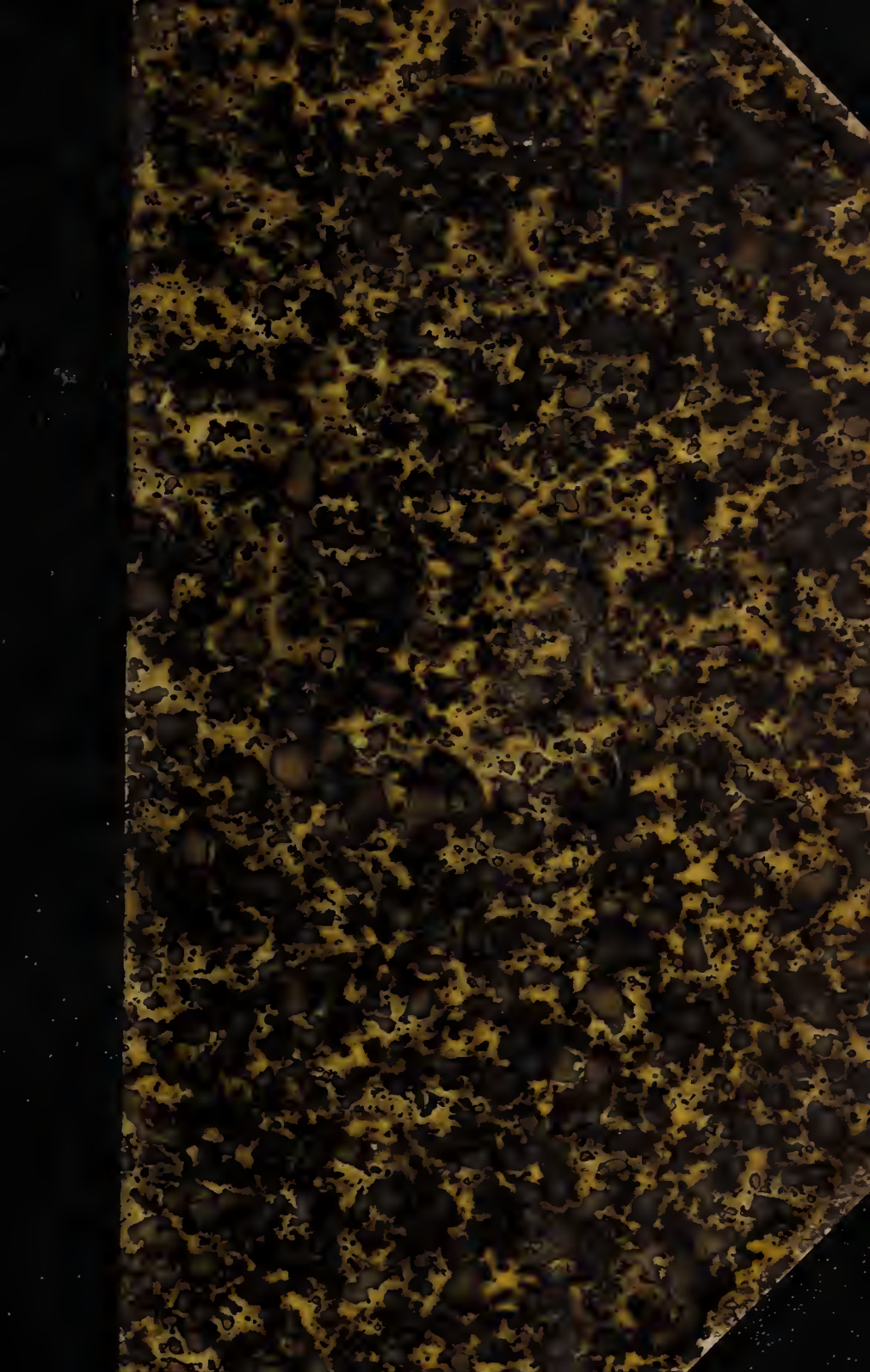

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ART. I.—*Œuvres de Bossuet*, 4 vol. gros, 8vo., Paris, Firmin Didot, 1843.
Œuvres de Bourdaloue, 3 vol. gr., 8vo., Paris, 1837.
Œuvres de Massillon, 2 vol. gr., 8vo., Paris, 1844.

THE age of Louis XIV. has ever been considered the most brilliant era for France. Under the conduct of the most renowned generals, it attained the highest pitch of military glory; under the encouragement given to philosophy, the most valuable discoveries were made in science; under the liberal patronage bestowed upon the fine arts, taste and genius achieved the most splendid triumphs. It was an age of truly great men—of warriors, politicians, philosophers, poets, historians—of such men as Condé and Turenne, Corneille and Racine, Descartes and Fontenelle, Montesquieu and Malebranche, Rochefoucauld and Pascal, Boileau and Rollin, and hundreds of others whose works still yield improvement and delight. It was a period too when eloquence of the highest kind lived and flourished. Not the eloquence of the bar; for its celebrated pleaders, in judicial contests, and the application of the law, seldom went beyond the strain of dry and logical reasoning. Not the eloquence of popular assemblies, for there were no such assem-

blics there to nourish the genius of liberty. Nothing of that kind existed, as in ancient Greece and Rome, and as in our own country, where the assembled people are brought under the influence of the art of speaking; where the public affairs are transacted; where those who compose the nation and make the laws can be convinced and persuaded by direct appeals to their interests and passions; where continued struggles for rights and power rouse the genius of every citizen, force to exertion every talent, inspire with enthusiasm every council, and give to orators all that can qualify them for the sublimest eloquence. There was no room for such eloquence in France at the period to which we refer. "She sat as a queen, and said, I shall see no sorrow." After a combat of many years with the rest of Europe, she beheld provinces conquered, and kings humbled before her; she owned no superior; she feared no rival; she saw the arts and sciences raised to the highest splendour, and the most refined taste and erudition in all the walks of polite literature; she beheld all her people vying with each other in the increase and enjoyment of national glory—while the "grand monarque" sat in his palace proclaiming, "I am the government." In such circumstances we cannot suppose that *that* high, manly, forcible eloquence, which, as an instrument of power, mingles with the busy scenes of public life, could find an existence. But all this is perfectly consistent with another kind of eloquence—the eloquence of the *Pulpit.* To be truly eloquent, the speaker must feel on a level with his auditors—at times even exercise a kind of dominion over them. The sacred orator, speaking in the name of God, can do this under any government; in the most arbitrary monarchy, he can display the same lofty freedom which the equality of citizens gives to a speaker in the active scenes of a republic. Hence, in a country where no civil freedom was enjoyed, there was an eloquence of the loftiest kind, which long flourished, which was carried to the greatest height, and which is still the object of warm admiration.

Some eloquent preachers existed in France, previous to those whose names are prefixed to our article; but whatever reputation they may have had at the time, few have attained

any celebrity. They were eclipsed like tapers placed in the rays of a meridian sun.

Bossuet lived when the French language had reached a degree of maturity, and was advancing towards perfection. He first appeared in Paris in 1659; was soon invited to be one of the preachers of the court; for ten years passed through a most brilliant career; and then was promoted to the bishopric of Condom, and afterwards to that of Meaux.

He has been termed the "French Demosthenes," and well does he deserve the title; for he, of all his contemporaries, bears the greatest resemblance to the Athenian orator. He was regarded as the former, in Europe, of the eloquence of the pulpit; and his works were directed to be studied as classic works, as men repair to Rome to improve their taste by the master pieces of Raphael and Michael Angelo. Time, that great destroyer of ill-founded reputation, instead of impairing, has from age to age added fresh lustre to his glory.

He was devoted to the study of the Fathers, particularly of Chrysostom and Austin, from whom he drew profound maxims and convincing arguments; and to the frequent reading of Demosthenes and Homer, to imbibe the vehemence of the one, and the imagination of the other. But he was specially sedulous in the study of the Holy Scriptures. From that divine book he drew forth the richest treasures; in this inexhaustible mine he found the sublimest thoughts, the strongest expressions, the most eloquent descriptions, the most pathetic images. There he found history, laws, moral precepts, oratory, and poetry.

If eloquence consist in taking strong hold of a subject, knowing its resources, measuring its extent, and skilfully uniting all its parts; in causing ideas to succeed each other, so as to bear us away with almost irresistible force; if it consist in painting objects in such a manner as to give them life and animation; if it consist in such a power upon the human mind as leads us to be carried along with the speaker, and to enter into all his emotions and passions, then the Bishop of Meaux is eloquent. But let us not mistake the nature of his eloquence. He was not content with gratifying his audience, or leaving their minds in a state of satisfied tranquillity, but aimed at thorough-

ly convincing and agitating their souls, and making such an impression as could not be easily obliterated. Every thing is simple and natural—there is no affectation of pomp, no visible desire to please, no disposition to withdraw attention from the subject to the author—all is related and described in such a manner as to conceal all art. In every thing there is nature, both its order and its irregularity—sometimes rising to the mountain-top, and sometimes descending to the valleys—sometimes the winding and transparent rivulet, and sometimes the mighty cataract which astonishes and overwhelms.

Few of his sermons that have come down to us received his finishing hand. The greater part are sketches—full and perfect as far as they go, and filled up at the time of delivery. They were such, too, as he never repeated, after he left Paris; for when he became bishop, though he preached much, yet he wrote not his sermons, but trusted to the occasion for language, after profoundly studying his subject. But though they are the productions of his youth, and in a state of comparative imperfection, yet they bear the marks of a mighty genius; they present thoughts strong and original, in a corresponding style of energy and majesty; they show the author powerfully affected by what he writes, and when the subject requires it, warmed by imagination, and heated by passion; they impress and captivate the reader, and animate him with the same admiration, love, fear, and hatred with which the orator is inspired.

We shall present, in a free translation, a few quotations from some of his sermons, fully sensible how much is lost in such translation, and how a resort to the original can alone discover their beauties.

One of the best sermons is on the *Truth and Perfection of the Christian Religion*, from Matt. xi. 5, 6.—"Preached before the king." It is, throughout, convincing and eloquent. We make the following extract:

* "Truth is a queen who may be said to inhabit her own excellence; who reigns invested with her own native splendour, and who is enthroned in her own grandeur, and upon her own felicity. This queen condescending to reign in our world for the good of man, our Saviour came down from above to establish

* "La vérité est une reine qui habite en elle-même," &c., &c.

her empire upon earth. Human reason is not consulted in the establishment of her empire. Relying on herself, on her celestial origin, on her infallible authority, she speaks and demands belief; she publishes her edicts, and exacts submission; she holds out to our assent the sublime and incomprehensible union of the most blessed Trinity; she proclaims a God-man, and shows him to us extended on a cross, expiring in ignominy and pain, and calls upon human reason to bow down before this tremendous mystery.

"The Christian religion, not resting her cause upon the principles of human reason, rejects also the meretricious aid of human eloquence. It is true the apostles, who were its preachers, humbled the dignity of the Roman fasces, and laid them at the foot of the cross; and in those very trials to which they were summoned as criminals, they made their judges tremble. They conquered idolatry, and presented their converts as willing captives to the true religion. But they accomplished this end, not by the artifice of words, by the arrangement of seductive periods, by the magic of human eloquence—they effected it by a sacred persuasive power which impressed—more than impressed—which captivated the understanding. This power being derived from heaven, preserves its efficiency, even as it passes through the lowly style of unadorned composition; like a rapid river, which as it courses through the plain, retains the impetuosity which it acquired from the mountain whence it sprung, and from whose lofty source its waters were precipitated.

"Let us then form this conclusion, that our Saviour has revealed to us the light of the Gospel by means worthy of the Giver, and at the same time by means the most consonant with our nature. Surrounded as we are by error, and distressed with uncertainty, we require not the aid of a doubting academician, but we stand in absolute need of a God to illuminate our researches. The path of reason is circuitous, and perplexed with thorns. Pursuit presupposes distance, and argument indecision. As the principle of our conduct is the object of this inquiry, it is necessary to have recourse to an immediate and immutable belief. The Christian finds every thing easy in his faith; for though the doctrines which Christ proposes to his acceptance are too immeasurable for the narrow capacity of his

intellect, yet they may be embraced by the expansive submission of his belief.

"Let us dwell on a theme so interesting; let us direct our view to those divine features which proclaim the heavenly origin of our religion.—When she first descended from above, did she not come as an unwilling visitant? Rejection, hatred, and persecution met her in every step; nevertheless she made no appeal to human justice, no application to the secular power; she enlisted defenders worthy of her cause, who, in attachment to her interests, presented themselves to the stroke of the executioner, in such numbers that persecution grew alarmed, the law blushed at its own decree, and princes were constrained to recall their sanguinary edicts. It was the destiny of truth to erect her throne in opposition to the kings of the earth. She called not for their assistance, when she laid the foundation of her own establishment—but, when the edifice rose from its foundation, and lifted high its impregnable towers, she then adopted the great for her children; not that she stood in need of their concurrence, but in order to cast an additional lustre on their authority, and to dignify their power. At the same time, our holy religion maintained its independence; for when sovereigns are said to protect religion, it is rather religion that protects them, and is the firmest support of their thrones. I appeal for the ascertainment of this fact to the history of the church. The world threatened, but the Christian religion continued firm; error polluted the stream, but the spring retained its purity; schism wounded the holy form of the church, but the truth remained inviolable; many were seduced, the weak overcome, the strong shaken, but the pillar of the sacred edifice stood immovable.

"—You that think yourselves endowed with a sagacity to pervade the secrets of God, approach, and unfold to us the mysteries of nature—the whole creation is spread out before you. Choose your theme—unravel what is at a distance, or develope what is near; explain what is beneath your feet, or illustrate the wonderful luminary which glitters over your head. What! does your reasoning faculty stagger on the very threshold? Poor, presumptuous, erring traveller, do you expect that an unclouded beam of truth is to illuminate your path? Ah! be no more deceived. Advert to the dark, tempestuous atmosphere,

which is diffused over that country through which we are traveling; advert to the imbecility of our reasoning powers; and until the Omniscient God shall remove the obscuring veil that hangs between heaven and earth, let us not reject the salutary aid and soothing intervention of a simple faith."

In the sermon *on the Crucifixion*, from Gal. vi. 14, the influence of Christianity in destroying idolatry is strikingly exhibited:

* "Religious truth was exiled from the earth, and idolatry sat brooding over the moral world. The Egyptians, the fathers of philosophy, the Grecians, the inventors of the fine arts, the Romans, the conquerors of the universe, were all unfortunately celebrated for perversion of religious worship, for gross errors which they admitted into their belief, and the indignities which they offered to the true religion. Minerals, vegetables, animals, the elements, became objects of adoration; even abstract visionary forms, such as fevers and distempers, received the honours of deification; and to the most infamous vices and dissolute passions altars were erected. The world which God made to manifest his power, seemed to have become a temple of idols, where every thing was God but God himself. The mystery of the Saviour's crucifixion was the remedy which the Almighty ordained for this universal idolatry. He knew the mind of man; and he knew that it was not by reasoning that an error could be destroyed, which reasoning had not established. Idolatry prevailed by the suppression of the rational faculty; by suffering the senses to predominate, which are apt to clothe every thing with qualities with which they are affected. Men gave the Divinity their own figure, and attributed to him their vices and passions. It was a subversion of reason, a delirium, a phrensy. Argue with a man who is insane—you do but the more provoke him, and render the distemper incurable. Neither will such argumentation cure the delirium of idolatry. What has learned antiquity gained by her elaborate discourses—her disputations so artfully framed? Did Plato, with that eloquence which was styled divine, overthrow one single altar, where those monstrous divini-

* La vérité religieuse étoit exilé sur la terre, &c.

ties were worshipped? Experience has shown that the overthrow of idolatry could not be the work of reason alone. Far from commissioning human wisdom to cure such a malady, God completed its confusion by the mystery of the cross. When that was raised, and displayed to the world an agonized Redeemer, incredulity exclaimed, it was *foolishness*—but the darkened sun—nature convulsed—the dead arising from their graves, said, it was *wisdom*."

Many fine thoughts are found in the sermon on *the Name of Jesus*, from Matt. i. 21.

* "I cannot observe without an emotion of astonishment the conduct of the Son of God. I observe him through the course of his ministry displaying, even with magnificence, the lowliness of his condition, and when the hour approaches which is to terminate in his death, the word *glory* dwells on his lips, and he discourses with his disciples of nothing but his greatness. On the eve of his ignominious death, when the traitor had just gone from him, big with his execrable intention, it was then that the Saviour of the world cried out, with a divine ardour—'Now is the Son of man glorified.' Tell me in what manner he is going to be glorified? What means the emphatic word—*now?* Is he at once to rise above the clouds, and thence to advance vengeance on his foes? Or is the angelic hierarchy, seraphs, dominions, principalities, and powers, to descend from on high, and pay him instant adoration? No! he is going to be degraded; to submit to excruciating pain; to expire with malefactors. This is what he denominates his *glory;* this is what he esteems his triumph! Behold his entrance into Jerusalem, 'riding on an ass.' Ah! Christians, let us not be ashamed of our Heavenly King—let the sceptic deride, if he please, this humble appearance of the Son of God; but I will tell human arrogance that this lowly exhibition was worthy of the king who came into this world, in order to degrade and crush beneath his feet all terrestrial grandeur. Behold what a concourse of people, of all ages and of all conditions, precede him, with branches of palm trees, in the act of exultation—how the air resounds with the acclamations; 'Hosannah to the Son

* Certes je ne puis voir sans étonnement dans les Ecritures Divines, &c.

of David—blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.' Whence this sudden change, so opposite to his former conduct? Whence is it that *he* now courts applause, whom we see in another part of the gospel, retiring to the summit of a solitary mountain to escape the solicitations of the multitudes assembled from the neighbouring cities and villages for the purpose of electing him their king? He now listens with complacency to the people who accost him with that title. The jealous Pharisees endeavour to impose silence; but the Saviour cries, 'If these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out.' I ask again, whence is this abrupt change? why does he approve of what he lately abhorred, and accept of what he lately rejected? Entering Jerusalem now for the last time, it is in order to die; and agreeably to his sentiments, to die is to reign; to die, in his estimation, is to be 'glorified.' How dignified was his conduct through the whole process of his passion! How dignified his deportment at the tribunal of Pilate! The Roman President asked, 'art thou a king?' The Son of God, who had until that time been silent, no sooner heard his title to royalty mentioned, than he abruptly replied, 'Thou sayest that I am a king; to this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world.' Yes! gracious Saviour, I comprehend thee—it is thy glory to suffer for the love of thy people; and thou wilt not claim the sceptre, until, by a victorious death, thou deliverest thy subjects from eternal slavery!

"Let heaven and earth burst forth into a song of praise, for Jesus Christ is a King. To those who have been regained and subdued to his protection at so high a price, he is a most liberal monarch—through him they not only live, but have the hope of reigning themselves—for such is the munificence of our celestial King, that in every court, every brow is to be encircled with a diadem. Listen to the beautiful hymn of the twenty-four elders—representing most probably the assemblage of the faithful, under the Old and the New Testament—the one half representing the twelve patriarchs of the Jewish church—the other half, the twelve apostles of the Christian church. Observe that the elders are crowned, that they fall prostrate in humble adoration before the Lamb, singing, 'Thou hast made us kings.' Let me ask if human grandeur dare for a moment to enter

into competition with this celestial court? Cyneas, the ambassador of Pyrrhus, in speaking of ancient Rome, said that he beheld in that imperial city as many kings as senators. But our God calls us to a more resplendent exhibition; in this court, this nation of elected kings, this triumphal city whose walls are cemented by the blood of Christ, I not only affirm that we shall behold as many kings as senators, but I assert that there will be as many kings as inhabitants. The King of the world admits to the participation of his throne all the people whom he has redeemed by his blood and subdued by his grace."

There are some similar thoughts in his second sermon "pour le premier dimanche de l'avent;"—in which there is a beautiful contrast between Jesus Christ and Alexander—presented with with great simplicity, by an allusion to authentic history.

