members must be instructed in their duty to furnish the means, and ministers are called upon to press this subject upon all these, and to urge their immediate action.

The Board is convinced that it is the duty of the Church to train her youth for the great work of the ministry. There is not a sufficient number of candidates. It is the duty of the Presbytery to search out pious youth, to supervise and induct men into this office.

Primary Schools.—The education of the lambs of the flock in church schools is a matter of great importance. There is,

however, a prejudice against the establishment of denominational schools. The number is greater this year than it was last—some have failed, others have had remarkable success.

Dr. Van Rensselaer mentioned one in Illinois, concerning which, an extract of a letter was read, containing sources of great encouragement. Many of the largest churches are contemplating the establishment of schools on Christian principles. The want of funds is an obstacle which retards the success of the experiment. This obstacle can be removed. Two large legacies have been received for educational purposes during the year.

Thirty-five academies are in successful operation. One calamity is to be recorded—the winding up of the Caldwell Institute in North Carolina. This was brought about, by suffering the debts of the Institute to accumulate. Our Academies should be self-sustaining. In some regions of country the churches have been on the decline, because of the lack of this agency in the training of our youth. Other denominations are awake to the importance of this subject and are progressing. Laudable efforts are made in Arkansas, and in the neighbouring Presbytery in Missouri, to establish Presbyterial Academies.

Colleges.—The reformation was carried on by great scholars as well as by good men. What would have been Geneva and Scotland without their Universities? The Pilgrim Fathers planted their college sixteen years after reaching these shores. Dr. Van Rensselaer enumerated different colleges throughout the Union into whose internal arrangements the feature of religious instruction enters, all of which are flourishing.

The connection of the Board with Theological Seminaries has now ceased.

The Board has issued a tract on Education, written by James W. Alexander, D. D., which they wish to distribute extensively.

Home, the School, and the Church, each was commented on at large as to its importance.

The changes contemplated were explained in the Report. They will not be pressed on the attention of the Assembly. The Board simply wish them to be taken into consideration.

The Report was received and referred to a special committee, on whose report the following resolutions were adopted viz:

1. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Assembly, the

wants of the Church, and the general improvement of the age demand increasing attention to the qualifications of candidates for the ministry; and that with the view, partly, of keeping more prominent the idea of the necessity of literary attainments in our candidates, and partly with the view of other advantages, the Board of Education are allowed to give their appropriations the title of scholarships; and the Presbyteries are enjoined to use their best endeavours to raise the standard of qualification for the ministry.

2. *Resolved*, That the practice of requiring a pledge from young men to enter the ministry, especially in the early stages of their preparatory studies, is not deemed conducive to the best interests, either of the candidates, or of the Church; and the Board of Education are hereby authorized to modify their rules accordingly.

3. *Resolved*, That this Assembly prefer that young men within their bounds, who are looking forward to the work of the ministry, should be officially recognized as candidates under the care of Presbyteries, only when they are prepared to enter upon their theological studies, and until that time they be regarded simply as students on probation, under the general watch and patronage of the Presbyteries.

4. *Resolved*, That whilst home nurture is according to the word of God and the covenant of his grace, a main reliance of the Church for the salvation of her children, Providence also testifies to the importance of public education, on Christian principles, in schools, academies, and colleges, and particularly to the intimate relation between Christian education and the power of the gospel as proclaimed in the sanctuary, and therefore the Home, the School, and the Church should all be imbued with the spirit of consecration to the Lord Jesus Christ.

5. *Resolved*, That this General Assembly, entertaining a lively interest in colleges in view of the past history of the Presbyterian Church, its present prosperity, and its future hopes, learn with great satisfaction the general progress attending the department of Christian education, and also the addition of Westminster College at Buffalo, to the list of those institutions; and it is recommended to our churches and members to assist, as far as possible, in the endowment of our colleges, and to co-

operate with the Board of Education in sustaining them during the interval for which they may need aid.

6. *Resolved*, That this General Assembly has a deep sense of the importance of giving to its youth a Christian education in academies and colleges on a more extensive scale than has yet been practiced within our bounds, and that for the purpose of contributing to some extent in bringing forward promising young men of suitable character, other than candidates for the ministry, the Board of Education are hereby authorized to apply to this subject whatever funds may be thus specifically appropriated by the donors.

7. *Resolved*, That in collecting funds for the purposes of education, the Board shall, in all cases, keep the specific contributions for candidates, for schools, academies, and colleges, distinct from each other; but, if no special direction is indicated, then the funds shall be appropriated to the education of candidates for the ministry.

8. *Resolved*, That the Board of Education, on account of its responsible work and the increased pecuniary liabilities attending it, be commended to the liberality of all our churches, and that the Presbyteries are invited to secure collections for the cause of education, either general or ministerial, as may be preferred by the churches.

9. *Resolved*, That the last Thursday of February be observed as a day of special prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit of God upon the youth of our land, who are pursuing their studies in the ministry, and especially that many of them may be called and qualified by Divine grace for the work of the ministry.

These resolutions are of special interest, as they give the sanction of the Assembly to several principles of great importance. One of these is, that it is unwise to exact a pledge of youth in the early stages of their education that they will enter into the ministry. This has been found to be a hurtful snare. There should be no bias on the candidate's mind leading him to decide in favour of the ministry, other than the influence of the Spirit and providence of God.

Another important principle which we rejoice to see sanctioned is, that the benefactions of the Board are not hereafter

to be confined to professed candidates for the ministry or even to those who make a profession of personal religion. The Board are to be allowed to appropriate *sums specially contributed for that purpose* to the education "of promising young men of moral character." This is an enlargement of the sphere of operation of the Board, and will remove an objection which has often been urged against its plans. The seventh resolution wisely provides that the money contributed for candidates, schools, colleges, &c., should be kept distinct from each other, and that where no special direction is indicated, the funds are to be appropriated to the education of candidates for the ministry.

It is thought by many that giving the appropriations of the Board the title of scholarships will serve to remove an impression, which, to a certain extent, in some places at least, is said to rest on the minds of candidates and their friends, that there is something derogatory in the present form and mode of assistance. We do not ourselves see any ground for this impression, and we do not think that it exists to any great extent. But we rejoice in any change which may tend to remove a painful impression. The conviction, however, is gradually extending itself among the churches and their candidates, that there is nothing more derogatory to a young man being educated by the Church for the ministry, than there is in his being educated by the State for the army.

BOARD OF PUBLICATION.

The Rev. Dr. Leyburn presented the annual report of the Board of Publication, whose increasing popularity and usefulness is giving it a strong hold on the interests and affections of the Church. From nearly the entire Calvinistic family, and from Christians of almost every name, the publications have received the strongest approbation. The mechanical execution of the books and tracts has been greatly improved. The receipts for the support of colportage and gratuitous distribution exceed by fifty per cent. those of last year; the sales have increased in an almost equal ratio. For the fiscal year ending April 1st, 1849, they were $29,000; the year ending April 1st,

1850, they were $42,000; and the year just closed, they have been $60,000. Nineteen new books, and seventeen new tracts have been added to the catalogue. Total number of books and tracts published during the year 430,000. Total receipts for the year, $80,987 52. There have been granted to needy ministers, 1136 volumes; feeble churches, 734 volumes; Sabbath schools, 1301 volumes; hospitals and other humane institutions, 171 volumes; literary and theological institutions, 243 volumes; ships-of-war and military stations, 222 volumes; individuals for gratuitous distribution, 717 volumes, in addition to 250,000 pages of tracts. Donations have also been made through the Board of Foreign Missions of books and tracts to the amount of $500, and by colporteurs of 5,525 volumes, and 528,154 pages of tracts.