* "Hear how the author of the first book of Maccabees speaks of the great king of Macedonia, whose name seemed to breathe nothing but victory and triumph. 'It happened that Alexander, son of Philip, reigned over Greece, and made many wars, and won many strongholds, and slew the kings of the earth, and went to the ends of the world, and took spoils of many nations, insomuch that the earth was quiet before him.' What a grand and magnificent beginning!—but hear the conclusion. 'After these things he fell sick, and perceived that he must die; wherefore he called his servants, and parted his kingdom among them. So Alexander reigned twelve years, and he died.' To this fate is suddenly reduced all his glory; in this manner the history of Alexander the Great terminates. How different the history of Jesus Christ! It does not indeed commence in a manner so pompous—neither does it end in a way so ruinous. It begins by showing him to us in the sordid manger—then leads him through various stages of humiliation—then conducts him to the infamy of the cross—and at length envelopes him in the darkness of the tomb—confessedly the very lowest degree of depression. But this, instead of being the period of his final abasement, is that from which he recovers, and is exalted. He rises—ascends—takes possession of his throne—is extending his glory to the utmost bounds of the uni-

* "Ecoutez comme parle l'Histoire," &c., &c.

verse, and will one day come with great power to judge the quick and the dead."

In his addresses to the king, there is a noble and manly freedom which we cannot but admire—an apostolic fidelity which shows a marked dislike and careful avoidance of adulation. The following is a specimen:

* "While your majesty looks down from that eminence to which Providence has raised you; while you behold your flourishing provinces reaping the harvest of happiness, and enjoying the blessings of peace; while you behold your throne encompassed with the affections of a loyal people, what have you to fear? Where is the enemy that can injure your happiness? Yes! sire, there is an enemy that can injure you—that enemy is yourself—that enemy is the glory that encircles you. It is no easy task to submit to the rule that seems to submit to us. Where is the canopy of sufficient texture to screen you from the penetrating and searching beams of unbounded prosperity? Let me entreat you to descend in spirit from your exalted situation, and visit the tomb of Jesus; there you may meditate on loftier subjects than this world with all its pomp can offer; there you may learn that by our Redeemer's resurrection from the grave, you may be entitled to a crown of immortal glory.

"What will it avail you, sire, to have lifted so high the glory of your country, unless you direct your mind to works which are of estimation in the sight of God, and which are to be recorded in the book of life? Consider the terrors which are to usher in the last day, when the Saviour of the world will appear in tremendous majesty, and send judgment unto victory. Reflect if the stars are then doomed to fall, if the glorious canopy of the heavens is to be rolled together as a scroll, how will those works endure, which are constructed by man? Can you, sire, affix any real grandeur to what must one day be blended in the dust? Elevate then your mind, and fill the page of your life with other records and other annals."

We have often been struck with the manner in which truth is pressed upon the conscience, and the sinner urged to immediate repentance. The following is a single instance from many that might be presented:

* "Pendant que votre majesté regarde en bas de cette élévation," &c., &c.

* "When God transported the prophetic spirit of Ezekiel into the valley of bones, he heard a voice cry out, 'Can these dry bones live? Say unto them, O! ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord.'—The application is obvious; bring it home to your own bosoms; enforce it on your own situation. Let no time be lost; defer not to a distant period your repentance; the voice that now whispers to your soul, 'O! ye dry bones, hear the voice of the Lord,' will perhaps never invite you more. The season of age and weakness will betray you; when you are arrived within a few steps of the grave, you will find neither time, nor disposition, nor capacity to perform the solemn task which you have so long delayed—your soul will be encumbered with a train of confused, turbid, comfortless thoughts; (I have unhappily often witnessed such scenes,)—your cold lips will utter a few imperfect prayers that will not reach the heart any more than water gliding over a marble surface will penetrate the substance. Seize then the present hour—the offered moment. Why will you perish? You, my brethren, who have been distinguished by so many blessings; to whom, in your earlier years, the immaculate page of Christianity was unfolded; who were reared in the hallowed bosom of religion, why will ye perish? You for whom this roof resounds with the voice of the preacher; for whom that table is spread with celestial food, why will you perish? You for whom Jesus died, for whom he rose from the dead—and now, willing your salvation, shows to his Father the sacred wounds he suffered, why will you perish?

"The best method to raise our thoughts above this speck of earth, is first to contemplate the deceitful and fugitive tenure of terrestrial existence. May we not compare human life to a road that terminates in a ruinous precipice? We are informed of the dangers we incur, but the imperial command is announced, and we must advance. I would wish to turn back, in order to to avoid the ruinous precipice, but the tyrant necessity exclaims, 'advance, advance.' An irresistible power seems to carry me along. Many inconveniences—many hardships—many untoward accidents occur; but they would appear trivial, could I withhold my steps from the ruinous precipice. No! no! An

* Quand Dieu transportoit l'esprit prophétique, &c.

irresistible power urges me to proceed, and even impels me to run—such is the rapidity of time. Some pleasant circumstances, however, present themselves; we meet with objects in the course of our journey, which attract attention—limpid streams—groves resounding with harmony—trees loaded with delicious fruit—flowers exhaling their aromatic odour into the passing gale. Here we would be glad to wander, and suspend the progress of our journey; but the voice exclaims, 'advance, advance,'—while all the objects we have passed suddenly vanish, like the materials of a turbid dream. Some wretched consolation still remains—you have gathered some flowers as you have passed by, which, however, wither in the hand that grasps them—you have plucked some fruit, which, however, decays before it reaches the lips. This, this is the enchantment of delusion. In the progress of your destined course, you now approach the tremendous gulf which breathes forth a solemn vapour that discolours every object. Behold the shadowy form of Death rising from the jaws of the fatal gulf, to hail your arrival. Your heart palpitates—your eyes grow dim—your cheeks turn pale—your lips quiver—the final step is taken—and the hideous chasm swallows up your trembling frame."

We make but one more quotation from his sermons, from a discourse on *the Sufferings of the Soul of Jesus*, founded on Isaiah liii. 6. And we do it the more cheerfully, as his sentimsnts on the doctrine of the Atonement are so correct and scriptural.

* "The most soothing consolation to the man plunged in affliction, is the consciousness of his freedom from guilt, which, like an angel, watches at his side, and whispers comfort to his soul. The holy confidence arising from this source supported the martyrs, and upheld their enduring patience under the pressure of the severest tortures. This consolation acted with a magical influence; it calmed their sufferings; it lulled the exquisite sensation of the flames which consumed their bodies, and diffused over their countenance the expression of a celestial joy. But Jesus, the personally innocent Jesus, found no such consolation in his sufferings; what was given to the martyrs was denied to the King of martyrs. Under the ignominy of a most

* La consolation la plus douce pour un homme qui souffert, &c.

disgraceful death, under the impression of the most agonizing torments, he was not allowed to complain, nor even to think that he was treated with injustice. It is true he was personally innocent; but what did the recollection of an immaculate life avail him? His Heavenly Father, from whom alone he looked for consolation, who from eternity had shed upon his beloved Son the effulgence of his glory, now withdraws his sacred beams, and spreads over his head an angry cloud. Behold the innocent Jesus, the spotless Lamb, suddenly become the goat of abomination, burdened with the sins of men. It is no longer the Jesus who once said, 'which of you convinceth me of sin?' (John viii. 46,)—he presumes to speak no more of his innocence. O! Jesus, I view thee bending beneath the weight of human guilt. See, my brethren, see imputed to him the sins of men; see the turbulent ocean of iniquity ready to engulf him: wherever he casts his eye, he beholds torrents of sin bursting upon him. By a wonderful commutation which comprises the mystery of our salvation, one is smitten and others are delivered. God smites his innocent Son for the sake of guilty men; and pardons guilty men for the sake of his innocent Son. How inadequate is all language to express such mercy! Let this sanctuary be to every one of us a Calvary, and let us not depart hence, before we have kindled in our bosoms the flame of eternal gratitude for the sublime act of love which is this day recorded through the Christian world."

But it is in his *Funeral Orations* that the eloquence of Bossuet is specially seen. These were prepared in mature life, when his taste was chastened, received all the correction which his hand could give them, and by universal consent are the enduring memorials of the loftiest genius. They are not only uncommonly spirited, and animated with the boldest figures, but frequently rise to a degree of the sublime. While celebrating the illustrious dead, he employs them as preachers to the living; while sitting on the tombs of kings and princes, he crushes the pride of all kings, levels them with the meanest of their subjects, and confounds them in the common dust.

His success in this species of eloquence is seen in his *Funeral Oration for Henrietta, Queen of England, wife of Charles I.* It was a subject worthy of the great talents of Bossuet; a

subject most dramatic and eventful—a rebellion crowned with victory—a fugitive queen—a monarch bleeding on the scaffold —all furnishing important materials for such a discourse, and employed in such a manner as to bear the impress of the highest eloquence. While he paints in vivid colours the civil commotions, he shows us God in them all, "setting up one and putting down another," destroying thrones, precipitating revolutions, subduing opposition: and while thus directing our attention to a superintending Providence, he casts a religious awe through the whole scene, which renders it really pathetic, and truly grand.

In adverting to the dignified manliness which accompanied Charles I. in the last scenes of his life, the orator says:

* "Pursued by the unrelenting malignity of fortune, abandoned, betrayed, defeated, he never abandoned himself. His mind rose superior to the victorious standard of the enemy. Humane and magnanimous in the moment of victory, he was great and dignified in the hour of adversity. This is the image which presents itself to my view in his last trial. O! thou august and unfortunate queen! I know that I gratify thy tender affection, while I consecrate these few words to his memory —that heart which never lived but for him, awakens even under the pall of death, and resumes its palpitating sensibility at the name of so endeared a husband."

Instead of directly saying that Charles died on the scaffold, he represents the queen as adopting the words of Jeremiah, who alone is capable of lamentations equal to his sorrows.

† "O! Lord, behold my afflictions, for the enemy hath magnified himself: the adversary hath spread out his hand upon all my pleasant things; my children are desolate, because the enemy prevailed. The kingdom is polluted, and the princes thereof. For these things I weep; mine eye runneth down with water, because the comforter that should relieve my soul is far from me." (Lam. i. 9. 16.)

In this manner he speaks of the queen's escape from her enemies in England.

* Poursuivi à toute outrance par l'implacable malignité, &c. &c.

† Jérémie lui-même, qui seul, &c., &c.

* "The queen was at length obliged to leave her kingdom. She sailed out of the English ports in sight of the rebellious navy; it approached so near to her, in pursuit, that she almost heard their profane cries and insolent threats. Ah! how different was this voyage from that which she made on the same sea, when, going to take possession of the sceptre of Great Britain, she saw the billows smooth themselves under her, to pay homage to the queen of the seas. Now pursued by implacable enemies who falsely accused and endeavoured to destroy her—sometimes just escaped, and sometimes just taken—her fortune changing every hour—having no other aid but the Almighty and her invincible courage—no winds nor sails to favour her precipitate flight; but God preserved her and permitted her to live."

The *oration for Henrietta, Princess of England, and daughter of Charles I.*, has not events so grand and striking; and presents not a picture so vast and magnificent—but it exhibits a pathos, though more soft, yet equally touching. Bossuet was evidently much affected when he composed this discourse and deeply moved when he delivered it. The fate of a young princess, the daughter, sister, and sister-in-law of a king, enjoying all the advantages of grandeur and beauty—dying suddenly at the age of twenty-six, of a frightful accident, with all the marks of poison, was an event calculated to excite the tenderest commiseration, and to make an impression that would settle on the heart. The Christian orator tenderly affected by the greatness of the calamity, and the painful circumstances connected with it, declares that "in one single woe he will deplore all human calamities, and in one single death, show the death and emptiness of all human grandeur." He has done it—he exhibits the earth under the image of a universal wreck—shows us man continually striving for elevation, and the divine power hurling him from the eminence. From the experience of her whom he deplores and celebrates, he vividly delineates the uncertainty of life, the frailty of youth, the evanescence of beauty, the emptiness of royalty, and the utter nothingness of all worldly greatness; while sketching

* La reine fut obligée à se retirer de son royaume, &c.

these pensive scenes, he continually returns to the princess, and shows us what she once was, and what she now is.

He describes the manner in which she was almost miraculously delivered out of the hands of her enemies.

* "In spite of the storms of the ocean, and the more violent commotions of the earth, God, taking her on his wings, as the eagle does her young, carries her into that kingdom; places her in the bosom of the queen, her mother, or rather in the bosom of the Christian church."

How terrible must have been the impression, when he spoke of her death; when after a sentence unusually calm, he suddenly cried out:

† "O! ever memorable, disastrous, terrific night! when consternation reigned throughout the palace; when, like a burst of thunder, a despairing voice cried out, '*the princess is dying—the princess is dead!*'"

At this sentence, the orator was obliged to stop—the audience burst into sobs, and the preacher was interrupted by weeping.

Some moments after, having spoken of the greatness of her soul, and the nature and extent of her virtues, he suddenly stops, and pointing to the tomb in which she is inclosed, exclaims:

‡ "There she lies as death presents her to our view; yet even these mournful honours with which she is now encircled will soon disappear; she will be despoiled of this melancholy decoration, and be conveyed into the dark receptacle, the last gloomy habitation, to sleep in the dust with annihilated kings, among whom it will be difficult to place her, so closely do the ranks press upon each other—so prompt is death in crowding this gloomy vault with departed greatness. Yet even here our imagination deludes us; for this form, destitute of life, which still retains the human resemblance, the faint similitude which still lingers in the countenance, must undergo a change, and be turned into a terrific something, for which no lan-

* Malgré les tempêtes de l'ocean, et les agitations encore plus violentes de la terre, &c., &c.

† O! nuit désastreuse, O! nuit effroyable, &c., &c.

‡ La voilà que la mort l'a faite, &c., &c.

guage has a name; so true is it that everything dies that belongs to man, even those funeral expressions that designate his remains."

The following is the conclusion:

* "Should we wait until the dead arise before we open our minds to religious instruction! What this day descends into the grave should be sufficient to awaken and convert us. Could the divine providence bring nearer to our view, or more forcibly display the vanity and emptiness of human greatness?

† "I entreat you to begin from this hour to despise the smiles of fortune, and the favours of this transient world. And when you shall enter those august habitations—those sumptuous palaces, which received an additional lustre from the person we now lament—when you shall cast your eyes around those splendid apartments, and find their better ornament wanting, then remember that the exalted station she held, that the accomplishments and attractions she was known to possess, augmented the dangers to which she was exposed in this world, and now form the subject of a righteous investigation in the world to come."

We pass over several of his other orations to the one which we have always regarded as his best—that *on the Prince of Condé.* If ever an orator entered into his subject with the highest enthusiasm, and imparted it to his hearers with elevated passion, it was Bossuet on this occasion. He thoroughly comprehends the character and acts of him whom he celebrates; collects and combines in a manner the most admirable all the particulars which relate to his birth, his life, his death, his private character and public career. While thus happy in his arrangement, in description he has all the impetuosity of his hero, and details events with the rapidity and force with which his warrior gained battles. He seems to have at his command all incidents, present, past and future—he vividly paints, and skilfully unites them—he collects together, and presses upon the imagination a multitude of objects the most grand and startling—and hurries us forward with such precipitation that we

* Attendons-nous que Dieu ressuscite des morts, &c. &c.

† Commencez aujourd' hui à mépriser, &c. &c.

become almost breathless; all preparing us for the following conclusion.

* "Draw near to this mournful solemnity, people of every rank and profession—draw near, ye great, ye humble, ye rich, ye poor, and chiefly ye, O! illustrious progeny of the house of Bourbon, draw near, and behold all that remains of a birth so exalted, of a renown so extensive, of a glory so brilliant. See all that sumptuousness can perform to celebrate the hero! Mark the titles and inscriptions it has flung around—vain indications of an influence not now to be exercised. Mark those sculptured images, that, sorrowfully bending round yon monument, appear to weep: mark those aspiring columns, which magnificently attest our nothingness. Amidst this profusion of honours, nothing is wanting but the person to whom they are dedicated. Let us then lament our frail and fugitive existence, while we perform the rites of a sickly immortality to the memory of our departed hero. I now address myself particularly to those who are advanced in the same career of military glory. Approach and bewail your great commander. I can almost persuade myself that I hear you saying, 'Is he then no more—our intrepid chief, who through the rugged paths of danger led us on to victory? His name, the only part of him that remains, is all-sufficient to excite us to future exertions; his departed spirit now whispers to our souls the sacred admonition that if we hope to obtain at death the reward of our labours, we must serve our God in heaven, and not be satisfied with serving our sovereign on earth.' Yes! serve your heavenly King—enter fully into the service of your God, the great remunerator, who in the prodigality of his mercy will estimate higher one pious act, or a drop of water given in his name, than the sovereigns of the earth will prize the sacrifice of your lives in their service. Shall not they also approach this mournful monument, who are united to him by the sacred bond of friendship? Draw near, ye companions of his social hours; pay homage to the memory of your associate, whose goodness of heart equalled his intrepidity of soul, and let his death be at once the object of your sorrow, your consolation, and your

* Venez, peuple, venez maintenant, &c. &c.

example. As for me, if I may be permitted, in my turn, to deliver the sentiments of my affection, I should say, O! thou illustrious theme of my encomium and of my regret, thou shalt ever claim a place in my grateful recollection. The image, however, which is there engraved, is not impressed with that daring eye which foretells victory; for I will behold nothing in thee which death effaces; but on this image shall be found the features of immortality. The image presents itself as I beheld thee at the hour of dissolution, when the glories of the heavenly world seemed to burst upon thee. Yes, at that moment, even on the couch of languor, did I behold thee more triumphant than in the plains of Fribourg or Rocroy—so true is what the beloved disciple says: 'This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.' Enjoy, O prince, this victory, and let it be the object of thy eternal triumph. Indulge these closing accents of a voice which was not unknown to thee. With thee shall terminate all my funeral discourses; instead of deploring the death of others, I will labour to make my own resemble thine; and happy will it be for me, if, taking warning from these gray hairs, I devote myself exclusively to the duties of the ministry, and reserve for my flock, whom I ought to feed with the word of life, the glimmerings of an eye which is almost extinguished, and the faint efforts of a voice that is almost expiring."

Nothing could be finer—nothing more effective to bring down our elevated feelings to calm serenity—nothing better fitted for the closing scene than those "gray hairs," that "feeble voice," that glance into a future state—all well adapted to inspire the heart with the tender sadness becoming such an occasion. Surely Bossuet should be placed in the same rank with men of eloquence, which Milton holds in the class of poets.

After Bossuet had left Paris, to enter upon his other functions to which he had been appointed, BOURDALOUE appeared in 1669; preached the "avent" before the court in 1670, and was chosen one of the preachers "before the king." At his first appearance, his powers as a pulpit orator were highly estimated; multitudes of all classes crowded to hear him—his reputation thus early established, never diminished—the lustre increased as he advanced; and to the close of his life he was regarded by

all as one of the finest preachers of the age. He had not, it is true, the lofty talents of Bossuet, but he excelled in labour him whom he was incapable of equalling in genius; for forty years he devoted himself almost entirely to the art of preaching; to the preparation of sermons for the instruction of the people. These sermons, instead of sketches on which he enlarged during delivery, are full written discourses, prepared with much care; and on every variety of subjects suited to the pulpit. They are not such as answered only a temporary purpose, like vegetables of a night, or insects of a day; they are read as specimens of oratorical elegance; put into the hands of youth, as models; and presented as lessons for the formation of their taste and the improvement of their hearts. No one can read them without perceiving the elevation to which genius may be raised by intense study. In the variety of subjects which are discussed, we see a fulness and luxuriance which leaves nothing further to be said or supposed; an accurate logic which detects and exposes sophistry; an admirable use of the Scriptures, and sometimes of the Fathers; a profound knowledge of the human heart; a continued effort to keep himself out of sight, and an habitual aim at the conversion of his hearers—all expressed in a style simple and nervous, natural and noble.