One hundred and twenty-five colporteurs have been employed in twenty-four different States, the aggregate of whose labours are as follows:—Time spent, thirty years, four months and sixteen days; families visited, 50,890; conversed or prayed with, 22,151; families found destitute of the Bible, 1,898; Presbyterian families visited without the Confession of Faith, 2,237; volumes sold by colporteurs, 58,492; volumes granted by colporteurs, 5,525; pages of tracts granted by colporteurs, 528,154.

The Sabbath School Visitor has had an almost unprecedented success, having secured 25,000 subscribers during the four months of its existence, and averaging one hundred new subscribers a day. The Assembly passed resolutions strongly approving the operations of the Board, and commending it to the increased favour and liberality of the churches.

After which Dr. Brown, from the Special Committee, to whom had been referred the printed report, presented the following resolutions, which where adopted, viz:

1. *Resolved*, That the Assembly find much cause for gratitude to God, in the success with which he has crowned the wise and zealous efforts of the Board during the past year.

2. *Resolved*, That inasmuch as the design of the Assembly in reference to this Board is to call forth the resources of the Presbyterian Church in supplying the Church and the world, as far as possible, with a sound religious literature; and its operations have met thus far the Assembly's expectations to a gratifying

extent; the Board deserves the liberal and zealous support of the Synods, Presbyteries, and churches of the Presbyterian Church, and should receive at their hands a preference over other institutions which profess to have kindred objects in view.

3. *Resolved*, That this Assembly learn with pleasure the success which has attended the publication of the *Presbyterian Sabbath School Visitor*, and recommend it to the hearty support of all the churches under its care.

4. *Resolved*, That in order to bring the publications of this Board more fully to the notice of the public generally, and the churches under the care of the General Assembly, and to furnish increased facilities for obtaining them, and thereby extending encouragement to colportage, it is recommended to the Board, by such arrangements as may seem best to them, to place a full supply of their publications at such points of general access as they may select.

The progress made by this Board within the last three years is in the highest degree encouraging, and reflects great honour on the Secretary and his associates. Indeed we do not know that for a long time so favourable an exhibition of the benevolent operations of our Church has been made to the General Assembly. The Church is evidently increasing in zeal for the objects represented by our several Boards, and in confidence in the wisdom and ability of those by whom their operations are conducted.

COMPLAINT OF MR. PERKINS.

Ambrose Stone, a member of the Irish Grove church in the Presbytery of Sangamon, having stated to session that he had reason to believe he had been mistaken in making a profession of religion, and that he wished to be released from his connection with the church, the session dismissed him to the world without tabling any charges or going through the regular forms of trial. The records of the session coming under the review of Presbytery, the decision of the session in the case of Mr. Stone was reversed by the Presbytery. Mr. Perkins then appealed to the Synod, who confirmed the decision of the Presbytery, and against this action of Synod Mr. Perkins now complains to the Assembly.

The case was fully argued by the parties in the case, and the roll was called for the opinions of members previous to taking the vote. An immense amount of time was taken up by this process, the same ground having been travelled over and over again. The opinions of the members were somewhat thus divided: 1st, that the action of the church session was unconstitutional, on the ground that no specific charge had been officially preferred against Mr. Stone, no hearing or trial was had officially before that body, and therefore the action of the Synod in reversing the action of the session was right and proper, and that the appeal of Mr. Perkins should not be sustained. 2d, that Mr. Stone having openly declared to the session that he did not possess the proper qualifications for a member of the Church; that he would not commune with the Church; and that he had neglected family worship—were sufficient causes for dismissal, and that if the action of the session was not strictly according to the letter of the Constitution, it was in the spirit, and that therefore the appeal from the decision of the Synod should be sustained. 3d, that while the Session did right in dismissing Mr. Stone under the circumstances, its action was not strictly constitutional, according to the letter, and that therefore the appeal should be sustained in part.

The vote being then taken stood as follows:—to sustain the appeal 38, sustain in part 43, not to sustain 79. The subject was then referred to a Committee to bring in a minute expressive of the sense of the Assembly in this case.

The Committee appointed to bring in a minute in the judicial case of Ambrose Stone, according to the vote previously taken, reported the following resolutions:

Resolved, That no church session has the authority to dissolve a connection with a member except by excommunication, and that the session is then bound to proceed according to the Book of Discipline; and this Assembly does condemn the action of the church, in dissolving its connection with Ambrose Stone, as irregular and unconstitutional.

Resolved, That the Presbytery and Synod of Illinois acted correctly in not allowing the members of Irish Grove church to vote on approving their own record, and that they did right in refusing to correct said record.

Resolved, That the Synod require the Presbytery to review the record in this case, according to the Book of Discipline.

After discussion, in which Messrs. Plumer, Twitchell, Van Rensselaer, Cheeseman, Fillmore, Leyburn, McCullough, Clark, Burch, and others, participated, and several ineffectual efforts to amend, the report of the committee was adopted.

The principle involved in the above decision was re-affirmed in the answer given to an overture from the Presbytery of Baltimore.

On Overture No. 23, from the Presbytery of Baltimore, asking whether a member could be dismissed upon application by letter upon a statement that he did not consider himself a converted man, &c. The Committee reported a resolution, that, in the opinion of the Assembly, there is no constitutional or scriptural mode of suspending members from church communion, except by death, dismission to join another church, or excommunication upon trial, according to the provisions of the discipline. Report agreed to.

DISMISSION OF MEMBERS TO OTHER CHURCHES.

Dr. Leland, from the Committee on Bills and Overtures, reported upon Overture No. 10, from the Presbytery of Baltimore, and submitting the following question: "Shall members of our churches, who may wish to join churches not in correspondence with the General Assembly, receive certificates in the same form as if they wished to join another church in our communion, or in correspondence with the Assembly; or has the church session done all that it ought to do, when in such cases the good and regular standing of the persons so applying is duly certified?"

On motion, the answer recommended by the committee was laid on the table, and the following, after amendment, was adopted, viz.: "This whole subject is one that ought to be left to the sound discretion of the various church sessions, according to the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church."

The subject involved in this overture is one of the greatest practical importance. There is nothing on which our ministers and members are more sensitive, than on the question of

Christian communion. There is no point on which the great body of them regard the teachings of the word of God more explicit, and therefore as to no point are they more tenacious of their Christian liberty. We may here remark that it is a great infelicity that overtures on such subjects should be so numerous. It is a common infirmity with many men to wish their opinions turned into laws. They think certain things right and expedient, and instead of being content to act on their own judgment, and allow others to act on theirs, they desire their view of the matter to be made obligatory on all their brethren. One good brother, because he thinks the use of organs in churches unauthorized and injurious, becomes very desirous that their use should be absolutely prohibited by authority. Another thinks that a regular dismission of a church member should be given only in certain cases, and he wishes his private judgment to be turned into a public law. In an extended Church like ours, there are few evils which ought to be more sedulously avoided than excessive legislation. Leave as much liberty to all concerned as possible, if you wish to preserve peace or union.

As to this question of communion, it is well known that there are two very different views arising out of different theories of the nature and design of the Church. The one view is that of the great body of the Christian world, and is the clear doctrine of our standards. It assumes that the terms of Christian communion are unalterably fixed in the word of God, and can be neither increased nor diminished by any human authority. This is one great principle. Another is, that nothing can justly be required as a term of Christian communion, which Christ has not made necessary to admission to heaven. In other words, that we are bound to receive and treat as Christian brethren all whom Christ receives as disciples. We are not to make ourselves stricter or holier than he. Our standards, therefore, lay down the evidences of piety as the only scriptural conditions of church communion. Competent knowledge, faith, and holy living are all the Church has any right to demand, because nothing else is demanded by Christ as necessary to communion with himself. As this is the only scriptural principle, so it is the only one that can be carried out. Can the poor African be required to decide the questions between Prelatists and Presby-

terians, or between Burghers and Anti-Burghers, before he is admitted to the Lord's table? It is out of the question. Every Church must receive, in fact, all whom she regards as the true followers of Christ. Therefore, the lowest terms of salvation are the highest admissible terms of communion. If these principles are correct, it follows that however restrictive are the conditions a Church may see fit to establish as the terms of ministerial fellowship, it must recognize as a sister Church every body which holds and teaches the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, however erroneous it may be in other respects; and, therefore, it cannot with any consistency refuse either to receive members from such Church, or to dismiss them to it. That is, so far as general principles are concerned. For there may be particular cases in which, for special reasons, it is proper to refuse to receive a member from another Presbyterian church, belonging to our own body. All we mean to say is, that any body which we recognize as a Christian Church, we are bound to treat as such, in receiving *worthy* members from them, and in dismissing to them such as desire their fellowship.

The other radically different view of Christian communion is that which is characteristic of our Scotch brethren, and especially of the secession portion of them. They regard the Church so much as a witness for the truth, that they overlook its wider aspect as a "congregation of faithful men" or "the communion of saints." They consider themselves, therefore, as joining in the testimony of any Church with which they commune; and they require all who wish to commune with them to join in their peculiar testimony whatever it may be. Of course they cannot consistently commune themselves nor allow their members to commune with any other than their own churches. Even some of the leaders of the Free Church of Scotland seemed, at first, in danger of falling into this false theory. They were in their zeal for cutting off all communion with the Established Church, lest, as they said, they should vitiate their testimony. Happily for them and the cause of Christ this was a passing cloud. That Church has adhered to the scriptural doctrine, which has ever been held sacred by the great body of Protestants. Christian communion is communion of men as Christians, not as Presbyterians, Methodists, or Episcopalians. We recog-

nize those with whom we commune, or to whom we dismiss our members, as Christians, and as nothing more. We give no sanction to their peculiarities, whatever they may be. We have so often heard the strongest feelings expressed by our pastors on this subject, that we are persuaded that any attempt of the General Assembly to prevent their enjoying on this subject the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free, would be followed by the most unhappy consequences. We rejoice, therefore, in the wise disposition of this matter recorded above.

CLOSE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The Assembly having completed their business, it was

Resolved, That this General Assembly be dissolved, and that another General Assembly, chosen in like manner, be required to meet in the Glebe Street Church in the city of Charleston, on the third Thursday of May, A. D., 1852, at 11 o'clock A. M.

Accordingly the Moderator pronounced the Assembly dissolved, according to the prescribed form, with singing, prayer, and the apostolic benediction.

Thus ended what, from all accounts, appears to have been a singularly pleasant and edifying meeting of the Assembly. All parties unite in commendation of the "Great West" and of the hospitality of its large-hearted Christian people. We have seldom heard such strong and unanimous praise of the temper and skill of a Moderator, as has reached us from all quarters with regard to Dr. Humphrey. All these things are sources of gratitude and tend to bind our churches together in the bonds of mutual confidence and love.

SHORT NOTICES.

First Impressions of England and its People. By Hugh Miller, Author of the Foot-prints of the Creator, the Old Red Sandstone, &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington street, 1851. 12mo. pp. 430.

The intellectual characteristics of the author, displayed in this volume, are acuteness, comprehensiveness, versatility, and power. He touches with equal facility, and handles with equal ability, topics the most varied and distinct. We find him, for example, in the compass of a few consecutive pages, in amusing personal adventure, "trying the metaphysics of Scotch Calvinism" on English Socinians and Methodists, silencing the conceited sciolism of ignorant errorists, vindicating against the cavils of English traders the dignity and utility of theological discussion in which his countrymen are such adepts; interpreting first the geology, and then the history and antiquities, even back to the time of the Romans, of the eventful Border Line between England and Scotland, from the collections in the Newcastle Museum; contrasting in eloquent phrase, amid dashing rain storms, the monumental fidelity of nature in the countless fossils embalmed in the marble tombstones of the great cathedral at York, with the perishing records of human vanity engraved upon their crumbling tablets, describing in terms as graphic and lucid as they are lofty, the magnificent architecture of York Minster; reciting the antiquarian history of York, like one who had made it the study of his life, quoting incidents *a propos* from the novels of Sir Walter Scott, De Foe and Bulwer, picking up at a book-stall a rare old copy of the original Trial of Eugene Aram, and looking for Knaresborough from the battlements of the Minster, with as much interest as if he were a sentimental novel-reader, or a bibliographic monomaniac of the Dibdin school; discussing with equal skill the cause of the potato-rot, and pointing out with the ken of a political seer the changes it was destined to enact in British history; then, sliding into a disquisition on the anti-corn-law league and the Scottish law of entail; apparently equally at home in science, in literature, in theology, in antiquities, in the technics of art, in political jurisprudence, and in the principles and practice of rhetoric and criticism, the whole pervaded by the pure and lofty spirit of evangelical piety. There is no author, whom we

recall at this moment, from whose pages we would undertake to select so much fine writing, in the true and best sense of the word, on such a variety of topics.

The range of literary scholarship soon began to excite our wonder, especially in view of the early industrial and subsequent laborious professional avocations of the author. When we had finished the first half of the volume, we undertook to count up the number of authors quoted in it; and without pretending to entire accuracy, we found the list swelling to *fifty* at the least; and reaching across the entire tract of English literature, from the Bruce of Archdeacon Barbour, or rather, in fact, from the Chronicles of William of Malmesbury, to the Bow street Reports of Charles Dickens, and embracing a fair proportion of authors, not lying within the ordinary range even of respectable literary scholarship. Nor are the references of a slight and passing kind. In the great majority of cases, they indicate familiar acquaintance, either by the length and aptness of the quotations, or the elaborate and critical discussions to which they lead on.

Nor is it only literature that has claimed his attention. The reader will find no less than twenty pages devoted to The Leasowes, made famous by the inimitable skill of Shenstone, the best landscape-gardener in the history of English art, and made by him the subject of a poem of no great merit, which, if we remember right, the author tells us he had read twice a year, from the age of sixteen to that of twenty years.

As for the geology of the book, we presume its readers will by this time know what to expect; though we trust those who have been stumbled by the boldness of Mr. Miller's former works, will pardon what they find in the present, for the sake of the graphic character which it enables him to give to the landscapes and the leading geographical districts of England. Indeed we cannot but hope, that even those who see in modern geology only a dark and portentous conspiracy against the religion and the hopes of the human race, may at least enjoy some compensation, in the beautiful, ingenious, and profound readings, into which science in the hands of such a man has rendered the curious, impressive, and solemn symbols, inscribed by the hand of Omnipotence on the exhumed tombstones of dead and buried ages.