A clear and proper method is visible in all his writings; to this he devotes much attention; in this he far excels Bossuet; he has the happy talent of arranging his arguments and thoughts, with that order of which the Roman critic speaks, when he compares the merit of an orator who composes a discourse to the skill of a general who commands an army*—every thing is found in its proper place.

But Bourdaloue is not more distinguished for the soundness of his judgment, and the strength of his reasoning, than for his power at times in affecting the passions. Not satisfied with impressing the mind with the sense of truth, he rouses the affections of his hearers by the energy and pathos of eloquence —we meet continually with those strokes of passion which penetrate and melt the heart. In his sermons on the *Passion of Christ*, of which he has many, but in which there is no repetition, (presenting in each the subject under different views,)

* "Est velut imperatoria virtus."—Quint. Instit. II.

there are several instances. We quote from one, founded on Luke xxiii. 33, in which is illustrated the truth, that in the death of the Saviour, "righteousness and peace have embraced each other."

I. *Christ died as the victim of Divine Justice.*

II. *As an exhibition of Divine mercy.*

Under the first head the preacher asks; *"'Who is the victim immolated on the altar erected on Calvary? None other than the eternal Son of God, in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. From the moment of his incarnation, he became this sacrifice, he descended into the world and clothed himself with a mortal body to do homage to the Creator of the universe, and to offer himself a burnt-offering. In the temple of Jerusalem, this sacrifice was continued, when, presented by the hands of Mary, he was placed in the arms of Simeon; but that was the morning offering—this upon the cross was the evening sacrifice. But why was he exposed to this inexorable justice—this 'Lamb of God without blemish and without spot?' Of what crime had he been guilty? What had he done to draw upon him wrath from on high, and which exposed him to such ignominy and death. You know that in himself he is the Holy of holies; that in his celestial abode he received the adoration of the angelic spirits, that he was perfectly blessed, and that he needed no creature to add to his happiness; that when he appeared on earth as an exile, and deigned to converse with men, he knew sin only to combat and destroy it; that to him was rendered more than once that illustrious testimony which re-echoed along the banks of Jordan, and resounded upon Tabor—'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' Yet this Saviour, thus holy in himself, 'took upon him the form of a servant,'—yea, of a sinner; and though he had never committed sin, and was incapable of committing it, yet 'he bore our sins in his own body upon the tree;' his holy Father charged our sins upon him, covered, as it were, his whole soul with them—'laid on him the iniquity of us all.' Under an aspect so hideous, so abhorrent to infinite holiness, Heaven considers him on the cross; under such a weight of sin, the justice of God views him a fit object of its vengeance; it

* Car quelle victime lui est immolée sur l'autel, &c., &c.

suffers him not to escape; it pursues him in a hostile and vindictive manner, and pronounces the sentence of condemnation. Represent to yourselves the victim of which the apostle speaks in his epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 11,)—upon which were placed the iniquities of the people for expiation, and which 'was burned without the camp.' It is a sensible image of what was accomplished in the person of our Redeemer. They conduct him out of the city—they bring him to Calvary—it is the last place where he is to appear, as the 'man of sorrows;' and there divine justice stands waiting to exact the whole debt for which he is responsible; to execute the heavy punishment by the executioners it has chosen. When God drove guilty man from Eden, he sent an angel with a double flaming sword to guard for ever the access to the tree of life. By the ministry of an exterminating angel he smote the army of Sennacherib, and for the safety of his people made known his power against the haughty monarch; but when a sacrifice was to be effected for the salvation of men, no angel was sent to afflict the soul of the Redeemer; supreme and sovereign justice itself descended, and invisibly presided over the bloody and terrible execution."

In a similar manner the eloquent preacher proceeds, and shows in detail how the executioners of the Saviour are mere instruments in the hands of God of completing his purpose; and how powerful, and holy, and severe is that justice which crushes a God-man.

The second part, which represents the death of Christ as an *exhibition of the divine mercy*, affords a beautiful instance of antithesis; making, by the contrast, the object stronger and the impression deeper. In the first part, we behold the divine justice citing the Son of God to its tribunal, and sacrificing him, satisfied with nothing but his blood and death; so inflexible as to disregard his dignity and personal innocence; every thing, therefore, is awful, and the thoughts terrible. In the second part, all the love and grace of which the Saviour is capable, is presented, and every thing is tender and pathetic.

* "The nearer Jesus advances to the close of life, the tenderer is his heart; on the cross he breathes only mercy. He

* Plus il avance vers la fin de sa carrière, plus son cœur s'attendrit, &c., &c.

prays, and it is a prayer of mercy; he promises, and it is a promise of mercy; he gives, and it is a gift of mercy.

"1. *He prays, and it is a prayer of mercy*—of the richest mercy, for he prays for his enemies. He prays for the priests and rulers of the synagogue who had formed the conspiracy against him; for the soldiers who had arrested, the people who had insulted, the false witnesses who had calumniated, Pilate who had condemned, and the executioners who had crucified him. It would have been mercy most wonderful, if he had done it on the acknowledgment and repentance of their crime. But he pleads for them, when they are loading him with new outrages; when they are uttering blasphemies and imprecations; when they are shaking their heads with scorn, and saying, 'he saved others—himself he cannot save—if thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross'—when they are deriding his power and holiness, his offices and divinity. In the midst of such insults and execrations, he raises his eyes to heaven, and what does he ask? Is it not that the thunders may descend, that righteous vengeance may follow the commission of such horrid crimes? No! my brethren, mercy leads him to speak, no word is uttered which is not dictated by mercy. 'Father, forgive them, they know not what they do.' He does not say *God*, but *Father*, for that is a name more tender and endearing—more favourable for giving audience to petition, and for averting wrath. He does not plead for this one or that one less guilty than others in the conspiracy against him, but he prays in general, without excluding any, without excepting those who treated him so cruelly in the court of Caiaphas and Herod; those who scourged and smote him, or those who pierced his temples with thorns, or those who drove the nails into his hands and feet. There is not one whom his arms and bosom are not open to receive—not one for whom he would not be an advocate and intercessor. He more than prays, he extenuates their crime; his love leads him to find something to plead in their behalf—'they know not what they do'—they are blind, and know not the enormity of the offence which they are committing; they know not whom they revile and torture; they know not that they are crucifying the Lord of glory.

"2. *He promises, and it is the promise of mercy.* Admire

the virtue and efficacy of that prayer which has just ascended to heaven—scarcely is it offered before it is answered by a miracle of grace—scarcely is it offered before an enemy of Christ, a thief and malefactor, is converted and pardoned. He was a wretch, worse probably than Barabbas—a blasphemer who united with the other malefactor in reviling Jesus, for the Evangelist says, (referring to them both,) they 'cast the same in his teeth.' But behold, by a secret and resistless impression of divine grace, this bold blasphemer and robber changed into an humble penitent, who gives glory to God, who publicly confesses his sins, and acknowledges himself worthy of death, who publishes the innocence of that 'just one' who is crucified, who addresses Jesus as his sovereign, and asks admission into his heavenly kingdom, and who receives from the Son of God that consoling assurance, 'to-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.'

"3. *He gives, and it is the gift of mercy.* Do you ask, what is his last will and testament? what the disposition of this dying man's effects? what personal property or landed estate does he bequeathe? Ah! my brethren, what riches had he to leave who 'had not where to lay his head'—who in ordinary circumstances was sustained by alms, and in extraordinary cases, by miracles? What then does he give? From that engine of torture to which he is fastened he looks down, and what is before those eyes that begin to be weighed down by the hand of death? His own mother Mary, and his beloved disciple, John—that is the priceless treasure, the precious succession. At this sight, all exhausted as he is, his heart awakens; in his state of suffering, increasing every moment, he is not so occupied as to be regardless of these friends; he cannot leave them without giving them a last proof of his remembrance, and a genuine pledge of his love; he cannot commend his spirit into the hands of his Father without affording them consolation. With serenity, firmness, and tenderness, he turns to his mother: 'behold thy son—he will discharge the filial office, guard, nourish, and defend thee.' Then saith he to the disciple, 'behold thy mother—regard her as thou wouldst the tenderest of all connections, as thy mother.' 'And from that hour that disciple took her to his own home.'"

The conclusion, in which the hearers are invited to cultivate love to Christ as the best preparation for death, is urgent and tender—we have however no room for it.

We have spoken of the fidelity of Bossuet in addressing his king; we find the same faithfulness in Bourdaloue; the same disposition to remind him of his duty to his God; the same pungent appeals to the conscience; the same, or severer reproofs of vices which were prevalent in the court. Instead of quoting from his addresses, we shall relate a circumstance which is well authenticated, illustrative of this trait in his character and of the power of divine truth; fully equal to the courage of John the Baptist towards Herod, or to the intrepidity of Paul before Felix.

In one of the sermons which he preached before the monarch, he described with great eloquence the horrors of an adulterous life, its abomination in the sight of God, its scandal to man, and all the evils which attend it; but he managed his discourse with so much address, that he kept the king from suspecting that the thunder was ultimately to fall upon him. In general, Bourdaloue spake in a level tone of voice, and with his eyes partly closed. On this occasion, having wound the attention of the monarch and the audience to the highest pitch, he paused. The audience expected something terrible, and seemed to fear the next word. The pause continued for some time—at length the preacher fixing his eye directly on his royal hearer, and in a tone of voice equally expressive of horror and concern, cried out, in the words of the prophet, "*thou art the man!*" then leaving the words to their effect, he concluded with a general prayer to heaven for the conversion of all sinners. When the service was concluded, the monarch walked slowly from the church, and ordered Bourdaloue into his presence. He reminded him of his general protection of religion, the kindness which he had ever shown to the society of Jesus, his particular attention to himself and his friends. He then sternly asked him, "what could have been your motive for insulting me, thus publicly, in the presence of my subjects?" Bourdaloue fell on his knees; "God is my witness that it was not my wish to insult your majesty; but I am a minister of God, and must not disguise the truth. What I said in my sermon is my morning and

evening prayer. May God in his infinite mercy grant me to see the day, when the greatest of monarchs shall be the holiest of kings." The king was affected, and silently dismissed the preacher; but from this time the court began to observe that change which led Louis to a life of greater regularity.

More known and read among us than either of the others of whom we have spoken, is MASSILLON; whose name is almost proverbial as a master of pulpit eloquence. He was transferred to Paris about the year 1690, and was therefore contemporary with Bourdaloue. Admiring him who at that time was regarded as the prince of preachers, he determined not to imitate him, but to strike out for himself a new path in the field of pulpit oratory. He was satisfied that profound argumentation is not sufficient for the pulpit; that a preacher must not only instruct the mind, but succeed in affecting the passions; that if some of the hearers are incapable of laying hold of an act of reasoning, all have souls capable of being moved by weighty sentiments. This plan he proposed; and this plan he executed like a man of genius.

None of the French preachers have so much of that *onction*, that tender and affecting manner which interests and allures; that mild magic, gentle fascination, endearing simplicity which characterizes the Evangelists. This is apparent in almost all his discourses. He has not, it is true, the sublime strains of Bossuet, and does not so often produce violent agitations, yet he succeeds in insinuating himself into the heart, and awakening the tenderest affections; he lays open the secret recesses of the soul with so delicate a hand, that the hearer before he is aware, is persuaded and overcome. Instead of wandering in abstract speculation, he has all the liveliness of continued address, and speaks *to* his hearers, *all* his hearers, because he speaks to the *heart*. This is the characteristic of his eloquence—what in others is proof and reason, in him is feeling. For this cause, every one saw himself in the lively picture that was presented; every one imagined the discourse addressed to him, and supposed the speaker meant him only. Hence the remarkable effects of his preaching. No one after hearing him, stopped to praise or criticise—each retired in a

pensive silence, and with a thoughtful air, carrying home the arrow which the preacher had lodged in his heart.

In his funeral orations, he is not so happy; he does not there fully sustain his character as an orator. He who in his sermons made his eloquence seen and felt—at one time gentle and persuasive, at another, strong and vehement; who knew so well how to paint religion in all its charms, and sin in all its deformity, who seldom failed in reaching the heart, here disappoints us, and shows that he was better calculated to instruct kings and princes than to celebrate them. We must not, however, overlook his funeral oration at the interment of Louis XIV—an office to which he was probably designated by the monarch himself; for we are told that among other arrangements which he made on his death-bed, he gave particular directions about his funeral solemnities. It is a discourse worthy, in many respects, of the grandeur of the occasion; possessing a majesty of style well becoming such an occasion, and adorned with all the magnificence of imagery—but yet, with all its richness, while it excites the highest admiration, it is scarcely capable of touching the heart. One excellency, however, must not be overlooked—it is not an unqualified eulogy—the orator speaks openly of the follies and vices of him whom he celebrates, and hesitates not to declare that this reign, so brilliant to the monarch, was most disastrous to the people; an instance well worthy of being noted, of the courage and fidelity of a minister of God.

The exordium has often been quoted. To see the propriety of the language, and to account for the effect, we must consider the text of the preacher, and the circumstances of his position. The text was Eccl. i. 16, 17—"I became great,* and got more wisdom than all they that were before me in Jerusalem; I perceived that this also is vexation of spirit." The circumstances were peculiar. The church was hung with black; a magnificent mausoleum was raised over the bier, the edifice was filled with trophies of the monarch's glories, day-light was excluded, and its place supplied by innumerable tapers; and the ceremony was attended by the most illustrious persons in the kingdom.

* Though in our version it is, "I am come to great estate," yet in the French, it is "Je suis devenu grand."

Massillon ascended the pulpit, contemplated for some moments the scene before him, then raised his arms to heaven, looked down on the scene beneath, and after a short pause, slowly said, (in allusion to his text, which he had already repeated,) in a solemn, subdued tone, "*God only is great!*" With one impulse, all the audience rose from their seats, turned to the altar, and slowly and reverently bowed.

Another instance of the mighty effect of his preaching, is known to every one, and has been quoted a thousand times—the instance mentioned by Voltaire, when Massillon preached his celebrated sermon on "the small number of the righteous." When the preacher was drawing near to the close, the whole assembly were moved; by a sort of involuntary motion they started from their seats, and manifested such indications of surprise and terror as for a time wholly disconcerted the speaker. We have often read the discourse to inquire what could produce such a startling effect. Much of it is to be attributed to the timely and repeated use of that powerful figure, Interrogation; a figure by which Demosthenes aroused the Athenians, and Cicero overwhelmed Cataline; a sure method, when employed at the proper time and place, of startling the hearers, and agitating the heart. The preacher had accurately described the character of the righteous—he had succeeded in separating his hearers from the rest of mankind; they thought of no others, and regarded themselves alone as criminals to be judged. They see the judge descending, ready to make the separation and to pronounce the sentence; they are filled with trembling solicitude to know on whom the thunder will fall; their imaginations are terrified and their thoughts confused. When the orator has brought his hearers into this state, and sees their countenances reflecting their emotions, then gathering all his strength, and with tones and actions corresponding, he pours forth the sublime apostrophe; "Where! O! my God, where are thy people? Where are you, O! ye righteous—stand forth, and enjoy your reward!" There is a startling surprise in this interrogation, that may well excite sensation. The words increase the consternation which had long been gathering; each hearer answers the repeated questions put to him by personal accusations; he feels that he is the criminal; he hears the irrevocable sen-

tence; and he shrieks and trembles, lest it be immediately executed.*

If Bossuet be compared to the great Athenian orator, Massillon may well be termed the "French Cicero." Like him, he is rich in ornament, pathetic and persuasive; has a diction smooth and elegant, and is capable at times of seizing and captivating the heart.

We shall not present any extracts from his writings, as so many have been translated into English; though it is much to be regretted that some of these translations are so weak and inaccurate, and fall so far short of the original.†

We cannot take leave of these illustrious preachers without inquiring into their *manner of delivery*. Like the ancients, they regarded it as an essential branch of oratory, paid to it eminent attention, and are said to have carried it to a high degree of perfection. Bossuet, (as we have already intimated) seldom wrote all that he said. Retaining in his memory what he had composed in his closet, he filled up the unfinished sketch in the pulpit, and found a readiness of expression, marked with energy and grace. Bourdaloue and Massillon wrote their discourses in full, and preached memoriter; the latter, so accurately, that when asked, which he regarded as his best sermons, he replied, "those which are the most exactly remembered."

Bossuet, in his personal appearance, was liberally gifted by nature for an orator; possessing a fine and majestic figure. He spake with great authority, in a manner which indicated the

* This sermon was preached a second time with most powerful, though not perhaps equal effect, in the royal chapel at Versailles, when Louis was deeply affected.

"Une commotion fut excitée par le même trait de ce sermon dans la chapelle de Versailles. Louis XIV. la partagea devant Massillon qu'on vit aussitôt changer de visage, et couvrir son front de ses tremblantes mains. Les soupirs étouffés de l'assemblée rendirent l'orateur muet pendant quelques instants, et il parut lui-même encore plus consterné que toute la cour."

† His "Le Petit Carême," or Discourses before Louis XIV., and his work on the "Priesthood," have been well translated; but we cannot say the same of some of his best sermons, translated by Dickson. That work is servilely liberal, retaining the French idioms, expressing the thoughts of the writer most unskilfully, presenting rhetorical and grammatical errors, and giving us very little idea of the elegance of Massillon. If he had been translated, as Saurin has been, by Robinson, how much more would he be read and prized!

expectation of success; with a strong, firm, and manly voice; with an air of candour, simplicity, and vehemence, which showed that his object was to convince and persuade, rather than to gratify and please. Bourdaloue, in one respect, was peculiar; in the delivery of his sermons, especially in the exordium, he partially closed his eyes, and is so represented in all the portraits of him we have seen; though he was never charged with the want of ease or grace. In his manner, he was grave and serious, and had all the dignity of a prophet. His voice was full and clear, and when elevated to the highest pitch, was sufficient to fill the largest house with the volume of the sound, and to produce a deep impression. His eloquence was usually attended with a strong conviction that great as he was as an orator, he was still greater as a Christian and a minister of God. Massillon approached still nearer to perfection, and had the power of uttering his sentiments with the highest possible skill. His clear and melodious voice was completely under his control—the lowest whisper could be distinctly heard—and some of his tones were so sweet and tender that they went directly to the heart, and at once drew tears from the eyes. And yet, when necessary, his shrill tones penetrated like arrows; he could utter such piercing cries, as would startle his hearers, and bring them upon their feet—and by such instances of the terrible, make his whole audience bow before him. Thus differing from each other, these orators, in one respect, were all alike; in their elocution, they imitated nature, as they had, in composition, followed her directions. They spake with such life and spirit, such freedom and fervency, that (whether Bossuet was speaking extempore, or Massillon repeating what he had committed to memory,) all seemed to come fresh from the mind and heart.

Such is the character of that eloquence which once prevailed in France, and such the character of the men who employed it. They exerted a commanding influence, and swayed the minds, and imaginations, and feelings of their auditors, as Demosthenes did the Athenians, and Cicero the Roman senate. Deeply affected themselves, they deeply affected others; strong emotions displayed by words, countenance, tones, gestures, the whole manner, produced, we have seen, effects perfectly over-

powering. Is not eloquence like this—the eloquence of warmth and passion—peculiarly suited to the pulpit? Must men be regarded as mere intellectual beings, void of sentiment and feeling? Is not this elevation of soul and style as well adapted to our age and country as to the age of Louis the Great, or the country of France? Would it not produce similar effects? Shall men be allured to our sanctuaries by artificial attractions rather than by the charms of eloquence; by the gorgeousness of architecture rather than by that most attractive of all arts, the art of speaking; by the fascinations even of music, rather than by that enchanting oratory, which, while it expands the understanding, touches the secret springs of the heart? That will please men long after external ornament ceases to gratify; satiated as they will be, in time, by other arts, they will never be weary in their attention to solid thoughts well attired, and well exhibited, in listening to a preacher habitually under the influence of strong passion, and speaking boldly, ardently, and simply.