We are not, as our readers know, professional geologists at all. All we have ever attempted, was to give a general and popular view of the progress of geological research, and to state the generalizations which it has reached, solely for the benefit of lay readers. We have never sought to make our

journal a repository of science, or an arena of scientific discussion. It has a totally different sphere; and could not if it would, and would not if it could, enter largely upon this. We believe it to be in the last degree injudicious for the friends of religion to commit themselves hastily against scientific generalization on theological grounds; first, because objections from this quarter are powerless against science, and mischievous to religion: and secondly, because we are perfectly sure of ultimate agreement between the inductions of true science, and the truths of revelation; and we are content to allow the devotees of the former, to prosecute their researches and correct their deductions till this agreement is reached. If science is hasty and erroneous, it will soon be set right, not by theologians and literateurs, but by its own disciples; and instead of throwing the ban of the Church over its free prosecution, it were wiser to encourage her gifted sons, especially if they should happen to be such men as Hugh Miller, to enter upon the task, as the surest and shortest way of reaching truth, and forestalling mischief. Christianity has sufficient prejudice to encounter already, without arraying it in unauthorized hostility against the free researches of science, so long as they are confined within scientific limits. It is only when it transcends those limits, and sets its crude and hasty generalizations against the formal, deliberate, and fundamental facts of the Scriptures, on points which fall within their proper domain, when the deductions of a remote and often fanciful scientific analogy are applied to questions which do not belong to science at all, when, e. g., it undertakes to put forth a contradictory history or a contradictory morality, to that which we know on incontrovertible and undisputed evidence, to be the clear utterance of God, that the friends of religion may wisely rebuke its intrusion on the grounds of revelation, for precisely the same reasons that scientific men protest against the encroachments of theologians on the domains of science. We should remember that the theories of geology are questions of opinion, about which professional testimony is demanded, just like questions in medicine or engineering; and about which, so long as they remain so, none other is worth a rush, except to the person that gives it. We had rather not encounter the smile with which Mr. Miller, the warm friend and admirer of Cowper, "bethought him of the modest poet's philippic on the earlier geologists," as he picked up a well-marked Plagiostoma and a characteristic fragment of a Pecten, from a heap of stones lying under the windows of Cowper's mansion. "Genius" adds the author in his characteristic style, "when in earnest, can do a great deal; but it

cannot put down scientific truth, save now and then for a very little time, and would do well never to try."

The Week: comprising The Last Day of the Week; The First Day of the Week: The Week Completed. By the author of The Commandment with Promise. Illustrated. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 285 Broadway 1851, pp. 363. 16mo.

Many of our readers are familiar with the contents of this neat volume, as they appeared originally in separate treatises. It is pervaded by those stringent views of the Sabbath, which belonged to the noble type of the Puritan religion, to which the world owes its civil liberty as well as its religion; and to which, in our judgment, more than to any other single cause, may be traced the characteristic differences between the religious history of English Dissenters and Scotch Presbyterians on the one hand, and that of the Reformed Churches of the continent on the other. If the views of the Sabbath, as held by our Presbyterian and Congregational forefathers, retained, as we think they did, a tinge of the Jewish institution, we should remember that the latitudinarian tendencies of the modern religious spirit have so often engendered loose and radical notions on the subject, these have so constantly run into immorality and anti-Christian license, that we are disposed to regard with great leniency the fault to which we advert. We fully believe it is to be cured by a loftier, instead of a lower tone of genuine spiritual religion. We, of course, regard the law of the Jewish Sabbath not as abolished, but as taken up and merged in the higher spiritual law of the Christian Sabbath. Its obligation and binding force are not in the least degree abated, but the spirit, as well as the character of the Institution, has of course changed under the gospel.

A Memoir of the Rev. Henry Watson Fox, B. A. of Wadham College, Oxford; Missionary to the Teloogoo People, South India. By the Rev. George Townshend Fox, B. A. of Durham. With an Introductory Essay by the Rev. C. P. McIlvaine, D.D., Bishop of Ohio. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 285, Broadway, 1851. pp. 429, 12mo.

The lovers of religious biography will be obliged to us for introducing to their notice another work belonging to the same class with the memoirs of Brainerd, Martyn, Carcy, and Boardman. For Christian missionary zeal the subject of this volume may be placed on the same level with Brainerd or Martyn, though for native strength and breadth of intellect greatly inferior to the latter. The predominant characteristic of the book to which it will owe both its interest and its usefulness, lies in the extraordinary depth and beautiful consistency of the piety which it

breathes, throughout the varied trials of a short but checkered life.

Moriah, or Sketches of the Sacred Rites of Ancient Israel. By the Rev. Robert W. Fraser, M. A. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 265 Chesnut street.

This volume consists of a series of sketches in which minute detail is avoided, and an endeavor is made to present a view of the Jewish religious ritual, which may prove interesting and instructive to those who have not hitherto carefully studied it; and may lead them to a more diligent inquiry into the history of those sacred antiquities, which, as they illustrate in a very striking manner the oracles of divine truth, it is alike their duty and their interest fully to understand.

The plan of these sketches embraces a view of the temple on Mount Moriah, the great scene of Israel's worship; an account of the priesthood; a description of the daily worship, and of the rights peculiar to the Passover, to the feasts of Pentecost and Tabernacles, the yearly atonement, and the festivals of the New Moons and New Years; and an account of the Sabbath-day, Sabbath-year, and Jubilee. These descriptions are accompanied by scenes, either supposed to have occurred or taken from authentic records, and calculated to illustrate the proceedings of the Israelites on the solemn occasions referred to. The hearts of God's people must warm towards the author and his task. It is a book not for scholars, but for the people.

Bible Dictionary, for the use of Bible Classes, Schools, and Families. Prepared for the Presbyterian Board of Publication. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 265 Chesnut street.

We do not doubt the existence of a general demand for this work. It is chiefly recommended by two considerations. In the first place, it presents in a very convenient and acceptable form, a condensed summary of information, and opinion, gleaned from the varied researches of the learned on the subjects discussed under the several articles. And in the second place, it is distinctively and thoroughly Presbyterian in its doctrines and polity. This circumstance of course defines its range of circulation; and constitutes, in our judgment, the most important feature of the work. We have always believed, in common, with most Presbyterians, that the religious faith of children is neither innate nor intuitive, nor yet the result of an independent and unbiassed exegetical study of the Scriptures; but that it is and ought to be inculcated and received, in the first place, on the authority of the Church to which they belong, illustrated and confirmed by constant appeal to the word of God, the true

ultimate and normal authority on all questions whether of faith or practice.

We desire especially to commend the pronouncing index, as a most valuable feature of the book, though we think the end would be better attained by annexing the pronunciation to the word as it occurs in the text. As the reader is not likely to turn to the appendix, except when he is conscious of ignorance or error, the wretched pronunciation we so often hear in the reading of the Scriptures, is likely to be perpetuated in a large number of cases where it might otherwise be corrected.

This, we are well aware, is a matter of great difficulty; and there will always be difference of opinion, both as to the principles and the practice of orthöepy. We notice accordingly several cases which we should be glad to submit to the editor for re-examination; such, for example, as Cabul (Ka'bul), psaltery (sawl-ter'e), Publius (pub-li'us), Rhegium (re-gi'um).

The Infant's Progress from the Valley of Destruction to Everlasting Glory. By the author of Little Henry and his Bearer. Illustrated. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, No. 285 Broadway. 1851.

Mrs. Sherwood is not John Bunyan, nor is it necessary for her present purpose that she should be. Though the gifted intellects of the world will never hang upon the personified virtues and vices of juvenile humanity which constitute the dramatis personæ of this simple story, as they have done upon the fascinating progress of Bunyan's pilgrims; yet they possess quite sufficient interest, as we know by experience, to rouse and fasten the attention of the class of readers for whom the book was composed. We do not hesitate to pronounce The Infant's Progress a highly valuable addition to the apparatus for juvenile religious instruction; and the edition before us can be recommended as possessing every desirable quality for a book of the sort.

The World's Religion, as contrasted with Genuine Christianity. By Lady Colquhoun, Daughter of the Hon. Sir John Sinclair. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 258 Broadway. 1851. pp. 207. 16mo.

The fragrance of this little volume is that of a field which the Lord hath blessed. It is delightful to see a spirit so purely evangelical, and so beautifully clad in the graces of genuine piety, extricating itself by the help of God's Spirit from the perils of a social position so ensnaring to the soul; and lifting up a testimony for Christ, so honouring to his grace, and so impressive in its earnestness and truth. May the grace of Christ make this volume to her sex and condition in life, what that of Wilberforce was to his.

The Tusculan Disputations. Book First: The Dream of Scipio; and Extracts from the Dialogues on Old Age and Friendship. With English Notes; by Thomas Chase, Tutor in Harvard College. Cambridge: Published by John Bartlett, Bookseller to the University, 1851. pp. 208, 16mo.

This convenient and beautifully printed little volume comprises all the passages in the works of Cicero, in which the question of the Immortality of the Soul is discussed. In the preparation of the text, the editor has shown commendable care and good judgment. The text of the Tusculan Disputations has been founded chiefly on the well-known editions of Moser and Kühner; that of the Somnium Scipionis seems to be a simple reprint of the edition of Moser, and the Cato Major and Lælius of that of Orelli.

The Annotations, which fill the last half of the volume, are drawn chiefly from German sources. Orelli, Wolf, Moser, Tischer, and Kühner have furnished large contributions. The editor has proved his scholarship by a wide and familiar acquaintance with the labours of his fellow editors and critics; while the scrupulous integrity with which he gives credit for his obligations, is in refreshing contrast with the notorious charlatanism which has thrown discredit upon some well-known recent editors, on both sides of the Atlantic, who were abundantly capable of doing better things. We hail the multiplication of highly creditable critical editions of the classic authors, both as an indication and a pledge of advancement in classical scholarship in our country.

The Life and Times of John Calvin, the Great Reformer. Translated from the German of Paul Henry, D.D., Minister and Seminary Inspector in Berlin, by Henry Stebbing, D.D. In Two Volumes, Vol. I. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 285 Broadway. 1851. pp. 519, 8vo.

We have already on three separate occasions noticed* at length the biographical labours of Dr. Henry, as the volumes of this great work, and subsequently an abridgment of the same by the author himself, issued from the German press. We are most happy to apprise our readers that this elaborate, able, and candid work, in which for the first time we are furnished with anything approaching to a complete and reliable history of the life and times of the great theologian and legislator of the Reformation, is now issuing, in beautiful form, from the press of the Messrs. Carter in New York. Having spoken so often and so fully of the merits of the work in its original form, it cannot be necessary for us to do more than announce its publication, in

* See Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review for January 1837, July 1839, and April 1848.

an English dress. We are too happy to see the work accessible to English readers to criticise the translator, further than to say that his version does not in all cases give the precise meaning, and in a few cases which we happened to notice, not the meaning at all of the German original. No enlightened Protestant, however, and above all no Presbyterian worthy of the name, can afford to be ignorant of this precious contribution to the history of genuine Christianity.

The Works of Nathaniel Emmons, D. D., with a Memoir of his Life. Edited by Jacob Ide, D. D. Vol. VII. New York: M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. North Wrentham, Massachusetts: Charles Simmons, pp. 550.

The Works of Dr. Emmons, in six volumes, edited by Dr. Ide, have been for some time before the public. This additional volume containing forty-two sermons, is published in a style uniform with that of the volumes which preceded it, at the price of one dollar and fifty cents. Those who have the other volumes of this edition can now complete their sets at a trifling cost. There are several sermons in this collection of peculiar interest, as exhibiting Dr. Emmons under other aspects than that of a lucid and acute reasoner. His powers as a descriptive and pathetic writer, are exhibited in some of these discourses to great advantage.

The Philosophy of the Active Powers of Man. By Dugald Stewart, F.R.S. Lond. and Ed. Revised, with omissions and additions. By James Walker, D. D., Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy in Harvard College. Second Edition. Cambridge: Published by John Bartlett, Bookseller to the University. 1851, pp. 460.

Nearly one third of the original work allotted to the evidence and doctrines of natural religion is omitted in this edition, as being out of place in a discussion of the active powers of man. The additional notes and illustrations consist almost exclusively of extracts from living or late writers on the subjects treated of. The volume before us is very neatly printed, and will prove a very convenient text book for our higher schools and colleges.

A Translation and Exposition of the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter. By John S. Demarest, Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at Montague, N. J. New York: John Moffet, 311 Broadway, 1851. pp. 283.

The venerable Professors of the Theological Seminary, speak in commendatory letters prefixed to this volume in high terms of its merits. The author says in his preface, "our design has been especially to find out what the Apostle means; the state-

ments of doctrinal truth and practical remarks being given, simply to help the unlearned reader as to meditation and prayer after the meaning has been carefully drawn out." This design the writer has carried out with a good degree of success. His work exhibits the results of diligent study, and is pervaded by an evangelical spirit.

Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man. By Thomas Reid, D. D., F. R. S. E. Abridged, with notes and illustrations from Sir William Hamilton and others. Edited by James Walker, D. D., Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy in Harvard College. Cambridge: John Bartlett, Bookseller to the University. 1850, pp. 462.

This is a companion volume to the work by the same editor noticed above. This is a very convenient edition of a very valuable work.

The Principles of Chemistry Illustrated by simple Experiments. By Dr. Julius Adolph Stöckhardt, Professor of the Royal Academy of Agriculture at Tharand, and Inspector of Medicine in Saxony. Translated by C. H. Peirce, M. D. Fourth American, from the fifth German edition. Cambridge: John Bartlett. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co. 1851, pp. 679.

This work is designed to teach chemistry by experiments within the means of elementary schools and even private families. No expensive apparatus is required. Professor Horsford of Harvard, says of this work, that its qualifications as a text-book for schools, leave little, if any thing, to be desired. The number of editions which it has passed through, both in Germany and in this country, is a sufficient evidence of the estimation in which it is held.

Popery fulfilling Prophecy. A Sermon preached before the Synod of Virginia, October 18th, 1850. By B. M. Smith, Pastor of the Stanton Presbyterian Church. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 265 Chestnut street.

This discourse is founded on 2 Thess. ii. 3—9, and is a very able and instructive exposition of that important passage.

Have the Churches the Presence of Christ? A Sermon addressed to the Presbytery of Londonderry at their semi-annual meeting, April 30, 1851. By Daniel Dana, D.D. Published by the Request of the Presbytery. Newburyport: Moses H. Sargent, 1851.