May the time soon come, when there shall be multitudes of such preachers; when great numbers, embracing the whole truth, without any mixture of superstition or error, shall speak in the sublime strains of BOSSUET, with the energy and elevation of BOURDALOUE, and with the insinuating grace and melody of MASSILLON.

ART. II.—*The Gymnasium in Prussia.*

THE various forms assumed by associations for the promotion of science were divided by Schleiermacher into three classes: Schools, Universities, Academies. These names, as well as the division itself, have in view that perfect development of these forms which is only to be found in Germany, where the school may be said to be the place where the soil is broken by the plough and harrow, the university that where the seed is sown, and the academy that where the mature fruit is to appear. The latter, then, is an association of the learned as such, a body of *producers* of science; the university prepares the *con-*

sumers of science either to produce science in their turn, or to apply it to the purposes of society; whilst the designs of the school are merely to drill, train, exercise and develope the powers of the mind, as the *gymnasia* of the ancients were to strengthen and exercise the body and advance its muscular development. Hence the name *gymnasium*, which is applied in Germany to those schools whose main object it is to prepare the mental faculties for the reception of truth as imparted and acquired in the university, or, perhaps more correctly (as defined by law) "those schools which afford a preparation both as to form and matter, of a thorough, liberal, and especially classical education, which is necessary for the independent study of any of the sciences."

The principle, then, recognized by these gymnasia, and embodied in their very name, is not to furnish the mind with facts and truths; the amount of knowledge imparted is not, and is not to be, the measure of their activity; but it is the amount of mental action which such knowledge calls forth; the development of the mind is the object. Of course, time must be given for prosecuting a systematic course of training, for a course of intellectual discipline intended to bring out in orderly and healthful succession the several faculties of the mind, and to teach the possessor of them their right and appropriate use. The experience of ages has taught that the chief means for the accomplishment of this end are the ancient languages, which being languages of flexion exhibit by living, organic concrescences the different relations of words (and thoughts) for which modern languages use separate small particles and monosyllables, or adhere rigidly to a certain and fixed order of sequence in the arrangement of their words, so that the terms *living* and *dead*, as applied to languages, ought rather to change places. This flexibility of materials enabling them to form their long, perhaps complex, yet symmetrical and sonorous periods, adapts them admirably for the purpose of sharpening the faculties by evoking those exertions required to apprehend all the bearings of their expressive diction. It would be a strange delusion, therefore, to suppose that those who make Latin and Greek the basis of a liberal education, do it because they think the Roman *urbanitas*, or the Athenian καλοκἀγαθία its *beau*

ideal. Far from it; they choose these because they find in ancient literature the best means to aid the first development and to advance the further discipline of the youthful mind. The contemplation of the perfect classic form has, moreover, a moulding influence on the human intellect; the plastic appearances of individual life, as antiquity places them before our eyes, their vivid truthfulness, their grandeur, their sublimity, joined to their placid simplicity, cannot but tend to raise the soul to the love of the good and the great. Antiquity is ever the school of humanity.

As to their history, the gymnasia are an immediate offspring of the Reformation. The introduction of Protestantism in the sixteenth century was followed every where by the establishment of schools, for it was a saying of Luther, that "if the devil was to receive any sensible injury, it could only be by means of the rising generation, who should grow up in the knowledge of God, and spread and teach the word of God."* In fact, the reformed faith and education became inseparable in the eyes of the people, and when the Jesuits, recognizing this principle, and endeavouring to obtain the control of the education of youths for themselves, began to establish their schools, they were really suspected of a leaning towards the Reformation. The gymnasia, therefore, as well as the great educational establishments of England, and the great majority of such institutions in this country, owe their origin to the efforts of the Church and her members. In Germany, religious instruction was then the chief characteristic of these schools. The Bible and the Catechism, generally in Latin, were the most important text-books; singing was cultivated to an eminent degree; public worship was attended by schools in bodies. Religious elements were introduced into the common branches of instruction, even such as arithmetic, where, for instance, sums consisted in calculating the pecuniary value of some of Christ's miracles, as the feeding of the five thousand, the changing of the water into wine, etc. Latin was the only language used, and, in fact, permitted, even during the hours of relaxation. Our "exhibitions"

* Wenn dem Teufel ein Schaden geschehen soll, der da recht beisse, der muss durchs junge Volk geschehen, das in Gottes Erkenntniss aufwächst und Gottes Wort ausbreitet und lehret.

and "commencements," consisting in speeches, dialogues, etc., probably derive their origin from this period, when dialogues and more complete comedies were performed by the pupils, in the church; the subjects were almost always taken from the Scripture narratives. Adam and Eve, the resurrection of Christ, the history of Esther, the conversion of Paul, were the usual themes which were arranged for performance by the teachers. In the church at Basle, the inexpressibles of Paul once caught fire from the light shining from heaven (a rocket); at another occasion, Haman slipped whilst on the ladder, and would have been strangled but for the hangman's acting out of character and cutting the rope.* But that new religious order, the Jesuits, raised to oppose the Reformation, remained not inactive. They imitated and improved upon the system of the Protestants. When Bacon turned his attention to the subject of education, he could find no better model for school-discipline and education generally, than the institutions of the Jesuits. *Consule scholas Jesuitarum*, exclaims he; *nihil enim, quod in usum venit, his melius.*† "The liberal education of youth passed almost entirely into their hands." "Enmity itself was compelled to own that, in the art of managing and forming the tender mind, they had no equals." For the Protestants in their turn now began to imitate them. Their rigour was practised every where, and what they appeared to consider the acme of all training—a proficiency in speaking and writing Latin—was everywhere the standard of excellency, and the ideal of all educational attainments. But the fact was, education, as a science, stagnated, or rather, it had not yet begun to live, until a better spirit appeared to move over these lifeless elements. The principles of Franke and Spener displaced the dead formalities of the Jesuit schools and their imitations, and an active, fervent piety began to take hold of the minds of teachers. Still, the previous rigorousness in the treatment of pupils had not abated yet, when Rousseau's *Emile* began to be the text book of education for the higher classes, and soon after Basedow and his adherents gained the ascendency with their

* Löschke's religiöse Bildung der Jugend und der sittliche Zustand der Schulen imm 16ten Jahrhundert.

† De Augm. Scient. Lib. VI. c. iv.

new principles of "*Philanthropy.*" *Les extrêmes se touchent* was as true here as anywhere else. For Rules and Latin, No-Latin and No-Rules were substituted, *multa* took the place of *multum*, and shallowness and free-thinking were the results. Germany was on the road of losing her fame for classical education, when the disciples of Gesner, Heyne, Ernesti, and others opened the new era of philology. It is from this school that the present race of teachers have proceeded, who have made the gymnasia of Germany, and especially of Prussia, the admiration of the world. We propose to give a rapid sketch of the nature and working of their system.

The gymnasium was originally intended to consist of six classes, the lower three with a course of one year each, and the rest with a course of two years each, so that the time necessary to pass through a full course would be nine years. The age prescribed for entering the lowest class is ten years. But we must perceive here, that although these gymnasia are government Institutions both in name and organization, and although there exist laws for the regulation of the whole as well as for that of all the parts, yet the Minister of Public Instruction, as well as the provincial authorities, hardly ever command directors and teachers what to do; they suggest, recommend, or at most request, and leave so much to the discretion of the teacher that nearly all the laws on the subject receive considerable modification; as the circumstances of time and place may seem to require. We shall therefore refer to the existing regulations only when they are in full force. The truth is, this freedom left to every single institution, for its own untrammeled development and action, produces as great a variety as we find in the individual objects of nature which belong to one and the same class; and perhaps not a single feature that we could describe as belonging to one gymnasium of Prussia, might be found in all the rest. We must therefore confine ourselves to such general characteristics as are really common to all, or may belong to any one without changing its constitution. In this very subject of classes, we find a very great deviation from the norm. It is true that none, perhaps, have a course which is longer than nine years, but the number of classes varies from five to eighteen; and

this variation arises from another requisition of the law which prescribes that none of the lower classes is to contain more than fifty pupils, and none of the higher is to go beyond thirty.

When it is said that nine years is the period of completing a course in a gymnasium, the long established practice in the colleges of this country of carrying forward all the students of a class in uniform and regular progression, so that the time of attendance is the only requisite for promotion, may perhaps lead us to assume something analogous in the gymnasia of Germany. But then we should be greatly mistaken. There, proficiency, a real knowledge of every branch taught in the lower class, is the only passport to a higher one, so that, in fact, very few, if any, complete a course in nine years. Eleven, twelve, and even more years are frequently requisite to obtain a *certificate of maturity* (Zeugniss der Reife, Maturitätszeugniss); not that it is impossible to go through the course required in the appointed time, but because younger boys hardly ever are found to pay that continued attention to their studies which is considered necessary. In the lower classes it is rarely more than two thirds of the pupils that are promoted to higher standing at the end of the year; the rest remain in the same class for another year. Should any of these be unfit for promotion at the end of the second year, or in the higher classes at the end of the third year; they are removed from the Institution. Pupils removed from a gymnasium for this or for any other reason, find it generally very difficult to enter another gymnasium. Promotions depend less upon solemn examinations, though these are held, than upon the general knowledge which the teachers have of their pupils' state of advancement. Those scholars, in respect to whom all the teachers of their class agree, are promoted without a special examination, or left behind, as the case may be; those upon whom they do not agree, undergo a special and strict examination, by a committee consisting of the teachers of the two classes interested and the director. Such examinations are very rare, as the disagreement among the teachers would only arise from the unequal proficiency of the pupil in various branches. But it occurs seldom that a boy is diligent in one branch, while he neglects another entirely, and if he should do this, he would be reminded by the teacher privately of the inevi-

table result of his course, which admonition has the tendency to stir up the pupil's attention to the subject.

Let us accompany him, as he enters the lowest class and see, how and what he is taught. To enter that class, he is first examined and must be able to read fluently German and Latin text, to distinguish between the different parts of speech, to write in Latin or German character what is dictated, without gross orthographical mistakes, to repeat a narrative heard or read, to work out a sum in abstract and denominate whole numbers with the application of the four ground rules, and he must have some knowledge of Scripture narratives and of the geography of Europe. Let us suppose, then, that he has passed successfully, and enters the gymnasium. Some Monday morning towards the middle of April, at a quarter of seven he goes to school; at seven the bell rings, and all the pupils of the gymnasium, together with all the teachers, assemble in the Auditory (Hörsaal); here a hymn is sung by the singing classes, whereupon the director makes a short address; then the different classes go to their class-rooms, where the respective *ordinarii** dictate the schedule or order of lessons, which remains unaltered for one half of the year; he tells the pupils also what books they will need during that period of time, and dismisses them. The pupils then procure the books, and in the afternoon the regular order commences, that is, the pupil comes to school every day except Sunday, at 7 o'clock, and remains there until 11; on four days of the week until 12, as he has drawing twice a week, and singing an equal number of times, both of which are taught out of the regular school hours. In the afternoons, except Wednesdays and Saturdays, he comes to school at 2 and stays until 4; in the three higher classes, twice or three times a week, until 5, for Hebrew, which is also taught out of the regular school hours, as the whole class do not study Hebrew. Twice a week he attends the exercises in gymnastics, two hours each time, besides lessons in swimming, twice or three times a week, during the summer, and boxing, fencing, and (in some gymnasia) dancing lessons, in winter. Instrumental music he is taught at home,

* Every class is taught by several teachers; one of these is appointed by the directer *ordinarius* of the class, and has the general supervision and control of the class as such.

several times a week. Besides all this, he has to prepare his lessons.—"Besides?"—Yes; he does not study in the school at all; the school hours are all for recitation, if this word can be used with reference to a thing entirely different from what is called by this name in this country. We had intended to abstain from comparisons, but no description, however minute, could better convey an idea of the *method of teaching* pursued there. The term "recitation," cannot be translated into German, and the expressions "to recite, or say a lesson," are obsolete there. Here a pupil learns or studies his lesson, and comes to school to recite it; there he prepares his lesson and comes to school to learn it from his teacher. Here he is taught by his text-book, with the aid of the teacher; there he is taught by the teacher, with the aid of the text-book. Here the intelligent teacher, to guard his pupil from error, cannot but point out the occasional defects of the text-book, and if, as is sometimes the case, he is really opposed to the principles of the text-book, he must live in a sort of constant, minor warfare with it, although he may be aware how utterly inconsistent such a method is with the true principles of education; there, the pupil's confidence in his text-book is never undermined in this way, as he never feels that he is dependent upon it.

To describe the working of this method in the primary instruction in Latin, would perhaps be too tedious. We pass over, therefore, the first two years of his Latin course, and see him commence his first Latin author, Nepos. He has now been at Latin for more than two years—nine lessons a week—has repeatedly gone over the etymology and the principal rules of the syntax; he has applied these rules in translating about eighty pages in some Latin readers, both from Latin into German, and from German into Latin, and in writing about one hundred Latin exercises and *extemporalia;* he has also committed some Latin to memory, and is to have prepared for the next lesson, the first half of the first chapter of *Miltiades.* The preparation consists in writing out all the Latin words which the pupil has to look for in the dictionary, writing the meanings found, opposite the word, and committing them to memory. In class the teacher requires first a closely literal rendering of every word, then a free and fluent German translation. After

that, the teacher reads the lesson himself to the pupils in both ways, interspersing remarks and questions, pointing out the differences of idiom, usage, etc., between the text and the translation. Such remarks would be made, for instance, on *modestia*, that it does not mean "modesty" in that place, but that it must be taken in its primary sense of *moderation;* on *unus omnium maxime*, the force of every word and the peculiarity of the position as compared with the German; he observes that the metaphor in *floreret* in that passage cannot be rendered in the vernacular; *cives sui*, why not *ejus; qualem* "as;" *cujus* "of that;" *qui consulerent* "to inquire"—use of the subjunctive in relative clauses, what it expresses; in *tenebant* he finds an occasion to point out or to question on the use of the Imperfect; *his consulentibus* "on their inquiry;" besides the grammatical remarks on this he will also have to say something on the different meanings of *consulere*, and its different constructions; *id si fecissent* "if they did this,"—why subjunctive—change of tense and of position in the translation, etc. etc. The rules of the grammar previously learned are thus constantly repeated and impressed upon the memory, whilst new matter is being slowly and gradually, but steadily added. In the next lesson the whole of this process on the same section is gone over again, only with less assistance from the teacher, and if it was somewhat more difficult, a written translation is required of the same section for the next lesson. In this way, the class would require at least two full recitations for the whole of the first chapter, although they read faster when they become better acquainted with the style of their author. When now the Life of Miltiades is finished, the whole is read over again once, fluently, without reading the Latin; questions on the construction, etc., are put to the pupils at the end of every chapter. This reading being finished, the class are required, in the next lesson, to relate the narrative without the aid of the book, yet as nearly as possible in the language of the text. Once a week the teacher gives the German translation of one of the Lives not read in class, orally, requiring the pupils to translate it orally back into Latin, and to give an account at the same time, why they translate thus and not otherwise. The teacher aids them during this, by reminding them of similar constructions in

their previous reading, and finally he points out the differences in construction, position, expressions, etc., between their translation and the author. In the next recitation the pupils are required to translate the same lesson, orally, from the German into the very language of the author, still giving an account of the syntax of the portion, etc. In the lesson after that, they are required to recite the chapter both in German and in Latin coherently from memory. When the biography is finished, all the chapters are repeated together, and this custom of repeating the whole of what has been learned before, is sometimes kept up through two successive classes, that is, for two years. Thus the pupil obtains a certain stock of words, phrases, and illustrations of all the principal rules of syntax; he acquires a certain tact for the position of words in a sentence, which no amount of rules, however good, and however toilsomely won, could ever give.

Much more was formerly done for the acquisition of a large vocabulary, and a great number of phrases. One teacher of the last century, had his pupils commit, within one year, 16,000 phrases which he had himself collected, whilst he drilled them on these phrases in 160 exercises, which they wrote during the same time. Now very little is done for laying up a stock of words, except what has been described above, and that pupils are required to know perfectly the meaning of those words which they meet with in their ordinary reading. The latter is tested once a week by the *extemporale*, which is a Latin exercise written in class, without the aid of any book whatever, whilst the teacher is pronouncing the German. Here and there, but yet very seldom, a "knowing" smile on the face of the teacher, or an exclamation, *take heed! cave! cujus modi?* and the like turns the pupil's attention to some grammatical difficulty. Of words which are new to the pupil, the Latin is given by the teacher, but of a word which has occurred in his previous reading, or in any of the previous exercises, the pupil will in vain expect the teacher to tell the Latin. To watch the countenances of a class during such an exercise, and to see mirrored so distinctly the various emotions and mental efforts—hope, fear, meditation, recollection, resolution, in some instances even despondency, but, here and there a brightly flashing eye, as if exclaiming, εὕρηκα! is apt to convince one that such a soul-

engaging exertion must tend to arouse the sluggish energies of the mind. These *extemporalia*, though they sometimes consist of coherent narratives or descriptions, are nevertheless always merely an application of rules and forms learned shortly before. As a class is never dismissed, or (to speak more *à la Prussiènne*) as the teacher never leaves the class-room before the close of the hour, they write during the whole of it. When the bell rings, the teacher collects the exercises, takes them with him, corrects them, or marks the mistakes, returns them in the next recitations, and reads the new order of sitting; for *extemporalia*, in all but the highest classes, are generally written *pro loco;* it is this which gives them the vast importance in the eyes of the pupils, stirs up emulation, and stimulates to exertion. The greater part of the hour, then, is filled up by the teacher's reading the exercise to the class, as it ought to be, making remarks, at the same time, on the principal mistake which the class or individuals had fallen into. In these exercises everything is taken into account, syntax, idiom, position, etymology, orthography, calligraphy, and even punctuation; and yet exercises are not very rare, in which the only mistake, perhaps, would be a comma omitted. Nor could this be traced to a fact such as that the exercise would be too easy for the particular standing of that class; for the same exercise of another pupil may have twenty and more mistakes, or be returned as "wholly incorrigible."

But to return. Slow as the process appears to be in that mode of reading described above (the same is adopted in reading the first Greek authors), yet this very method imparts an *ability* to read, and to read *fast*, such as we would perhaps in vain look for, even in this country of lightning-speed in every thing. We hear of instances where nearly the whole of the Iliad is read in one year, by three, or even by two lessons a week, whilst the Odyssey would require only three-fourths of the year; this includes committing to memory numerous shorter and longer extracts; we have even one case where an eminent philologist reads twelve books of the Odyssey with his pupils, in less than six months by *one* lesson a week.* In some gym-

* Köchly, Zur Gymnasialreform, p. 34.

nasia the students of the first class read the Iliad during their first year, going through a whole book in a single lesson; in the second year they are required to show their acquaintance with the Odyssey by narrating the contents of a book coherently in Greek, changing at the same time the Homeric speech into the Attic dialect.

We have now shown two extremes in the method of reading the classics, both of which are adopted, not only so that the one prevails at one gymnasium, and the other at another, but, as we have already intimated, the one is the result of the other. Both of them have names among the Germans; the one is called the *cursory*, and the other the *dilatory* (statarische) method; and there was a time, though it was but a short time, when there were among the teachers of the gymnasia, advocates of each of these to the exclusion of the other. But the little skirmish had only the effect that both methods were more fully examined, improved, and their uses united. For, as we may already have observed, neither does *cursory* mean rapid and superficial, nor *dilatory* slow and tedious. For the right study of the classics they are both necessary, and in the mode of instruction now most generally adopted, they alternate; that is, either one author is read in the dilatory, and another, easier author, in the cursory manner, by the same class, during the same period of time; or different parts of the same author are read in these two ways; or the methods alternate in such a manner that one section is read dilatorily, then repeated rapidly, perhaps by a mere reading off of the translation, and with the impetus gained, the class reads the next section cursorily. The dilatory method effects that an author is thoroughly understood, in accordance with the degree of grammatical, rhetorical, literary, scientific, historical, and antiquarian knowledge the class may possess, so that every thing which possibly admits of an explanation and elucidation receives it, and the veriest niceties and minutiæ are attempted to be rendered in the translation. The cursory method serves mainly to show how much the pupil at his particular state of progress can do with a slight or perhaps no preparation, whilst it is intended to make him acquainted with the author and the matter more than with his language, and thus to interest him in

what he reads; difficulties are surmounted, but not, as in the other method, mastered; obscurities receive a short explanation, but not an explication. In the lower classes the reading of the Latin or Greek text is dispensed with in the cursory method, whilst in the higher, the student's reading the text merely with the proper intonation and emphasis is frequently deemed sufficient for the teacher to be convinced of his rightly understanding what he reads.

Besides the above mentioned *extemporalia*, there is another element in the synthetic part of instruction, the writing of Latin exercises. This has always had its opponents; the reasoning of Locke on this subject was ever and anon produced anew. But since Locke's time to the present day, the objections raised have always had the effect of producing new and better methods, and of thus giving a vigorous impulse to that branch of instruction. Modern opponents add a new argument to the old ones, viz. that Latin has no longer the same claims which it has had heretofore. In the middle ages it was the language of all educated classes, then only of the learned world, and finally it was confined to classical philology. But now even the latter has discarded the use of the Latin to a great extent. This last argument, however, though its truth should be admitted—(yet this would only be for argument's sake; for neither the philological nor the learned world generally have set aside the Latin language entirely)—it is easily answered by the same plea which meets other arguments of a similar nature, namely, that the gymnasia do not profess to furnish the mind with information and things (*realia**) which will be useful in in future life; their solely recognized object, the character of which is clearly stamped upon their very constitution and name, is to train, drill, discipline; and for this the writing of

* It is from this word that the class of schools of modern growth receive their name, which do not recognize the classics as the basis of an education. *Real-schulen* is the German name. (The usual translation in English '*real schools* does not appear to convey a right impression to the mind of the English leader; *scientific schools* would appear to be a much better rendering.) These latter then, make it their aim to teach the *realia*, whilst the gymnasia teach the *humaniora*. These educate the whole *man*, the others merely impart a knowledge of *things*. As Dr. Eckstein once observed, the old adage, *non scholae, sed vitae discendum*, must be reversed to be true, when applied to the gymnasia.

Latin is found a valuable and powerful means. The chief difference between these exercises and the *extemporalia* consists in the fact, that the former are not written without aid and in school, but out of school, and with all the aid which the pupil can derive from grammar, dictionary, etc. They are of various kinds; in the lower classes they are merely translations from the German into Latin; in the higher they alternate with the making of verses, translating Greek into Latin, turning one style of writing, or the style of one period into another, *e. g.* a section of Tacitus into Ciceronian Latin, and finally Latin compositions. Though we say finally, we may add that in those classes where they are required, they are by no means as difficult as the translations of highly idiomatic German into good classical Latin required in the same classes. Until within a short time the method of dictating the exercises to be translated into Latin was all but universal in Germany; among the principal reasons for it, were the necessity of adapting these exercises always precisely to the capacities of the class, to their reading at the time, to those rules of etymology and syntax in which the pupils needed most practice; and also of preventing the possibility of copying the exercises of scholars of previous years. But some of the disadvantages connected with this method have of late become more prominent: the preparing of these exercises takes too much time from the teacher, who is already sufficiently employed; the dictating itself in school hours seems like wasting time, especially as there is a tendency in this utilitarian age to diminish the number of Latin recitations to favour other branches; and besides, the pupil must of necessity take down the German, and also the few Latin phrases that are given him, with such a rapidity that he usually writes so badly as scarcely to be able afterwards to read it himself, and thus he makes many mistakes which he could otherwise easily avoid, or he misunderstands the words of the teacher, and falls thus into gross and ridiculous blunders. Dr. Albani, in Dresden, gives a ludicrous instance of a pupil who wrote after the words "among the heavy-armed," *in der Mühle des Grafen Armaturae;* the teacher had given the Latin *inter milites gravis armaturae.* Books, therefore, of exercises to be translated into Latin are now being extensively adopted, and

some excellent ones have been published recently. As to Latin *versification*, we must take care not to compare their method with that pursued in the English schools, where a daily practice, continued for years, is designed to make the pupil a versifier. In Germany this exercise is only one of the many wheels of the whole machinery. Just as the Latin exercises generally are merely to give practice and thereby firmness in the rules of syntax, etc., so the metrical exercise serves merely to give the pupil an intimate acquaintance with the ancient metres and the laws of prosody; these verses are always the means, never the end. For this reason also, we shall not find in the gymnasia such a complete system of instruction in versification as we find in Eton. "Nonsense-verses" are unknown there, and would be regarded with horror, and whilst we find in all other instruction a very slow mode of progression, in this we see them leap numerous stages which appear indispensable in the English system. The results are apparent enough. It is not often that Latin verses are made public in Germany, but if those that appear occasionally, were compared with those that proceed from Oxford and Cambridge, it would be found that the former are made by the ear, and the latter by the eye.

The subjects for Latin *composition*, are always assigned by the teacher, and that to a whole class the same subject. They are sometimes of a purely grammatical nature; certain rules or a cycle of rules are to be explained or illustrated by examples occurring within a certain amount read by the student; or they are a coherent philosophical development of a certain set of rules. Sometimes it is a detailed interpretation of a section of some classical writer; or an account of the contents of a larger part of a historian, or the analysis of a speech, of a letter, etc. Most frequently the subject is taken from the literary history of antiquity; this also, of course, is generally connected with what has been read in the class.

The authors most generally read, are the following:—Latin: Cicero, Cæsar, Horace, Virgil, Ovid's Metamorphoses and Tristia, Phædrus, Nepos, Terence, Tacitus, Quintilian, Curtius, Livy, Sallust, Suetonius, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius. Greek: Homer, Xenophon, Thucydides, Arrian, Herodotus, Sophocles, Euripides, Plato, Demosthenes, Plutarch, Aeschines, Lucian. French:

Voltaire, Barthélemy, Fénélon, La Bruyère, Rollin, Montesquieu, Racine, Lamartine, Sue, Lafontaine, Delille, Mirabeau, Rousseau, Boileau, Molière, Buffon, Marmontel, Delavigne, Diderot, etc.* The editions used are mostly without notes. Latin is not made use of as a spoken language, except in the highest classes, during the lessons in which Latin or Greek historians are read. Large portions of Latin and Greek writers, both prose and poetry, sometimes the whole course of a class, are committed to memory, and frequently recited and declaimed. Diplomatic criticism is generally avoided, except in the highest classes, where a variety of editions in the hands of the students sometimes calls it forth; and then the teacher generally states the case, and leaves the criticism to his pupils; this is rare, however.

Before we proceed, it may perhaps be necessary to answer a question which may have arisen in the mind of many a reader of the foregoing lines: What are the results obtained by this system? The answer to this question is not so easy, on account of the different points of view from which it may be regarded. We may answer it, by giving an account of the final examination which every one that passes from the gymnasium to the university must undergo, in order to matriculation in the latter; or we may attend a recitation, and observe how he answers questions put to him when engaged in the full course; or we may ask, what does the student know, when leaving any class but the highest? We shall endeavour to reply to each of these inquiries, and shall take the last first. Let us inquire, then, what must one know, in order to enter the highest class. The answer is so much easier, as there is particular provision made for those who have pursued a course in private, and in order to have something of the routine of the gymnasium for the final examination, enter *Prima*, or the highest class. The abilities of one of this class are tested as follows: In Latin, he must be able to give a fluent translation of Livy, Sallust, Virgil, and a select number of Cicero's Orations, and must possess a sufficient knowledge of history and antiquities to explain these authors; he

* None of these authors, whether Latin, Greek, or French, is read entirely; of by far the greater number, exceedingly small portions alone are read. Homer, however, should be excepted, for the whole of the Iliad and the Odyssey are read in many gymnasia.

must write an exercise free from mistakes in the accidence, and the principal rules of the syntax and idiomatic expressions, and also an *extemporale* corresponding to the requirements preceding. In Greek, he must readily translate Xenophon's Anabasis, Plutarch's Lives and Homer; difficult passages with preparation, easier ones without it; he must be thoroughly acquainted with the accidence, with the principal rules of the syntax, and with most of the Homeric forms. In German, he must be able to write compositions of the narrative, didactic, and epistolary style, correct, clear, coherent and logical, to make hexameters, pentameters, trimeters, &c.; he must be acquainted with the literary history of Germany, as far as the time of Luther, and have read some of the more prominent authors. In French, he must be able to read correctly and translate an easy prose writer fluently; he must possess a knowledge of the accidence of the language, inclusive of the irregular verbs, and have the ability to translate from the German into French, with the aid of the grammar and dictionary. In Hebrew, he must know the letters, vowels, reading-signs, the principal accents, the pronoun, the rule concerning the article, the principal rules of gender, number, and *state*, the noun with suffixes, the numerals and the chief particles, the verb, and read fluently. In Religious Instruction, he must be acquainted with the most important articles of faith and practice, with the books of the Bible generally, and more particularly with the historical books of the New Testament. In History, he must be able to give a general view of ancient history, as well as of that of the middle ages, and must show a thorough acquaintance with the history of Greece and Rome, Germany and Prussia. Geography: descriptive, mathematical, and physical; of political, mainly that of Europe, Germany and Prussia. In Mathematics: arithmetic, equations, with several unknown quantities, simple and quadratic; continued fractions, indeterminate analysis, demonstration of the binomial theorem, when the exponent is a whole number, arithmetical and geometrical progressions, theory and use of logarithms. Geometry: 1–4, 6, 11 and 12th books of Euclid; plane trigonometry. The elements of natural science, chemistry, electricity, magnetism, etc. The elements of Logic.

This appears like a formidable catalogue of requirements

from a youth of sixteen or seventeen, especially if we consider that these German examinations are very strict and minute. Yet it is certainly true that no one will be admitted into the first class, unless he has really acquitted himself creditably in all these branches, and none will be promoted from *Secunda*, (the class next to the highest,) to *Prima*, of whom his teachers do not believe that he would give full satisfaction, if examined in these subjects. But as we observed before, there is another aspect to the matter. Let us put the student to the test whilst in class, and listen to one of his ordinary recitations. Will he there show himself superior to one of his age in an educational institution out of Germany? Let us suppose that a section of Livy has just been finished, relating the affairs in Spain; the next chapter again narrates the progress of events in Italy. The teacher questions concerning the connection of the new chapter with what preceded; some of the better scholars will now give perhaps the whole of the preceding chapter from memory, but none will be able to point out the connection. The teacher then may give a close analysis of the whole book, perhaps, and particularly of the passage under review, and at another similar occasion the same point may be again referred to, and perhaps gone through with again. But at the end of the year, very few, indeed, will be able to point out the connection of the different incidents, or even to distinguish the framework of the history from the less essential parts. Isocrates' Panegyric Oration is to be read, and the lesson to be recited is the history of Greece at his time. Let the teacher now ask, When was the peace of Antalcidas concluded? and between whom? These questions will probably be answered correctly. But should he ask, Which were the most important events in the history of Greece at the time of Isocrates? or, What events during his lifetime induced Isocrates to advise to harmony and concord? he will probably receive no, or at best no correct answer. A dialogue of Plato's is read; at the beginning of the recitation, the teacher asks, What was the conclusion of the last lesson? Many a one will readily tell perhaps every thing contained in the last twenty or twenty-five lines. But if he should ask for the prominent points in the argument, so that light might be thrown on the conjunctions, particles, or pro-

nouns at the beginning of the new lesson, he will hardly ever receive a satisfactory reply. *C'est tout comme chez nous!* What phrenologists call individuality, does not appear to be the property of youth. But then, though these questions are asked, the teacher is fully aware that the matter of them is after all not belonging to the training to be imparted; for, then, reading a translation ready made would be much better, and cost less time and labour; but the object is the employment of the pupil's mind in the most efficient manner—no more; the acquisition of things and facts is merely incidental. And thus, though there appears to be no difference between a pupil of a German gymnasium and any other pupil, as far as a recitation just described is concerned, yet the difference in the end is manifest to all. Perhaps this is owing in a great degree to the steadiness of movement with which these gymnasia advance in the path which ages of experience have taught them leads to their goal, and to the full consciousness which they have of their own activity, and of the real object after which they strive. The teacher does not merely hear recitations, but he teaches, and the pupil learns—learns really, in the fullest and truest sense of the word; he does not imitate, he learns. Now, both teaching and learning are dependent on conception and apprehension; these, as all thinking, are operations of the mind; thought is immaterial, language is its body, the only instrument by which it acts or suffers. "*Jam verò domina rerum eloquendi vis, quam est praeclara, quamque divina! quae primum efficit ut ea quae ignoramus, discere, et ea, quae scimus, alios docere possimus. Deinde hac cohortamur, hac persuademus, hac consolamur afflictos, hac deducimus perterritos a timore, hac gestientes comprimimus, hac cupiditates iracundiasque restinguimus; haec nos juris, legum, urbium societate devinxit: haec a vita immani et fera segregavit.*"* To this catalogue we might add the saying of Luther, that *language is the sheath containing the sword of the Spirit.* Therefore the principal object of the gymnasium is to teach *language*, not *a* language, not the language of one people or another, of one author or another, but that "immaterial emanation of the human

* Cicero, De Nat. Deor. II, 59. Cf. Quintil. De. Inst. Or. II, 16.

mind" which presents itself to us, universally as the outward form of the inward thought.

It is the distinct recognition of this principle which induces the teacher to consider the ancient languages merely as the palæstra of the mind where its athletic powers are to be evoked and employed. Difficulties, therefore, so far from being removed, are sought in order to be encountered.

An instance will illustrate this. *The gymnasia teach the Greek accents;* not only the doctrine concerning them, or in a superficial manner, but they are made an integral and essential part of the pupil's acquisition. *Pronouncing* Greek according to the accents, and not according to quantity merely, is the uniform practice, as far as our knowledge extends. (Matthiae illustrates this mode of pronunciation by a musical diagram; Bloomfield's criticism on it is certainly shallow, to say the least.) Now we do not intend to discuss the question which pronunciation is the proper one to be followed, the German or the American; but the subject of the accents is doubtless one by far too much neglected in this country. Porson's strong language as quoted in one of our grammars is this: "*Siquis igitur vestrum ad accuratam Graecarum literarum scientiam aspirat, is probabilem sibi accentuum rationem quàm maturrime comparet, in propositoque perstet, scurrarum dicacitate et stultorum derisione immotus.*" The whole matter appears to stand precisely on the same ground as the Hebrew vowel-points; and yet, whilst we hardly find one or two small denominations among the legion of them in the land, whose theology rejects the points, we find the philology of all united in rejecting the accents, practically at least. If we must pronounce Greek at all, why not in a manner as near as possible to the ancient mode?—Longinus quotes a passage from Demosthenes: Τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὥσπερ νέφος—and says of it: ὅλον ἐπὶ τῶν δακτυλικῶν εἴρηται ῥυθμῶν.—But now the pronunciation current in this country will bring no "dactylic rhythm" into this clause; on the contrary, such words as ψηφισμα, κινδυνοι, παρελθειν, ἐποιησεν—all of which have the penult long either by nature or position, would vitiate Longinus's argument. Nor can we accept such a close measuring off and dividing of words and syllables as Clarke undertakes, for that

would be neither prose nor verse. What Longinus appears to us to mean is, that as Demosthenes spoke it, the dactylic measure was heard, just as when we speak of the hexameters in the English Bible: Husbands | love your | wives and | be not | bitter a- | gainst them; Art thou | he that should | come or | do we | look for an- | other; or the second part of one: || and | wasted his | substance with | riotous | living—precisely like: ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας;* that is, the sentence does not consist of dactyls arising from the quantity of the syllables, but merely from the varying stress on them in pronunciation, what Quintilian would call the *numerus dactylicus*, in contradistinction from the *pes dactylicus*. But this dactylic rhythm *is* obtained by the pronunciation according to the accents; for παρελθεῖν is either an anapaest and belongs thus to the dactylic measure, or Longinus meant it for a dactyl with the secondary accent somewhat more marked than usually; the next ἐ, the augment, almost loses its character as a syllable in the rapid pronunciation of the orator, and between two long syllables, whilst περιστάντα would not invalidate Longinus's dictum, since he does not say that *the whole* sentence consists of dactyls, but ὅλον, *as a whole*.—The rest of the passage is also very instructive on this point. He goes on to speak of the fitness of the dactylic measure for epic poetry, as it imparts both harmony and force (εὐγενέστατοι καὶ μεγεθοποιοί); therefore to change the position of the words in the sentence from Demosthenes, or to substitute one word for another would impair both, so that we could not substitute ὡσπερεὶ νέφος for ὥσπερ νέφος.—But this can only be true, if we pronounce ὡσπερεί with the accent on the ultimate; for the American pronunciation would only change the solemn stride and stately stalk of the spondaic termination into the bounding and hastening, yet more usual (and perhaps more pleasant) hexameter cadence.—Plutarch tells us that Demosthenes was charged with pronouncing Ἀσκληπιός incorrectly with the accent on η, whilst this is considered correct by the

* Such hexameters are to be discovered occasionally in Cicero; Tacitus commences his history with a hexameter; Livy begins his with the first four feet of a hexameter; this last instance is mentioned by Quintilian and blamed: *Versum in oratione fieri, multo fœdissimum est totum; sicut etiam in parte, deforme.* But tastes differ.

method adopted among us. Dionysius Halicarn. says that the first syllable in ὁδός as well as that in ῥόδος is short, and yet that it is longer in ῥόδος than in ὁδός. He says it is owing to the letter ῥ preceding, but it is much more reasonable to suppose that he mistook in this instance *accent* for *quantity*, pitch for time, height for length.

But our original intention was merely to show how these accents are managed in the school, and that there is certainly no part of the grammar more easy, more simple and more adapted to lead the mind to think than these dreaded accents. Let us take the change of accent and accentuation in declension. If the pupil looks at those variations offered in the paradigm without a guide, he will doubtless soon become bewildered; but let him know the few and simple rules by which these changes are regulated, and he has opened to himself an abundant source for the exercise of his reasoning faculties, whenever he declines a Greek word. Supposing, then, that he is acquainted with the three or four *general* rules of accent, the only rules for the declensions will be: (1.) The accent remains on the syllable on which it is in the nominative, as long as the quantity of the final syllable permits it. (2.) If the accent in the genitive and dative is on the ultimate, it must be the circumflex, if that syllable be long by nature. *Exception:* monosyllables of the third declension accent the ultimate of the genitive and dative. *Apparent exception:* The genitive plural of the first declension is always perispome (owing to contraction.) This is nearly all the pupil needs to know for years after he has commenced Greek. Now a word is given him to decline and the teacher asks: What will be the changes of accent in the declension of θεός? "None, except that the genitives and datives of all numbers will be perispome." Why? "Because the accent remains on the same syllable on which it is in the nominative, that is, the ultimate, and the genitives and datives have that syllable long by nature." What will be the changes in νεανίας? "I do not know that." Why not? "I do not know the quantity of ι." Does not the accent tell you that? "No; the accent only shows that the ultimate is long, as then the accent on the penult must be the acute, whether that syllable be long or short." It is short, then. "In that case the

only change will be in the genitive plural which in the first declension is always perispome." Suppose ι were long. "The additional change would then be in the nominative and vocative plural, and in the vocative singular, which would have the circumflex on the penult." Why? "Because words with the ultimate short and accented penult long are perispome." Why would the penult be accented? "Because the accent remains," etc., (Rule 1.) "What is the termination of the nominative and vocative plural? "Αι." What do you call that? "A diphthong." What is the quantity of diphthongs? "They are long." Can a word, then, terminating in αι be properispome? "Yes, because αι and οι final are considered short as regards accent." Would not then the dative *dual* also be properispome? "No, for the rule says: αι and οι *final;* not in the final syllable;" etc. etc. And so it is all through the declension of substantives and adjectives. In the conjugation of the verb there is but a single rule; *The accent is placed as far back as possible.* To this there is hardly more than a single exception, if the right view be taken. So that, whilst in declension it is necessary for the pupil to have the accent of the nominative given to him, nothing of the kind is necessary with the verb; and the variety of deductions is much greater in the latter, where the accent is variable by the rule, than in the noun where its *tendency* is to be stationary. In this manner the pupil learns to deduce from a single *principle* perhaps what at a superficial view appears to be nothing but arbitrary and capricious freaks of an endless variety. The answers to such questions as those given above—and they may be varied and multiplied indefinitely—enable the teacher at the outset to become fully acquainted with the capacities of his pupils, so that he knows how much or how little he can tax them; and the advantage to the faculties of the pupil is certainly superior to that arising from the working out of the most complicated problem in algebra, as that is generally done from a known or given formula, where the imitative propensities of the mind are often merely proceeding on a beaten track.