The venerable author of this sermon lays down the principle "that the presence of Christ with his churches will ordinarily manifest itself in frequent and powerful revivals of religion." It is from the decrease of these merciful visitations he infers that there is great reason to lament that Christ is, in so great a degree,

absent from the Church at the present time. He points out the evidences of the low state of religion, dwelling especially on departures from the pure doctrines of the gospel. The whole discourse is a solemn and earnest admonition from a source entitled to be heard with the greatest deference and respect.

Two Discourses on the Moral State of Man. Delivered in the Central Church, Charleston. By the Rev. W. C. Dana, pastor of said church. Charleston: 1851.

The doctrine forcibly illustrated in these sermons is that total depravity when predicated of our race, does not mean the entire absence of such amiable and right feelings as generosity, sense of justice, filial affection, and the like; but "total absence of love, total opposition of the heart, to a holy God."

The Missionary Age. A Discourse by Rufus Anderson, one of the Secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Boston: 1851.

The design of this discourse is to set forth the last fifty years as the missionary age of the Church of modern times. The author shows that not until the present century had the providence of God opened the way for reaching all nations with the gospel; that before this period the churches were not really organized for the conversion of the world, and had not any commanding system of missions abroad designed expressly for that purpose. All these points are exhibited with the clearness and force which characterize all the productions of Dr. Anderson's pen.

A Sermon preached at the Dedication of the First Presbyterian church, Benicia, California, March 9, 1851. By the pastor, Sylvester Woodbridge, Jr., Benicia, California, 1851.

We send our civilization full-grown to our remotest borders. Educated men, municipal institutions, organized churches, the arts and improvements of industry, are there just as they exist in the old Atlantic States. Here is a sermon as well written and as well printed as though it came from Boston or Philadelphia. As such it is eminently suggestive.

The Baptist Catechism, commonly called Keach's Catechism, or a brief instruction in the principles of the Christian Religion.

The Primitive Rule of Giving. By J. R. Scott.

Positive Law: its distinction from Moral Law. By D. S. Parmelee.

The Primitive Churchman: or Reasons why I am not an Episcopalian.

The Power of the Cross. A discourse by Richard Fuller, D.D.

These are titles of a few of the issues of the American Baptist Publication Society, which we received just as our last sheet was going to press.

The Christian Retrospect and Register: a Summary of the Scientific, Moral, and Religious Progress of the first half of the nineteenth century, By Robert Baird. New York: Published by M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel, City Hall Square. 1851, pp. 420.

This work was not received in time to do any thing more than announce its appearance. A more extended notice may be expected in the number for October.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Ruskin's Stones of Venice just published, developes still farther his æsthetic system. It is an account of the connection of Venitian Architecture with that of the rest of Europe. He traces the history of Venitian art in its relation to its history as a State. One of his most characteristic notions is, that all lovely architectural forms are taken directly from natural objects. He is one-sided, appreciating the Southern Gothic, but blind to the merits of the Northern. Also, looking at Greek art through the medium of the Renaissance or Revived classical style presented by Palladio, Sir C. Wren, and Inigo Jones, he depreciates it unduly. There is a high moral and religious tone about Mr. Ruskin's writings; his "Modern Painter" contains passages that enrich the heart as well as the imagination. It is a rare thing indeed, to have as we do in his books the utterance of an enthusiast who is learned.

Dodd has just published the letters and journals of Henry Martyn. It is a stout sizeable 12mo., and contains nothing that has heretofore been published. This book will be at least a psychological curiosity. It will doubtless be edifying, and if it destroys some of the romance that has hung around Martyn by putting us so unreservedly into possession of his most private thoughts and feelings, it cannot destroy our reverence for him as a Christian hero and martyr. The Rev. Charles Kingsley, of whose "Alton Locke" we spoke in the last number, has lately delivered at London, a long lecture on the application of Christian Socialism to the relations of landed property. It is to be immediately published.

Finney's Theology, and his Lectures on Revivals have lately been republished in England by Tegg. During his stay in the metropolis, numbers of his sermons were printed and scattered

by thousands. The immense multitudes that crowded every night to the Tabernacle to hear him, were attracted not only by his eloquence, but by the efforts of zealous young men, and by great placards which were carried about the streets.

Guizot, according to his promise made in the preface of his History of the English Revolution, is now while condemned to political inactivity engaged in completing that work. He has lately published a series of biographical monographs of which that on Ludlow is said to be the best. The great interest of Achilli's book on the Inquisition seems to be rather the personal narrative than any new information it imparts. He considers Naples as more under the dominion of the Papacy than Rome itself, and therefore worse off.

We notice that Wiseman's Lectures on the Church are continually republished. It is a most artful work, the fallacy of which hinges on a play upon the expression "Protestants" and "Right of private judgment."

A new edition is to come out of "Protestantism and Catholicity compared in their effects upon the civilization of Europe," by Balmez, an enthusiastic Spanish priest lately deceased, and whose posthumous works have lately been printed. It is a romantic rhapsody rather than a sober piece of history, yet it does not lack learning and vigour. At Madrid lately, a remarkable work has been published, "The Persecution of the Spanish Protestants in the reign of Philip the Second," by Don Adolpho De Castro. It shows great research, and though studiously moderate, it exhibits great moral if not physical courage, by the candour and fairness with which it chronicles the heroism of the Protestants, and the atrocities committed against them. It indicates a rising taste for historical studies, the most liberalizing of all studies, and in Spain it is of happy omen. He has had access to a great variety of new documents in manuscript and printed, and especially works of the Spanish reformers themselves, rare because of the pains taken by the Inquisition to destroy them. He thinks that he has been able to throw a new light on the history of Don Carlos.

There are three hitherto unpublished MSS. from the Venitian Archives, in a work on the "Diplomats and Diplomacy of Italy," translated into Italian from Von Raumer's Pocket Book for 1841, which show the espionage which the Republic maintained, by means of its ambassadors, over the whole of Christendom. Italia, a work published at Frankfort, is a complete historic and artistic manual for travellers in that peninsula.

Authors are said to be best rewarded in France; this is true in a social as well as a pecuniary sense. Authors of any note,

and popular journalists are courted in the highest circles. The French *Littérateurs* now in London complain of and wonder at the exclusiveness of English society. They cannot comprehend why they have not the *entrée* at Almack's. Stephens, translator of Tegners Frithiof's Saga, is now publishing at Copenhagen three Anglo Saxon poems of the Eleventh Century, translated in the metre and all the iteration of the originals. The price will be $3. Orders may be sent through H. W. Ellsworth, late Swedish Chargé, now at New York, or through Dr. S. H. Smith.

M. De Coucha, a French bibliomaniac, has had published for himself alone one copy of the works of La Fontaine in the most exquisite typography, and illustrated by the first artists of the day.

It is remarkable how prolific the French authors are. Victor Hugo made five years ago a contract, binding himself not to print any thing new, so that certain magnificent editions of his work might be sold off. The term is just expiring, and he will immediately issue 3 volumes of poetry, and 12 of romances. The French Historian Miguet has nearly finished his life of Mary Stuart. Lamartine has just edited a history of the Restoration of 1814–30; it is by several hands. M. Miller, Librarian to the Assembly, has discovered at Paris some lost MSS. of Origen, making the last seven books of a heretofore incomplete work; it is a refutation of heresies by proving that the heretics took their opinions from the ancient philosophers. The MSS. are said to throw great light upon the opinions and practices of the New Platonists, and the manners and customs of antiquity. There is a report that there have been important discoveries of Greek MSS. in a cave at the foot of Mount Athos, and among them many valuable works long thought to be lost. The Westminster Review, though radical in opinion as well as politics, takes Mr. Atkinson and Miss Martineau sharply to task for the Atheistic sentiments of their book on "Man's Nature and Development." It is indignant in the rebuke of the sentiment that in the search for truth we should keep ourselves indifferent, and assert the necessity of prejudice in favour of truths before we have grasped them, and in order to enable us to attain them. Bigelow's work on Jamaica, published by Putnam, is called by the London Examiner the most searching analysis of the present state of Jamaica, and moreover the most sagacious prognostication of the future prospects of that Island, that have ever been published. D. H. Moir has published at Edinburgh "Sketches of the Poetical Literature of the past half century," in six lectures delivered before the

Edinburgh Philosophical Institution. The third volume of the Documentary History of New York, by Dr. O'Callaghan is out. It sustains the reputation of the predecessor. The history is we believe brought out at the expense of the State of New York.

Colonel Albert J. Pickett, of Montgomery, has in press at Charleston, "the history of Alabama, and incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi from the earliest period."

Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution improves with each successive number. It gives descriptions and sketches of the battle fields, which have the merit of being the result of personal observation. Persons as well as places fall within the scope of the work. The old veteran is visited, curious traits of the old time caught from his lips, and perishing anecdotes chronicled.

A new History of the American Colonies is announced by J. R. Tyson, from which much is expected.

"Episodes of Insect life by Acheta Domestica," is an exceedingly lively and readable book.

Cobbin's Domestic Bible has been republished by Hueston. The notes contain merely necessary explanations, no debateable matter.

G. H. Hickman is publishing at Baltimore, "The Life, Speeches, Orations, and Diplomatic Papers of Lewis Cass;" Little & Brown, of Boston, "The Speeches, Forensic Arguments, and Diplomatic Papers of Daniel Webster," (in six vols.) superintended by Edward Everett; R. K. Croller, "The Memoir and Speeches of the late John C. Calhoun;" and collections are projected of the speeches and public papers of Buchanan and Benton. The last named gentleman is now about proceeding to the task of sifting and arranging for publication, whatever among the mass of his papers may be of permanent interest.

Comte's Philosophy of Mathematics has been translated by Professor Gillespie, of Union College. A biographical account of the Hungarian Statesmen eminent before the Revolution, is about to appear at Pesth. A new version of the Eddas and the mythical narratives of the Skalda has appeared, by Simrock the German poet. Westermann Brothers, of New York, sell the Deutsches Museum, a periodical published at Leipsic, which contains the best account of current German literature.

A Dictionary of six of the dialects of Eastern Africa, viz. The Kishuaheli, the Kinika, the Kikamba, the Kipokomo, the Kihian, the Kigalla, has just been put forth at Tubingen, accompanied by Mark's Gospel translated into Kikamba, and by a grammar of the Kishuaheli. The author is Krass, a Pro-

testant minister, who resided fifteen years in Ethiopia, and has presented to the University of Tubingen several valuable Ethiopic MSS.

It is said that the Biographical Dictionary of illustrious women, an extensive work now publishing at Berlin, is to appear here soon. It has literary merit besides containing useful information. The German novelist Countess Ida Hahn Hahn has become a Roman Catholic, and has made a book giving an account of her conversion. Dr. Tobler, a Swiss, has recently published a work entitled Golgotha, its Churches and Cloisters, in which he discusses the probability of the traditionary localities of our Saviour's passion at Jerusalem, with as much learning as scepticism. There are at present at the German Universities 3973 students of Law, 2539 of Theology, 2357 of Philosophy and Philology, 2146 of Medicine, and 549 of Political Economy.

There is a curious Quarterly published at Boston, by the New England Historico-Genealogical Society, devoted to the Memoirs of notable men of New England, genealogical details respecting all the important families, curious anecdotes and accounts of obscure persons, and all kinds of out of the way knowledge respecting the history of New England people.

M. Lacroix, a French scholar, has discovered in that vast limbo the National Library at Paris a Comédie-Ballet by Moliere, not only unpublished before, but unknown. Its name is "Le Ballet des Incompatibles." It was written at the command of the Prince de Conti, and acted before him by Moliere and his company. The copy discovered was one of those that had been printed for distribution among the friends of the Prince. It is said to be worthy of Moliere.

A new candidate for the honours of Junius has been set up, the Rev. William Mason, author of the celebrated Monody. His claims seem to be based upon his position, his character, and some curious coincidences of style.

Stuart's Commentary on Ecclesiastes is beautifully printed by Putnam.

Mr. H. Dixon, who lately wrote a life of Howard, which was somewhat roughly handled, for its style especially, in Blackwood, has lately published a life of Penn, which is said to be able. He defends Penn from the charges of Macauley, and yet we have noticed, that for some reason or other, the work is not popular among the Society of Friends.

The Russian savant Jacobi, distinguished for his discoveries in galvanism and electro-magnetism died lately at Berlin.

Dr. Hitchcock of Amherst, has lately published "The Reli-

gion of Geology and its connected sciences." Judging from one chapter or lecture (that on the final cause of the brokenness of the earth's surface) we should think that the book was learned and eloquent, though perhaps sometimes diffuse.

Sir Emerson Tennant, Governor of St. Helena, formerly connected with the administration in Ceylon, has written a book "Christianity in Ceylon," in which he praises highly the labours of American missionaries. He states that 4000 are daily receiving instruction in the schools, and that since they were begun 90,000 have been taught, a number equal to half the present population.

A curious instance of generalization, peculiarly French, occurs in a book on England written lately by M. Francis Wey. He says that the cold, hard manners of the English are the work of Cromwell; and that the hatred of Cromwell is the cry of confined nature for emancipation.

Liberia seems at last to be in a fair way of being appreciated in England. The *London Examiner* reviews the colonization by the Dutch at the Cape, where the most respectable product is a Cape boor; by the English at Sierra Leone, and by the French in Algeria, where "every colonist has to have two soldiers to keep his throat from being cut;" and by the Americans at Liberia, which last, it concludes, "is worth more than all that has been effected by the European race in Africa for two and twenty centuries.

M. De Montbelliard has written an "opuscule" in refutation of the Ethics of Spinoza. He is sound on the subject of the creation and human personality, and admires while he contradicts Spinoza.

Quinet has lately been advocating the total separation of Church and State in France, in a work entitled "L'enseignment du peuple."

M. Dargard has published at Paris a history of Mary Queen of Scots, which is said to be complete, brilliant, clear, and impartial.

The title of a new work by Count Montalembert, the ultramontane is The higher and lower radicalism; in its Enmity, Religion, Right, Freedom, Justice, in France, Switzerland, and Italy.

French Literature, is, they say, tending towards monarchy. Guizot and Cousin openly attack republican institutions, and M. Romieu has lately written a book, whose character may be caught from the title, "Le Spectre Rouge of 1852." He infers that the only man who can save France is he who is able to say "L'état c'est moi!"

William Howitt is writing George Fox's life. M. Silvestre, a learned bibliographer, has discovered that the books which it was alleged M. Libri stole from the Mazanne Library, and for which offence he was condemned to ten years imprisonment, are still in that library and never have been away.

Lamartine is just now writing at once two romances in two different papers, besides occasionally tales for the others; is editing a complete edition of his works; is writing a history of the Restoration, and a history of Turkey, and has just begun a daily paper, and all this besides his monthlies, "Conseiller du Peuple" and "Les Foyers du Peuple;" of course he can but administer some of these, but still it is no wonder that his reputation is on the decline.