It is true, in our illustration of this catechetical mode of instruction we have supposed the pupil to be firm in the rules of the accent, and possessed of tolerable capacities. But supposing

him not to be well prepared, or of a somewhat dull comprehension, the advantages of this method have become still more apparent. In fact, it is used when subjects entirely new to the pupil are to be taught him, and that not only in grammar, but also in other branches, and especially in mathematics. Of course, this *heuristic* method, as the Germans call it—because the pupil finds the truths, as it were, by himself*—is a dangerous instrument, and can only be wielded successfully by a skilful instructor, or rather educator; for it will produce the same results and effects now, which it produced in the days of Socrates, after whose name it is most generally called. It will sometimes make the pupil shudder in anticipation of the exposure of his weakness, and the ensuing mortification. It will sometimes make the teacher unpopular, and even hateful in the eyes of the pupils. What Grote says of men generally, is fully applicable to boys. "To convince a man that—of matters which he felt confident of knowing, and never thought of questioning, or even of studying—he is really profoundly ignorant, in so much that he cannot reply to a few pertinent queries without involving himself in flagrant contradictions, is an operation highly salutary, often necessary, to his future improvement; but an operation of painful surgery, in which, indeed, the temporary pain experienced is one of the conditions almost indispensable to the future beneficial results. It is one which few men can endure without hating the operator at the time; although doubtless such hatred would not only disappear, but be exchanged for esteem and admiration, if they persevered until the full ulterior consequences of the operation developed themselves." (History of Greece, vol. viii.) We cannot refrain from adding the words of another able writer, who, speaking of Socrates, says, that in his conversations with intellectual youths who repaired to him for instruction, we see him using his peculiar method, "not for the purpose of perplexing them, though it has that effect most perfectly, but of eliciting their own latent strength and vigour—of developing their faculties in the search for truth—and of not merely teaching them truth, but teaching them the yet more difficult art of finding it

* The term *zetetic*, sometimes heard in this country, probably refers to the same thing.

for themselves. . . . The stimulus which it (this method) imparts, is a sufficient explanation of the fact, that they become more attached to such instructors than to a graver and more didactic pedagogue."* And this is invariably the case with more gifted and more industrious pupils.

Our limits oblige us to break off, rather than to close, at this point, and to postpone, for the present at least, the further account of the gymnasia, their method of teaching other branches besides those mentioned, their influence on the social, and especially religious life of the nation, their latest history, and other matters of interest to both teachers and preachers of all grades and stations; for to all of us, in our manifold private and public relations, applies the word of the German poet:

Willst du dich selber erkennen, so sieh, wie die Andern es treiben;
Willst du die Andern verstehn, blick' in dich selber hinein.

ART. III.—*Laws of Latin Grammar.*

A LIBERAL and friendly critic, in the Princeton Review, for July 1852, after bestowing upon the "Exposition of some of the Laws of the Latin Grammar" by Dr. Harrison, very flattering commendation, proceeds to point out some of the particular instances in which he differs from the author, and questions his conclusions. This is done in a kind and candid way, so as every way to claim the respect and confidence of the author, who finds in the censure, as well as in the approval of the reviewer, the considerate, and fair-dealing judgment of an upright and kindly disposed mind.

Had he the time and space requisite for the task, the author would be glad to set forth more fully some of the doctrines called in question, having a strong confidence that he would be able to satisfy his learned and candid reviewer of their truth. As it is, he proposes to note briefly some of the instances in which he thinks that a more careful examination of the author's views will satisfy the reviewer of their correctness,

* Ed. Rev., vol. lxxxvii., p. 188, Am. ed.

and to introduce such remarks on the topics of the Review as may seem proper. It best suits the convenience of the writer to follow, with one or two exceptions, the order of the Review.

The illustration employed at p. 399, would be likely to mislead as to the doctrine of the use of the subjunctive in marking result or effect, at least in one particular of some little moment perhaps, though not involving the main question. The example proposed is substantially this: a person shot a man with a pistol so that he expired. The reviewer observes properly, that the English language affirms directly that the pistol-shot killed the man; but adds, "whilst the Roman would yet think it possible that the man died of apoplexy." This would seem to convey the idea that, in the Roman conception, there was no acknowledged relation between the force employed and the result it produced, between the cause and effect. If the force, power, or cause be a pistol-shot, and the result or effect be a killing, then, if the Roman so regard the matter as to think it possible that there was no killing at all, or that, the killing being positive, it was caused not by a pistol-shot, but by apoplexy, it is plain that in the former case he does not perceive that the effect answers to the cause, in the latter, that the cause stands definitely related to the effect, so that a certain cause shall produce a certain effect. But, if the author be right in his explanation of *ut* with the subjunctive, to denote result or effect, the whole phrase is an accusative of measure, showing how far the action of the chief proposition goes; that is to say, result or effect is the measure of the action or force employed. In the above example, the pistol-shot is the action or force, the killing is the result or effect, and the latter is the measure of the former, and, of course, stands in a positive relation to it. Hence, a Roman would no more conceive it possible that apoplexy did what a pistol-shot was seen to do, than an Englishman would; he would no more doubt that the killing followed the pistol-shot than that he saw the pistol-shot, and saw the killing. The indeterminateness, therefore, which so remarkably characterizes the Roman way of stating a result or effect, is not to be found in any want of perception on the part of the Roman mind of an actual relation between the cause and the effect, but rather in the fact that it regarded a result or effect

merely as a natural or reasonable measure of the action upon which it follows, as something that, however real in itself, could only be represented indeterminately, not as an objective truth; very nearly, if not precisely, in the same way that the subjunctive is used with *quum* in the sense of "since." What the author would wish to note may, then, be stated thus: In the Roman way of expressing result or effect, viz., by the subjunctive with *ut*, the relation between cause and effect is not represented doubtfully, but, on the contrary, the distinctly marked effect of an unambiguous cause is represented as a natural and just measure or result of its action, and expressed indeterminately for the reason that the speaker would have it regarded rather subjectively, as belonging to the obvious relations of things, than as an objective reality.

To the statement of the author, that "in the multiplied forms which constitute a family of words, a certain part remains, in every important feature, the same," the reviewer objects, at p. 400, that, while it is to a great extent true, it may, from not being qualified, and from the fact that "the opposite truth (?) is nowhere touched upon," lead astray and into the mistake of thinking "that words utterly different, in every letter perhaps, could not belong to the same family." The author, besides having no idea that, after avowing and establishing a proposition as generally true, he was bound to guard it by admitting or treating of the "opposite truth," had supposed that the general doctrine taught was sufficiently qualified by the definition of the limits within which letters may interchange—the very end to which almost the whole discussion of the chapter is directed—and that it would be unsafe to admit, unless by way of mere exception, any other qualification. The causes of so much fruitless labour in etymology, if he mistakes not, have been twofold; 1st, the admission of a common etymological origin upon the ground of like signification, where the letters composing the forms had no relationship; 2dly, the admission of a common etymological origin upon the ground of likeness of form, where the sense represented by the forms had no real relationship; while, on the other hand, the largest and best results for etymology had been attained by observing, that forms *apparently* very or wholly different were *really* alike,

since they had for their elements letters capable of interchange, together with a common signification. The reviewer will readily agree, it is presumed, that the moment we omit in an etymology either of these two elements, community of form and of signification, it becomes mere guess work and the creature of fancy. The author is afraid that his reviewer's first example is to be alleged in proof of this. "The Latin *oculus* and the modern Greek μάτι, Engl. *eye*," he says, "are lexically and etymologically identical." This is true for Lat. *oc-ulus*, Pol. *ok-o*, Sanscr. *aksch-i*, Ger. *aug-e*, Engl. *ey-e*, Fr. *œ-il*, &c., which all have the same radical with the Greek οπ-τομαι, ομ-μα &c.; for the vowels and diphthongs *o*, *e*, *a*, *au*, *œ*, admit of interchange, according to the rule; so do the consonants *c*, *k*, *g;* and these may be softened into *y*, or even dropped, so as to leave only the vowel or diphthong of the root; this too according to the rule. So that the radicals *oc*, *ok*, *aug*, *aksch*, *ey*, *œ*, are really the same. The case is very different with the mod. Greek μάτι, which, according to the rule, ought not to be the same with *oculus*, *eye*, &c., and in fact is not. The truth is, that μάτ-ι has for its radical merely the verbal ending ματ, seen in so many Greek nouns, as Gen. ομ-ματ-ος, ονο-ματ-ος, &c., and, as used in mod. Greek, is a fragment of ομ-μα, Gen. ομ-ματ-ος, the radical ομ, a euphonic variation of οπ seen in οπ-τομαι having been lost. And this radical, according to the rule, may be the same with *oc*, *ok*, &c. Thus μάτι, properly considered, is neither in form nor sense the same with *oculus*, and is no more related to it than to *poema*. The second example is hardly more fortunate. The Lat. *boves*, and Engl. *kine* are given by the reviewer in proof that words different in every letter, perhaps, are really the same. Now *bov* the root in *bov-es*, the Sanskr. *gô*, Engl. *cow* and *ki-ne*, are fairly to be considered the same, according to the general rules of etymology stated by the author; for this admits the similarity of *b* and *g*, and, with far more caution, of *b* with *c* and *k*. As to the third example of the reviewer, "Lat. *anas*, Engl. *drake*," these should be proved to be the same before being alleged as an example against the general rule. The French *jour*, the fourth example given, may be shown to have the same radical with the Lat. *dies*, Germ. *tag*, &c., but only by admitting the rule which the

author contends for; for *jour*, and more clearly *journée*, is a mere shortening of *di-urnus*, only *diur* being retained; and *di-ur-nus* has for its radical *di* or *die* in *dies:* compare *noct-ur-nus*, Greek νυκτ-ερ-ινος. The proper radical in *jour* is *j*, which, according to the rule, may be the same as *di*, or perhaps *die* in *dies*, Engl. *day*. The German *tag* is, by the rule again, equivalent to *di* or *die*, and to *j*, with the addition, however, of a soft guttural *g* at the end, corresponding to the *y* which terminates the English *day*. Such an addition may be seen in the radical *much* in English, *mag* in Lat. *mag-nus*, μεγ in Gr. μεγ-ας, &c., compared with *mo*, in Engl. *mo-re*, *mo-st*, *ma* in Lat. *ma-ior*, *ma-vis*, and in the Pol. *snieg*, Lat. *nig* in *nix*, *ning-ere*, with Germ. *schnee*, Engl. *snow*, Lat. *niv* in Gen. *niv-is*, &c. The reviewer's fifth example is equally unsuitable for his purpose. In this he considers the French *âne* to be utterly different in its letters from the Polish *osiel*, and yet to be the same word. It has the same radical, and is related; but it is equally true that the letters composing the proper radical of both are essentially the same: so that, by the general rule, the words ought to belong to the same family. The Fr. *âne* (= *asne*), is a mere abridgment of the Lat. *asin-us* (*asin*, *asn*), which is related to *asellus* (rad. *asel*), both having the simple radical *as;* and the connection between *asell-us* and the Polish *osiel* is obvious enough.

Thus, it may be assumed as true, that the reviewer's examples, when they come to be examined, go right against the doctrine of his criticism, and strongly confirm that of the author.

In the remarks to be found on pp. 400–1, the reviewer seems to consider the doctrine of the signification of the cases incomplete, and in part, perhaps, because the author has not conformed his views to any one of the three theories of the origin of the case-meanings referred to; although, upon this point the critic does not care to insist. Perhaps the author should observe, that it was no part of his purpose to aim at establishing any theory of general grammar, nor to make the use of the Latin language conform to any such theory. His object was to give the generalizations afforded by the Latin language, under the guidance of the common principles of induction. If the generalization, in any case, be true for the Latin language, it

will remain true, whether the existing theories be true or not; it may confirm or refute them, it cannot be altered to suit them. For the author holds, that a people may have its own peculiar ways of regarding the relations of things, and that their use of language is the index to it; yet, that this does not go so far as to render impossible a general theory of language, including etymology. But, apart from any incompleteness on this point, the author is not aware of having overlooked any remarkable use of any case that is not fairly comprehended in the leading significations assigned to it. That of the genitive with *interest* was not distinctly considered, but may be readily explained in the same way with the genitive of the noun with *refert*. Krueger (§ 348,) has already shown that the possessive pronouns *meā*, *nostrā*, &c., occurring with *interest*, may be considered as ablative cases, just as after *rēfert;* only *re* must be supplied.

The author had attempted to show the distinction between the genitive and ablative of quality, and after giving to Krueger's interpretation what he considered its true meaning, showed that, although in the main correct, as far as it went, it was yet not complete, nor in fact quite accurate. Founding his distinction between the genitive and ablative, in this particular instance, upon the proper nature of the cases themselves, the author ventured to correct what seemed to him somewhat erroneous in Krueger's view, and to supply what was defective, chiefly in regard to the genitive case. For, as to the ablative, he does refer it to its proper place, by assigning to it the power of marking the accompanying circumstances of an action; while he fails, the author thought, to see the true ground of distinction between it and the genitive, by not seizing the proper notion of the latter case. The reviewer, p. 401, undertakes the defence of Krueger's views, but, as it appears to the author, without success; for admitting his interpretation of Krueger's words to be right, it leaves the question pretty much as the reviewer found it. The matter may be stated thus: Krueger distinguishes the genitive of quality as marking properties essential and characteristic, the ablative as marking properties which the speaker describes as belonging merely to the appearance of the subject of discourse—the former class of properties are contrasted with the latter as being essential, and

inherent, in opposition to those that claim only a present and momentary attention, by which an object is for the occasion distinguished; the former describes an object as it is, the latter as it appears. The question remains, how does the genitive serve this turn, and how the ablative? For the latter, Krueger answers correctly, though not fully, by assigning to it the power of deciding the accompanying circumstances; for the former, he offers no answer beyond saying that it is to be explained by the *genit. possessivus.* This, the author aimed to supply, by showing how this use of the genitive consists with the primary signification of the case.

As to the omission on the part of the author, to say why the genitive and ablative thus used, require an attending adjective, it ought not perhaps to have been made, although it may be easily supplied by the more experienced scholar. The adjective is introduced simply because the occasion demands a distinct classification of objects, for which the noun by itself was not sufficient. Objects, men for example, are to be arranged, for the present purpose of description, into classes, such as, "men—of great genius," "of ugly noses," "of black eyes," "of singular virtue." The English language can omit the adjective of quality by which a class is marked, in contradistinction from others, at least to some extent, where the mind can easily supply it. Thus we say, "men of genius," "men of virtue," "men of strength," through a limited list; but always with a kind of ellipsis, for "men of (great) genius," &c. The Latin does not allow such omission of the quality by which the particular class is distinguished from other classes, and consequently always requires the adjective. That this is the true reason, may be shown further by the fact, that whenever such distinct classification by generic or circumstantial properties is not to be made, the genitive and ablative are employed without an accompanying adjective. Thus, *Ciceronis domus, turris altitudo, gloria præstans, &c.*

The reviewer is of opinion, p. 401, that none of the explanations of the dative given by the author, apply to the "dative of the agent with the passive voice." Reference is had, it is presumed, to the dative occurring in such phrases as *mihi constitutum est*, "I have decided," "it is decided by me," *hoc*

nobis faciendum est, "we have to do this," "this has to be done by us." Passing by the objection to calling this a dative of the agent, sanctioned though it be by use, it may be observed that the latter of these datives has been explained, in passing, at least, at p. 205 of the Exposition, as being employed conformably to its general sense, and as depending upon the notion of obligation or necessity contained in the fut. pass. participle. The former use of the dative is referable to the same general notion of this case, that suggests the use of it with *utilis* and the like. The proposition is *constitutum est*, "it has been decided," and to mark, not the agent, properly speaking, but the person to whom the act of deciding is to be referred as the object affected by it, beneficially or otherwise, the term *mihi* is added "for me," I being the person whom the decision ultimately affects, who am concerned in its being made. The difficulty, if there be any, in distinguishing the proper sense of these datives, arises from attempting to interpret the Latin through the medium of the English. The reviewer has seemingly encountered this in the case of the gerund also, and of the tenses.

The reviewer, pp. 401–2, objects to the author's explanation of the ablative case, that he makes the signification of position in space "the more prominent, and really, as it appears, the primary" one, therein offending against the "well-founded judgment of Bopp," and pronounces (rather dogmatically?) that this "of course, can lead to no great clearness in the particular applications." He gives the ablative after the comparative as an instance of such want of clearness.

Now the candid and liberal critic will find, upon a more careful reading, at least the author hopes so, that more prominence has been given to position in space, as one of the leading meanings of the ablative case, including its derivative significations, in no other sense than is implied in allowing the language to have its own way, and to adopt its own uses. The author does not compare this signification in point of eminence with the wholly independent meaning of the point from which motion proceeds, and assign it the priority. He does not make the one sense secondary or derivative, the other primary and antecedent. The language itself presents the former signification

in more varied applications than the latter, and, as a distinguished writer has said in a like case, the author could not help that. In this, then, the reviewer has done the author an unintentional injustice. He should find fault with the language. And if his views differ herein from those of Bopp, it is the author's misfortune. Yet he assures himself that, if the reviewer can be satisfied that the reasons for these views are sound, he will not make it a ground of condemnation.

That the ablative after the comparative is an example of its power to mark the circumstances in which a step or quality is admitted as existing, seems too clear to admit of a doubt. Nor, as it appears to the author, does it need much argument to show that the genitive in Greek after the comparative admits most obviously of the explanation which he has given it. Can the ablative in Latin and the genitive in Greek, when so used, be satisfactorily explained by assuming them to have the signification of the point from which motion proceeds? If the reviewer had not assured the public that it could be done, and if there were not, impliedly at least, the authority of Bopp and others for it, the author would not hesitate to answer in the negative. The argument from the use of other languages, French, &c., supposing, what is at least questionable, that it has been rightly interpreted as showing that the qualification of the comparative by a succeeding noun had its origin in the notion of point of departure, settles nothing for the Latin or Greek language, will not prevent a Roman or a Greek from conceiving and representing this relation in his own way. The question is not what is true for other languages; that can be used only in illustration; but what is true for a particular language. Different nations have different ways of regarding and expressing the same relations, of course within certain limits. One language, especially of kindred origin, may illustrate, but cannot furnish the rule for, another.