The *London Leader* says that Cousin did not translate Plato, but merely retouched the dialogues that were translated, and got some clever young men to do the rest.

GERMANY.

Prof. Const. Tischendorf, *Synopsis Evangelica:* the four gospels chronologically arranged, with a brief commentary and a critical apparatus. 8vo., pp. lxvi. and 202. Lipsiae.

Prof. F. Chr. Baur, *The Gospel of Mark*, as to its origin and character. With an Appendix on Marcion's Gospel. 8vo., pp. 226. Tübingen.

Bruno Bauer's *Criticism of the Gospels, and History of their Origin.* Vol. II. pp. 273-295, and Vol. III. pp. 1-128, 8vo. have been published the present year. Also the second division of his *Criticism of Paul's Epistles*, containing the origin of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, 8vo., pp. 76. Berlin. Bruno Bauer is among the most successful of that class of critics who are not troubled with such prejudices as faith in a divine revelation, and whose peculiar skill consists in disregarding all historical verity, and in inventing their facts for themselves. Germany has been fruitful in such, so that he has no lack of coadjutors in this particular direction, both in the Old Testament and in the New; but certainly the palm must be yielded to him both for impiety and for absurdity. It is a perfect curiosity to see with what assurance these brain-spun theories are propounded, the facts reasoned out of them, the most undoubted testimony of history set aside in their favour, clear and positive decisions given where there is no light or directly in the face of it, until all established opinions fall in ruins, and everything lies completely topsy-turvy. Then let him build who can; for these critics are more successful and ingenious in

their favourite work of destruction than in that more laborious of re-construction. Strauss had discovered that the events related of Jesus in the Gospels were mythical narrations, which arose from the application to him of Messianic ideas previously existing; for as his followers conceived him to be the Messiah, they concluded that these must have been realized in him. Bauer has advanced so far beyond Strauss as to convict him of superstition, and class him with Hengstenberg and other pietists for admitting such a chimera as this ante-Christian Messianic expectation, and retaining what remnants he does of traditional belief in parts of the gospel history. In the same spirit he has gone to the discussion of the Acts of the Apostles, and of Paul's Epistles. He claims the merit of being the first to have discovered that Paul did not write those epistles, of whose genuineness no doubt had ever before been entertained. The Romans and Corinthians originated in the earlier half of the second century. Galatians was the work of a compiler, with these previous epistles before him. These led on the Pauline revolution in the Church, with which consequently Paul had nothing to do. The Acts of the Apostles was the fruit of a counter revolution in the middle of the same century, by which the sharp points were taken from the Pauline system, and it was rendered more generally acceptable. The revolting extreme to which Bauer has gone is attended with at least one advantage, that of showing in all their naked deformity the tendencies and results of those skeptical principles upon which others have started but without being daring enough to follow them consistently through, and thus of provoking a speedier reaction and hastening the return of well-disposed minds to faith and reason.

Pastor J. E. F. Sander, Commentary on the *Epistles of John.* 8vo. pp. 328. Elberfeld.

The 1*st Epistle of John* practically explained by Dr. A. Neander. 8vo. pp. 258. Berlin.

Popular Lectures on the 1*st Epistle of John;* with the additional title: Selection from the writings of John Œcolampadius, suited to the times. 8vo. pp. 220. Basle.

Commentary on the Revelation of John. By Prof. Lic. C. Stern. Part I.—Containing the Introduction to that book. 8vo. pp. 104. Breslau.

A Commentary on the *Revelation*, giving the results of Hengstenberg's learned Exposition in a more popular form, by K. W. A. Dressel. Berlin. Part I. pp. 112.

The publishers of Olshausen's Commentary on the New Testament, which the excellent and lamented author did not live to complete, have engaged Professor Ebrard to finish it. He

associated with himself Lic. Augustus Wiesinger, not known from any previous publication except a small tract, *De Consensu Locorum Gal. ii. and Acts xv.*, Erlangen, 1847, the son-in-law of Ranke, author of *Investigations on the Pentateuch*, and grandson-in-law of Prof. Von Schubert, of Munich, to whom jointly he has dedicated his present work. Ebrard and Wiesinger were both pupils of Olshausen, for whom they entertain a very high veneration, and whose piety and evangelical sentiments they share. The imperfect papers which he left, were placed in their hands, and have been consulted and used by them, but have not been allowed to govern their expositions contrary to their own judgment. They have addressed themselves to the task as independent interpreters, and their commentaries are properly their own. Wiesinger has published an Exposition of Paul's Epistles to the *Philippians, Titus, Timothy, and Philemon.* 8vo. pp. 720. Königsberg. Ebrard has written on the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 8vo. pp. 483, and will next proceed to the Revelation. He has also published *Christliche Dogmatik*, Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 552. Königsberg.

Christology of the Old Testament, or the Messianic Promises, Prophecies, and Types, with special reference to their organic connexion. Part II.—Containing the promises and prophecies in the Psalms, by John Bade (Roman Catholic.) 8vo. pp. 310. Münster.

Dr. G. Füllner, *Notionem Immortalitatis apud Hebræos Exposuit.* 8vo. pp. 37. Halae.

Ewald's *History of the People of Israel*, until the time of Christ. Second Edition. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 536. Göttingen.

Handbook of Church History, by Prof. J. I. Ritter. (Rom. Cath.) Two Vols. 8vo. pp. 950. Bonn. 4th edition enlarged and improved.

Church Lexicon, or *Encyclopædia of Catholic Theology*, and its Assistant Sciences, by Prof. H. J. Wetzer and Prof. B. Welte. No. 65-69. Vol. VI. pp. 337-736, 8vo. Freiburg. The latter is favourably known from his having completed and edited Herbst's *Introduction to the Old Testament*, and from his independent publications, *Nachmosaisches im Pentateuch*, 8vo. pp. 230, 1841, and *Introduction to the Deutero-Canonical (Apocryphal) Books of the Old Testament.* 8vo. pp. 276, 1844.

Bibliotheca Judaica, by Dr. Julius Fürst, Author of the Hebrew Concordance. A bibliographical handbook of the entire Jewish Literature, including the writings on Jews and Judaism, and a history of Jewish bibliography. In the alphabetic order of the authors. Part II. I.—M. 8vo. pp. 409. Leipzig.

Hermeneutica Biblica Generalis; by Prof. Jos. Kohlgruber. 8vo. pp. 405. Vienna.

By Privatdocent Dr. Joseph L. Saalschutz: Investigations in the province of *Hebrew-Egyptian Archæology*, Number II. and III., also with the title Critique on Manetho, with an Appendix respecting Hermapion's Obelisk-inscription, and the Hyksos of Manetho. 8vo. pp. 110. Königsberg. By the same: On the Deciphering of Hieroglyphics, Eine Habilitations-Vorlesung zu Königsberg gehalten. 8vo. pp. 28.

God in Nature, by Gymn. Prof. Otto Köstlin. The phenomena and laws of nature represented as the works of God in the sense of the Bridgewater Treatises. 8vo. Vol. I. pp. 193-288. Stuttgart.

The Teaching of Tertullian, developed from his writings, by Charles Hesselberg. Part I. 8vo. pp. 136. Dorpat.

The Theology and Ethics of Sophocles, by Dr. F. Lübker. Part I. 4to. pp. 68. Kiel.

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