To the objection that the same explanation ultimately is to be given to the two ablatives that often follow the comparative, the proper answer is, that the want of clearness, or the ambiguity in the application, is not in the explanation, but in the variety of uses of the language, and that the same objection may, with the same propriety, be alleged against every attempt

at generalization; nay, the wider and more extensive the generalization, the stronger lies the objection. We have many and seemingly different varieties of the genitive case as marking the specific class to which an object is to be referred; but that does not constitute a valid objection to showing that they all have one generic sense. So with regard to the ablative of circumstance. The very thing the author aimed at, was to find the common principle involved in many apparently differing uses; and he would deem himself peculiarly unfortunate, if, admitting he was successful in attaining his object, he should incur the critic's censure, just at the point where he might fairly have hoped for his approval. In truth, however, the example proposed by the reviewer, admits of the easiest possible explanation. *Tanto* Pompeius *superioribus ducibus* præstantior fuit *gloria*, quanto Cæsar omnibus præstitit. "Pompey was as superior *in glory* to the commanders who went before him [i. e. was superior, *in the case of* the commanders who went before him,] by [i. e. *in*] *as much* as Cæsar was superior to all commanders."

In the example given, p. 402, *Obscuriora* sunt Datamis gesta pleraque, the reviewer fails of the solution by overlooking the explanation given by the author at p. 84. c.

The author is not quite sure that he understands what the reviewer means by saying, p. 402, that "it is only in the grammars we meet with the comparison, *magnus*, *major*, *maximus*."

Although the author does provide for exceptions to the statement, that the radicals in *l* form the superlative in *imus*, doubling the *l*, he owes thanks to the reviewer for pointing out, p. 402, the too absolute way in which it is made. He should have said, that some roots in *l* take *imus* simply for the sign of the superlative, and then double the *l;* while many have the formative *s*, &c.

The reviewer, pp. 402–3, is hardly able to be patient with the author's treatment of the gerund and, so called, gerundive. Perhaps a further consideration of the grounds of the explanation may yet bring him to be reconciled to it. The author has not a doubt that, upon a calm review of the whole doctrine, he will find it so much simpler and more consistent throughout

than the old favourite, as really to embrace it; and this, though he knows well how difficult and painful it is to surrender one's early impressions. The author was first led to search into the true nature of the gerund, in its simple and in its attracted form, by finding it impossible to understand the old doctrine himself, and, of course, to make it intelligible to his pupils. The reviewer will not object to the attraction of the relative and antecedent, in Latin and Greek, as being founded in the disposition we have to secure uniformity, or, perhaps, a better word would be harmony, of sound; nor to the same thing in the phrase *ante diem tertium kalendas Aprilis*, for *die tertio ante kalendas*, &c.; nor to the same thing in Greek, in at least one remarkable instance that has baffled the skill of the grammarians. See Exposition, p. 172. Admitting, then, the doctrine of attraction, the difficulty suggested, that by the author's explanation an abstract noun is made to become plural, disappears of itself. But the old opinion has its difficulties, which the reviewer has not attempted to remove. One is enough, that it confounds hopelessly things so wholly irreconcilable in sense as the gerund and fut. pass. participle; and this for no better reason than because they look alike. For the same reason precisely that we used to call *belli* 'in war,' *Romæ* 'at Rome,' genitive cases. How can it be that in the phrase, *ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi satis esse duxerunt*, 'they considered that the space of two years was sufficient for the accomplishment of this,' *conficiendas* is any thing but a gerund? Taken as such, the explanation is clear and simple, merely because it keeps apart things that are distinct in sense, and admits an acknowledged principle of the language; in other words, because it is true.

The reviewer, p. 403, finds the author's view of the tenses incomplete, and ventures to supply the reason, namely, that we depend for our philology on the Germans, who are trammelled by the imperfections of their own verb; accompanying the suggestion by a gentle hint, that a fuller comprehension of the English would have helped to better results. The author is very far from claiming for his view of the tenses any thing like perfection; but would beg leave to say, that he cannot lay the blame of its defects at the door of the Germans. For, although he has, he trusts, derived no small benefit from their works, he

has chosen to think for himself; and not finding their doctrine of the tenses satisfactory, was obliged to present views of them materially differing from what he has met with in these writers. The reviewer demands that the tenses shall be taught through the medium of the English, and plainly enough intimates that the author has failed to understand the force and compass of the English. Here a question arises as to what is meant by teaching the Latin tenses through the medium of the English. Does it mean that the renderings of the Latin tenses shall be made in appropriate and accurate English? If so, then it would be right on the part of the reviewer to justify his censure by showing that the author's renderings are not so made. And this he has attempted in two instances, namely, the Imperfect and the Present Indicative; yet so as to show that he himself egregiously mistakes the use both of the Latin and of the English. For the reviewer so far mistakes the Latin use as to say, that *scribebam* can never be translated by 'I wrote,' except in certain verbs; and so far mistakes the English use as to involve the assertion that *I wrote* can never convey the sense of repeated, habitual action, and of continuing, abiding state, so common to the Latin Imperfect. An example or two from Cæsar's Memoirs, occurring within a few chapters, and taken up almost without search, will show him his error. Cæsar suos a prœlio *continebat* ('*held in*'), ac satis *habebat* ('*counted it enough*') in præsentia hostem rapinis prohibere. Bell. Gall. I. 15.—Sed ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia *suppetebat* ('there *was* not a sufficient supply.') Ib. I. 16. Cæsar hac oratione Dumnorigem designari *sentiebat* ('*perceived*'). Ib. I. 18. Omnes clientes, quorum magnum numerum *habebat* ('of whom he *had* a large number'). Examples of the present tense in a corresponding sense, 'I write,' are to be met with every where; and the author is utterly at a loss to imagine how the learned reviewer could possibly overlook so obvious and so incessantly recurring a fact, both of the Latin and of the English language.

Or, does the teaching the tenses through the medium of the English mean, that the sense of the Latin tenses should be accurately described, and then the forms of the English in use be invoked to express this sense? This would be the more scientific method, and at the same time, the more useful; for it

would put it in the power of the student to apply, for himself, all the knowledge he may acquire of the English language to express the ideas he has learned to be embraced in a tense. Thus, if the Latin Imperfect be shown to have for its sense, as in the above examples, past time, and action continued, repeated, habitual, or a state continuing or abiding, and the student know, as he ought to know, that the English expresses this sometimes by "kept writing, "was writing," and sometimes by "wrote," "used to write," &c.; as for example, "whenever he met a lady he *took off* his hat," or, "*would take* off his hat;" "he *was* a merchant, and *employed* many clerks," he would be able to adapt his English phrase to the Latin, and his Latin to the English. This is the method that the author has endeavoured to follow; and against his interpretation of the tenses, in this sense, through the medium of the English, the reviewer has alleged but one instance of error. He thinks the author has omitted to include in his view the indefinite sense of the preterit or aorist. The author has been unfortunate in conveying his meaning, or he has sufficiently provided for this case. He expressly attributes to the preterit or aorist the sense of "momentary" action, *i. e.* of completed action without continuance, and has illustrated it by examples. If the reviewer prefer the term *indefinite*, the author will not strive, although he does not see much to be gained by the change. True, he considers this sense as a mere variety of that of completed action proper to the aorist or preterit tense, and in this may have dissatisfied the critic. If so, he regrets that he cannot abandon his view without some reason to convince him of his error.

These embrace all the specific objections alleged by the reviewer, against the author's view of the tenses, and he is glad to find that what seemed so very unsatisfactory, is so easily freed from every other ground of censure, except the imaginary one of its being derived from the German philology.

Perhaps the author ought to count among the objections to his explanation of the tenses the view which the reviewer has furnished from the English. But, in fact, the only suggestion that strikes him, as remarkable, and not already embraced in his scheme, is the notion of "more than completed action," which, just in the sense intended, he could not embrace in his

view, because he does not understand it. Following Weissenbon and others, he has spoken of a relatively completed action, and this is, he presumes, what the reviewer was aiming at, when he allowed himself to be bewildered by the complexity of the sense.

Of the comparative completeness of the English and Latin forms for the expression of tense, it was beside the author's purpose to speak, and he will not enter upon the question here. His business was to set forth the actual meanings of the Latin tenses; distinctly marking the several ideas embraced in each, employing the English merely as the means of interpretation.

Omitting some few things, which, but for the length to which this paper has extended, he would have wished to note, the author feels impelled by a sense of justice to himself, to remark upon the kind, no doubt, but careless way in which, at p. 400, the reviewer gives him credit for furnishing, in the etymology and accidence, "the well-digested views of Bopp and Pott," and, in the syntax, those of Ramshorn, &c. One would suppose, from this representation, that, provided he had read the authors referred to, he would have already what the author's book contains, only in a more diffused form. And yet, if he should make the trial, he would be surprised to find that the reviewer had greatly misled him. The author has endeavoured to show his obligations to these and other authors for much that his book contains. And he owes it to the German philologists to say, that without the instruction derived from their works, he could hardly have accomplished the very little he has done. But he is frank enough, at the same time, to say, that he has shown a truer respect for their teachings than could be manifested by mere compilation, by venturing to rely somewhat on his own efforts; and that for a large proportion of the opinions he has put forth, both in the etymology and syntax, he is not aware that he can claim the sanction of any authority.

G. H.

ART. IV.—*The Apostles' Creed.*

Rufini Aquileiensis Presbyteri Commentarii in Symbolum. Opp. Tom. I. pp. 169—194. Parisiis, 1580.

Explicatio Symboli Apostolici, ex Codice Seculi circiter XI. Scriptorum Veterum Collectio Vaticana. Tom. IX. p. 384, &c.

Bellarmin. Explication du Symbole des Apôtres. Catéchismes Philosophiques, Polémiques, &c., &c. Annotées et Publiées par M. L. Migne. Tome II. p. 270, &c. Paris, 1842.

Usserii Archiepiscopi Armachani de Symbolis Diatriba. Works. Vol. VII. p. 308, &c. Dublin, 1847.

Gisberti Voëtii. de Symbolo Apostolico. Sel. Disp. Theol. Pars Prima. Ultrajecti, 1648.

Gerardi Joh. Vossii de Tribus Symbolis. Theses Theologicæ et Historicæ. Hagæ Comitis, 1658.

Joh. Henrici Heideggeri Dissertatio de Symbolo Apostolico. Diss. Sel. Tom. II. Tiguri, 1680.

Hermanni Witsii in Symbolum. Exerc. Sac. Opp. Tom. IV. Amstelodami, 1697.

The History of the Apostles' Creed: with critical observations on its several Articles. (By Lord Chancellor King.) London, 1702.

The Apostles' Creed: Mercersburg Review. Vol. I., 1849.

THE first act of the Christian life is, "I believe." In this act, the soul awakes to the consciousness of a new life. It enters on a new creation; old things are passed away, behold all things are become new. It passes from death to life. It is delivered from the power of darkness and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son. It is pardoned, justified, has peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, has access into this grace wherein it stands, and rejoices in hope of the glory of God. The love of God is poured out within it by the Holy Ghost. And now begins that marvellous inward history which, through sore conflicts, and "groanings which cannot be uttered," finds its true consummation at last, in "the manifestation of the sons of God."

And as the Christian life begins in faith, so it is sustained,

advanced, and completed by it. The Christian "walks by faith," "works by faith," "endures by faith," and finally "dies in faith." As the first act of his inward life is, "I believe in the Lord Jesus Christ," its last is a recollection and re-affirmation of that faith, "I know whom *I have believed.*"

Heathenism had no faith, because it had no truth. Its notions of supernatural things were expressed by such terms as ἐννοιαι and γνωμαι; but πιστις was unknown to its religious phraseology. Christianity was from the first distinguished as the Faith, the Faith in Christ, the Christian Faith. This was at once, the reproach of its enemies and the glory of its disciples. They were called, and called themselves, *believers* and the *faithful.**

As it stands in the Christian system and history, faith is truth apprehended and received on the testimony of God. When it is so apprehended and received, truth passes into the subjective form and becomes faith. In both forms it is the gift and operation of God. "*Truth* is the word of God," (to transpose the terms of our Saviour's declaration,) and "faith is the gift of God." Christ is at once, "the Truth" and "the Author and Finisher of Faith."

All the great deeds of holy history have been achieved, and all its renowned characters formed "through faith." (Heb. xi.)

To beget this faith is the distinct object of the history and all the various revelations of the Gospel. "These things are written that ye might believe."

This faith, however, so "precious," and of such wondrous might, is not a mere mental act. It must find its way forth in the form of utterance or confession. "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation."

How large a part of the acts and teachings of our Lord, his precepts, rebukes, and commendations, his whole discipline in a word, had a distinct and special reference to the production, strengthening, and manifestation of faith! "Wherefore is it that ye have no faith? O thou of little faith, wherefore didst

* The very use of these terms shows the general impression made on the world, and the consciousness of the church herself, that the essential claim of Christianity was to be derived immediately and wholly from God.

thou doubt? Be not faithless but believing. Verily I say unto you, have faith in God. Only believe; all things are possible to him that believeth. Said I not unto thee, that if thou wouldst believe, thou shouldst see the glory of God? Believe in God, believe also in me. He that believeth in me hath everlasting life and shall never perish, but I will raise him up at the last day. He that believeth in me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do." What vast blessings, what divine might in faith!

To draw out this faith into manifestation and confession, was also, on many occasions, his special and evident object. Thus, when he delayed and apparently slighted the prayer of the Syrophenician woman, till her faith showed itself too strong and persevering to be disheartened by slights and delays, and then exclaimed, (as if faith were an admirable spectacle to the Son of God himself,) "O woman, great is thy faith! be it unto thee even as thou wilt;" and when the centurion said that diseases waited on his omnipotent "word," even as disciplined soldiers on the command of their officer, "Jesus turned to his disciples, and said, Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel!" And yet more distinctly, when he proposed such questions as these, "Believest thou this? believest thou on the Son of God? believest thou that I am able to do this? believest thou not that I am in the Father and the Father in me?"

Each of these questions was intended to elicit a creed or confession of divine and saving faith. The responses to each was (where it is given) such a creed. Of such creeds the Bible contains great store. Some of these are short and simple indeed. "Abraham believed God." His creed was comprehended in one word. His faith embraced one fact, "that God was faithful who had promised." But what a mighty and prolific faith was that! "It was imputed to him for righteousness. He became the father of all them that believe;" and "through" that "faith there sprang of one, and him as good as dead, so many as the stars of the sky in multitude, and as the sand which is by the sea-shore innumerable." The creed of Peter (for which he was "blessed" and honoured to be the first to proclaim the rock on which the church was to be built, and to

receive his name from it,) consisted of but one article, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." On another occasion it was amplified by the additional clause, "Thou hast the words of eternal life." Nathanael's creed was, "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel." That of Martha, "Yea, Lord, I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world." That of the restored blind man, "Lord, I believe" (i. e. "in the Son of God," see verse 35.) That of the disciples, collectively, is thus expressed by our Saviour, "They have believed that thou didst send me." All future sharers in the benefit of his intercession are described as "those who shall *believe on me* through their word." And the award of the last day will bestow glory and honour and immortality on those who *confess Christ* before men.

In the Apostolic Church and ministry, we find the same necessity, virtue and power awarded to faith, the same importance attached to its confession, the same methods employed to elicit it. Philip said to the Eunuch of Ethiopia, "if thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest." "And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. And Philip baptized him, and he went on his way rejoicing." "King Agrippa," said Paul, "believest thou the prophets?" Alas! that this noble interrogation and confiding solicitation to faith should only have called forth "almost" a confession of it! The Gentile world were admitted into the Church through "a door of faith." Acts xiv. 27. And here is Paul's statement of "the word of faith which we preach:" "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus Christ, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."

Do we inquire into the philosophy of this divine energy and these incomparable virtues and benefits of faith? All must be finally resolved into this: "Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight!"

"This faith in the promises of God, this relying and acquiescing in his word and faithfulness, the Almighty takes well at our hands, as a great mark of homage, paid by us frail creatures, to his 'goodness' and 'truth,' as well as to his 'power'

and 'wisdom;' and accepts it as an acknowledgment of his peculiar providence and benignity to us. . . This oblation of an heart fixed with dependence on, and affection to him, is the most acceptable tribute we can pay him; the foundation of true devotion, and life of all religion. . . . This is the way that God deals with poor, frail mortals. He is graciously pleased to take it well of them, and give it the place of righteousness, and a kind of merit in his sight, if they believe his promises, and have a steadfast relying on his veracity and goodness."*

Subjectively considered, the marvellous energy of faith lies in this, that it opens and first makes visible and real to the soul a new world of sublime and certain truth, invisible to sense and undiscoverable by reason, and therefore before unknown, but to the objects and persons of which, the believing soul finds that it stands even now in the most intimate relations, and that at the extinction of this mortal breath, it will enter on them fully, and leave all else behind. In the world which faith discloses, God stands fully revealed to the believer as his Father, Christ as his Redeemer, Advocate, Friend, Teacher, Brother, the Holy Spirit as his Sanctifier, angels as ministering spirits to him, life as a state of tuition and discipline, heaven as his home, glory and honour and immortality as the proper and only worthy objects of his ambition. He sees at his feet the precipice over which he himself, till awakened and rescued by grace, was about to fall into endless misery. He sees his fellow men blind and unconscious as he once was himself, in danger of the same perdition. These things may doubtless be professed by those who in works deny them; they may be preached with the tongues even of envy or strife, or for filthy lucre, or dominion over the flock of God; and though they be thus preached "with the tongues of men and angels," and with such a confidence of their truth as "to remove mountains," never send one transforming ray into the deceiving and self-deceived soul. But where they are seen and felt and "believed in the heart," they must appeal to every faculty and energy of man with a power which will make "the things that are seen

* Locke. Reasonableness of Christianity, as delivered in the Scriptures, p. 88. London, 1791.

and temporal" fade away into utter insignificance before "those which are not seen and are eternal."

With such ideas of faith and of its confession, bequeathed to her by her Lord and his inspired apostles, we are not surprised to find that the early Christian church turned all her thoughts and energies towards awakening faith in the minds of men, and drawing it forth in confession. In this work, she had all the wisdom, might, and magnificence of the world against her; its learning, its habits, its political organizations and religious establishments, its pride and sensuality. To all this array of material and intellectual power, she had nothing to oppose but the divine verities, and unconquerable energy of her faith. The weapons of her warfare were not carnal, yet were they mighty through God to the pulling down of fortresses, the overthrow of reasonings and every high thing that exalted itself against the knowledge of God. She was victorious in the conflict; and "this was the victory which overcame the world, even her faith."

In this purely spiritual form of church extension, she had almost overspread the world and won to Christ all its centres and citadels of influence and civilization before a solitary church edifice had been erected on the face of the earth.*

Surely, then, her maxims and methods are worthy of our deepest attention. Have we not the same truth in our possession, the same objects before us, the same promises of Christ's presence? The work and conflict of the church is and ever must be, through all outward changes, substantially the same; the setting up of the kingdom of God, a purely spiritual and "inward reign," the kingdom of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. The weapons of her warfare are the same, the sword of the Spirit, the armour of light, the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left. The pro-

* "The first instance recorded of the Christians assembling in what would now be called a church," is about A. 229. Barton Ecc. Hist. p. 496. So little has the whole matter of "Ecclesiology" and church-finery to do with the true power and majesty of Christianity. Ἐκκλησία, says Chrysostom, οὐ τόπος, ἀλλὰ τρόπος. "The church, not the place, but the character" (temper, influence which it should form and exert.) "Do walls make Christians?" said Victorinus. (Ergo parietes Christianos faciunt?)

cesses by which this warfare are carried on must therefore be substantially the same. This is still the victory which must overcome the world, if it is overcome at all, "even our faith."

By her preaching,* reading,† exposition,‡ catechesis,§ and circulation of the word,‖ the primitive church laboured to impart to the souls of men that truth which is the seed of the new life, the mould of Christian character, the object and the life of faith. With equal solicitude, she sought, in the preparation of her converts and catechumens for baptism and at their admission to that initial seal of her communion, to elicit the "faith" which had thus "come by hearing," in the form of sincere, intelligent, individual and appropriative confession. It was this "utterance together," (ὁμολογία) with the church, (not only of such of her members as were then assembled with them, but of all the faithful dispersed over the earth, of the whole community, in fact, both militant and glorified) of her divine faith, which made them Christians. Nor did her labour and care end when they were thus "added to the church." They were still "nourished up in the words of faith and sound doctrine;"¶ warned and guarded against harmful fellowship with "the unbelieving," called back with rebukes and discipline when they "erred from the faith," exhorted to "hold fast to," and "stand fast in the faith," to "abound in faith," and to "*add* to their faith virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly-kindness and charity," aiming at nothing less than complete Christian knowledge and virtue.¶

How exact was the conformity of these methods to the parting command of our Lord, "Go ye and *teach* (μαθητεύσατε) all nations, *baptizing* them in the name of the Father, and of the

* Αὐξοντες εἰς πλεον το κηρυγμα και τα σωτηρια στερματα της των οὐρανῶν βασιλειας ἀνα πασαν ἐπιστειλοντες την οἰκουμένην. Eus. Ecc. Hist. III. 37.

† Scripturarum tractatio plenissima et lectio sine falsatione. Iren. Adv. Hær. IV. 63.

‡ Γραφῶν θείων ἐξηγήσεις. Dionysius (2d Cent.) quoted by Eus. Lib. IV. c. 23. Routh, Rel. Sac. Tom. I. p. 130. Secundum Scripturas expositio legitima et diligens. Iren. Adv. Hær. IV. 63.

§ Ἡ μὲν γαρ κατήχησις εἰς πίστιν παιδιά. Clem. Alex. Pæd. I. 6.

‖ Την τῶν θείων εὐαγγελιων παραδίδοναι γραφήν. Eus. Ecc. Hist. III. 37.

¶ Routh p. I. 172.

Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."

Here then was the type or delineation of Christian doctrine. Here was in brief form, the truth which, "believed in the heart," "confessed with the mouth," and that confession sealed and publicly ratified by baptism, constituted a Christian. "He who" thus "believeth and is baptized, shall be saved." He "enters into the kingdom of God," "born of water and of the Spirit." He is "saved by the washing (laver λουτρῷ) of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost." He is one of that Church for which Christ gave himself; which "having cleansed with the washing of water by the word," it is his purpose "to sanctify and to present unto himself a glorious Church, having neither spot nor wrinkle nor any such thing, but holy and without blemish."

Having become "a disciple" he was still under the tuition of the Church, whose faithful labours had made him so. Those who had "taught" and "baptized" him were still to "teach him all things whatsoever Christ had commanded."

This was the faith into which the Church was to *disciple* the nations. This was the full course of Christian education, "teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."

Here then was the original outline or frame-work of the Christian Creed, "I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost." Every expression of the Church's faith, every manifestation of her life was, in truth, a Creed. Her letters of mutual edification, her apologies to emperors and nations, her homilies, her hymns, her litanies, doxologies,* and benedictions, all were confessions of her faith; and all retained this original and divinely impressed form with surprising distinctness.

As particular aspects of heathenism pressed upon her, as Judaism sought to intrude its obsolete and abolished peculiarities into her faith, as heresies arose within her own bosom, other ideas and phrases were inserted or added, exegetical or completive of these great linear verities of the Creed. These

* Clem. Alex. Paed. Lib. III. end.

ideas or phrases were added on the authority and from the teaching of the Scriptures. They were such as to assert more fully or distinctly some particular truth of Christianity in the face of some particular error or corruption.

The only creed in full of Christians (and this idea we find most distinctly recognized in their earliest writings,) was Christianity itself,* as delivered in the teachings of our Lord and in the inspired writings generally of the Old and New Testaments.† It was from this common source they derived their "one and the same faith" expressed in "dissimilar languages and phrases."‡ The divine beauty and truthfulness of the Church's early life is, in fact, chiefly discerned in the variety and freeness of manifestation and expression combined with unity of faith.

The only recognized *formula* of that faith was, at first, and for a long time, that which Christ delivered at the institution of baptism. This was undoubtedly "the immovable rule of truth" which Irenaeus says, the convert to Christianity "received by baptism."§ Even as late as the fourth century (and the beginning the fifth) it was so recognized. Gregory of Nyssa (4th cent.) says, expounding "the faith of Christians,"‖ "We believe even as our Lord unfolded the faith to his disciples, when he thus spake,¶ 'Go ye and teach all nations, bap-

* Ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ πίστις. Clem. Rom. ad Cor. i. 22, immediately and largely developed from the words which "himself spake to us by the Holy Spirit." Ἡ χριστιανὴ συντάξις· Ἡ οὐρανίος πηγὴ τοῦ ὑδατος τὴς ζωῆς τὸν ἐξιόντος ἐκ τῆς νηδύος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. It was to this the martyrs of Vienne and Lyons gave their ὁμολογία and which "refreshed and fortified" them amidst torture and death. See their deeply affecting letter cap. 6 and 11, and in fact throughout. Routh, Rel. Sac. Vol. I. p. 267, &c.

† Dei voluntas in Scripturis tradita, fundamentum et columna fidei nostræ. Iren. adv. Hær. I. 1.

‡ Loquelæ dissimiles, . . . una et eadem fides. Iren. I. 3.

§ Regulam veritatis immobilem quam per baptismum accipit—and he adds, on the same line, "the contents of the Scriptures" (quae sunt ex Scripturis) as the source and test of truth which he accepted by the adoption of this *regula*. Adv. Hær. I. 1.—near the end.

‖ Fides Christianonum.

¶ Credimus quemadmodum suis discipulis Dominus fidem exposuit, sic locutus, *Euntes docete*, &c.

tizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of Holy Ghost.' This is the word of the mystery,"* &c.

Chrysostom on Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, says that in this passage, our Lord "gave a charge to his disciples, relating partly to doctrines and partly to precepts."† . . . "He commands them," he adds "to disperse over the whole globe of the earth, *and commits to them a compend of doctrine to be communicated through baptism.*"‡ To fulfil this two-fold *charge*, he says, was "the whole apostolic work,§ nor need the private Christian," he adds, "attempt (or look for) anything beyond it."‖

Athanasius, (who in time preceded those just mentioned,) says, "The sum and body of our whole faith is contained in the words of baptism, and is founded in that Scripture,¶ 'Go ye,'" &c.

Basil (of Cæsarea), in his two admirable books on Baptism, begins with this passage, and unfolds from it the whole Christian doctrine and life, without the remotest allusion to any other summary or formula.**

And Augustine, (early in the fifth century,) says, "the creed consists of words of the gospel."†† And, in his sermon on the Creed; "This norm of faith the Lord Jesus Christ himself drew up,‡‡ and none but an impious man doubts concerning that rule of the catholic faith, which he to whom the faith itself is owed, dictated. Our Lord Jesus Christ himself, therefore,

* Hic est sermo mysterii. Greg. Nyss. Opp. Or. I. cont. Eun. p. 253. See below.

† Partim de dogmatibus, partim de præceptis mandans. We have some of his Commentaries only in the Latin version.

‡ Compendiariam quæ per baptismum fieret doctrinam. Chrys. on Math. xxviii. 19, 20.

§ Hoc opus est Apostolicum.

‖ Nec plusquam tibi opus sit exquiras.

¶ Cont. Greg. Sabell. quoted by Voëtius p. 66. Summa et corpus totius nostræ fidei continetur in verbis baptismi, et fundatur in illa Scriptura, Ite &c.

** Opp. (Ed. Bened. Gaume) Tom. III. p. 887. He says, "The things which are here laid down by the Lord, *in the way of outline*, (τῳ Κυρίῳ ἐριστικῶς προστεταχθέντα) are in other places fully delivered." Lib. I. Cap. 1.

†† Symbolum constat verbis Evangelicis. Cont. Donatistas, Lib. 6, c. 25, quoted by Voëtius.

‡‡ Hanc fidei normam ipse Dominus noster Jesus Christus instruxit. Aug. Serm. de Symbolo, quoted by Voëtius, ibid.

when he rose, now glorified, from the dead, and was about to ascend to heaven to the Father, left these mysteries of faith to his disciples, that is, the Apostles. For he saith, 'Go ye and baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Whether the candidate for baptism was required to repeat this passage aloud in the form of a creed, ("I believe in the Father," &c.) as a confession of his faith, or to give his assent to it in reply to certain questions, does not certainly appear. The latter method is implied by Cyprian* and Augustine,† and as respects the Roman Church, is distinctly affirmed by Rufinus.

In almost all the writings which remain to us from that early period, we meet with summaries, here and there, of Christian doctrine; as in Clement of Rome,‡ Justin Martyr,§ Irenæus,‖ and Tertullian.¶ These are simply given as *first aspects*, or prominent lines and points of truth. When such terms as *regula fidei*, *regula veritatis*, *lex veritatis*, &c., or such epithets as *una*, *immobilis*, *irreformabilis*, ἀσάλευτος, and the like are applied to them, it is obvious that these names and epithets were meant for *the whole truth*, *from which these points stood prominently forth*. This is quite manifest from two facts: 1st. No one of these summaries is ever appealed to as an acknowledged and authoritative *formula*, having the sanction of the Church or any part of it, but its derivation from Christ or from the Holy Scriptures is asserted and proved, and thus its true ground and authority intimated: and 2d, *No two of*

* Ep. 69 and 70. Opp. p. 297 and 301. Bp. Fell's ed. Some explanatory questions are there inserted. The whole is called in a general way, "ipsa interrogatio quæ fit in baptismo."

† Si dixerimus catechumeno, Credis in Christum? respondet, Credo.

‡ I ad Cor. Cap. 46.

§ Ad Græc. Cohort. and twice in his Apol. II. pro Christ. Opp. pp. 9, 56, and 60.

‖ Adv. Hær. Lib. I. Cap. 2d and 19th, and Lib. IV. Cap. 52 and 62, the Greek of which latter is preserved in one of the Fragments in Codice. Ed. Feu-Ardentii. Paris, 1639.

¶ De Virg. Veland. C. I. De Præsc. Hærct. C. 13, end. Adv. Prax. C. 2, beg. and other places. P. Mos inibi servatur antiquus eos qui gratiam baptismi suscepturi sunt, publice, id est, fidelium populo audiente, symbolum reddere. Ruf. p. 170.

these summaries are the same, either in contents, order, or phraseology, in any two writers, nor even in the same.

The second century was the age, emphatically, of Apologies for Christianity. Quadratus presented one to Adrian, about A. 126; Aristides, to the same emperor, in the same year; Justin Martyr to Antoninus Pius, about A. 140, and a second to Marcus Antoninus, about A. 162; Melito, to Marcus Antoninus, A. 170; Apollinaris, to the same emperor, probably a little later; Athenagoras, to Marcus Antoninus and Commodus, about A. 177; Miltiades, to Commodus, about A. 180. The Oration of Tatian to the Greeks, about A. 172, and the Books of Theophilus to Antolycus, about A. 180, belong to the same class. Tertullian addressed his Apology to the Roman Magistrates,* near the close of the second or beginning of the third century.

Most of these apologies have descended to us entire or nearly so. Of the rest, we have only scraps or allusions, in Eusebius and Jerome. Their express object was to exhibit, explain, and vindicate the Christian Faith; to correct misrepresentations, and to answer objections. Had any recognized formula or summary of that faith been then in existence, we could scarcely have failed to meet with it or hear from it, in some of these works. They contain, however, nothing of the kind.

An equally profound silence reigns through the third century in respect to any received symbol, or formula of the Christian Faith.

Nor do the early historians of the church, Hegesippus in the second century, and Eusebius in the fourth, mention any.

In the course of the fourth century, some of the *first truths* of Christianity were collected and arranged in the form of symbola. There has been infinite dispute about the sense in which the Greek word, σύμβολον, was applied to these documents. The most general use of it by the ancients, and therefore the most probable application of it by the Christans, was in the sense of a *tessera* or badge of mutual recognition.† The acceptance

* Vobis, Romani imperii antistites. Cap. I.

† Ut singuli fideles tesseram et indicium haberent. Heidegger. p. 679.

of the formula marked a disciple of "the common faith," and distinguished him from those who took or kept the name of Christianity, while they rejected more or less of its truth.

These summaries, symbols, or creeds were all constructed on the frame-work of the original baptismal doctrine of faith, (Matt. xxviii. 19). They varied largely as it respects fulness of detail, but "the first principles of the doctrine of Christ" were the same in all. The churches of Jerusalem, of Rome, and of Aquileia, at least, had each a creed of its own.* Rufinus specifies differences between the creeds of the Eastern† and Western churches. He points out several differences between the creed after which he had been baptized, in the Church of Aquileia, and that of the Roman Church. In fact he has one statement which is curious and interesting. "In other churches," he says (besides that of Rome,) "on account of various heretics, certain articles seem to have been added (to the creed) by means of which, the tenets of the new doctrine might be excluded." How plain, therefore, that each church drew up its own summary of truth to suit itself, and altered it to meet its own exigencies! All this occasioned no suspicion of schism, no fear of damage to Christian unity—so long as the particular creed harmonized with "the common faith."

Ursinus,‡ in a learned historical notice of the early creeds, enumerates the following as "catholic or universal, that is, received by the consent of the whole orthodox Christian Church, namely, the Apostolic, Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Ephesine, Athanasian, and Chalcedonian."

Vossius and Heidegger, in their elaborate creed-histories, reduce the number received by the whole church, both Eastern and Western, to three, viz., "the Apostolic, Athanasian, and Nicene, or Niceno-Constantinopolitan."

The shortest, simplest, most comprehensive, and most

* That of Jerusalem is given in the 18th Catechesis of Cyril. Those of the Churches of Rome and of Aquileia, are given by Ruffinus.

† E. g. He says of the article "He descended into hell," non in orientis ecclesiis habetur hic sermo, p. 179.

‡ Admon. Neustad.

strictly scriptural* of these is, without doubt, the Apostolic creed.

The term "Apostolic," however, was by no means exclusively applied to this particular creed. Cyril calls the creed of the church at Jerusalem "a confession of the holy and *Apostolic* faith."† Epiphanius says, in introducing the Nicene creed, "This faith was delivered from (or by) the holy Apostles."‡ "By the Western churches also," says Arch. Usher, "that longer form of the creed which went under the name of the Nicene, was also reckoned *Apostolic*." And he quotes the "Ordo Romanus" before the institution of baptism, which calls it "inspired by the Lord, *instituted by the Apostles*."‖ "And in the celebration of the holy Supper," he continues, "the Latin Missal, which was in use about the beginning of the ninth century, speaking of the same (Nicene) creed, adds these words, '*the Apostles' creed* being ended, the priest shall say,'" &c.

So that the distinctive title of "the Apostles' creed" as applied to this symbol, is not of very high antiquity, even in the Roman Church. It has of late, however, become general.

When it reached its full form, as it now stands, cannot with certainty be determined. "The creed of the Roman Church,"§ as it stood at the time of Rufinus, and is compared by him with that of his own church of Aquileia, differs in several phrases, from that which passes under the name of the Apostles' Creed, and is now claimed as the special and ancient creed of the Roman Church, being often thus appropriated under the title of "Credo (or Symbolum) Romanum." We give them in parrallel columns, with marks to indicate the omissions in the earlier creed:

* Heidegger thinks he can find every phrase of it in the Scriptures. Vossius says, præ aliis symbolis, verbis etiam gaudet Apostolorum et Evangelistarum; Diss. prim., p. 17. And Ursinus, totum fere ex verbis Scripturæ constat. Exp. Cat. 2. 23.

† Ἁγίας καὶ ἀποστολικῆς πίστεως. Cat. 18th.

‡ Αὕτη ἡ πιστις παρεδόθη ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, quoted by Arch. Usher, p. 314.

‖ A Domino inspiratum, ab Apostolis institutum.

§ Ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolum. Ruf., p. 179.

"*Symbolum Romanæ Ecclesiæ*," in *Rufinus.*	*Symbolum Apostolorum, from the Roman Breviary.**
Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem . . . . . et in Christum Jesum, unicum Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum: qui . . . . . natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine, ... crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato . . . . et sepultus, ... tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris, ... inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, ... et in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam . . . . . remissionem peccatorum, hujus carnis resurrectionem.	Credo in Deum, Patrem Omnipotentem, Creatorem cœli et terræ, et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum; qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus; descendit ad inferos: tertia die resurrexit a mortuis: ascendit ad cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris Omnipotentis: inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, vitam æternam. Amen.

It will be seen by a comparison of the two that "the creed of the Roman Church" as it stood in the fifth century differed from "the Apostles' Creed," as follows. From the first article† the creed of the Roman Church omits "creatorem cœli et terræ;" from the third, "conceptus;" from the fourth, "passus" and "mortuus;"‡ from the fifth, the entire clause, "descendit ad inferos;"§ from the sixth, omits "omnipotentis" after "Patris;" from the eighth, omits "Credo," before "in Spiritum Sanctum;"‖ from the ninth article omits "Catholicam"

* Breviarium Romanum ex dec. S. S. Conc. Trid. restitutum, S. Pii V. Pont. Max. jussu editum, &c. Paris, 1842.

† We follow the "Catechismus Conc. Tridentini," in the division and numbering of the articles. Pars I. Cap. 2—13.

‡ It must be allowed that *passus* is sufficiently expressed by *crucifixus*, and *mortuus* implied in *sepultus*.

§ Rufinus says "this clause is not contained either in the Creed of the Roman Church, or in those of the Eastern Churches; the meaning of the expression, however, appears to be the same with this, that he was *buried*." Sciendum sane est, quod in Ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolo non habetur hic sermo, vis tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo quod sepultus dicitur, p. 179.

‖ Vossius remarks (p. 28), that this word was sufficiently *understood* from the beginning of the Creed, and that the insertion of it here tends somewhat to give it the appearance of another creed. But he adds, "Cum initio solum sit, *Credo in Deum Patrem et in Jesum Christum et in Spiritum Sanctum;* postea etiam, multis insertis, remansit vetus formula, *et in Spiritum Sanctum:* cui posteriores τὸ *credo* quod ἀπὸ κοινοῦ antea erat supplendum, majoris claritatis causa, præmiserunt."

after "Ecclesiam,"* and the latter clause entire, "sanctorum communionem;" and ends with "hujus carnis resurrectionem," omitting entirely the last or twelfth article, "et vitam æternam."†

The question respecting the history and structure of this creed assumes a far higher than merely historical interest from the theory which the Church of Rome has put forth respecting it, and the pretensions which she has founded upon it.

That theory, as it stands in the highest authority known to the Roman Church,‡ is as follows:

"The doctrines which Christian men ought first to hold, are those which the guides and teachers of the faith, the holy apostles, inspired by the Divine Spirit, have marked out in the twelve articles of the Creed. For when they had received from the Lord a command that, in discharge of their commission from him, they should go forth into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature, they determined to compose a formula of the Christian faith, to the end that all men might think and say the same thing, and that there might be no schisms among them whom they called to the unity of the faith; but that they might be perfect in the same mind and in the same judgment. This profession of the Christian faith and hope, composed by themselves, the Apostles denominated a creed (symbol): either because it was formed of the various sentences which each con-

* So the edition before us, Paris, 1580. Pamelius added *Catholicam;* against the authority of ancient copies, says Vossius. Aliter libri veteres: and adds, quid mirum si non legatur apud Rufinum, cum nec habuerit Augustinus? Nec adeo levis est momenti. Imo Apostolorum ætate nondum obtinebat consuetudo, ut Christiani dicerentur *Catholici.*

If *Catholicam* had stood in the original text of Rufinus, that prolix and churchly commentator would surely have expounded it in his commentary, *which he has not.*

† And Jerome states that it stood there in his time. In symbolo fidei . . post confessionem Trinitatis et unitatem Ecclesiæ, *omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum carnis resurrectione includitur.* Hier. ad Pammachium, adv. err. Io. Hieros. Opp. Tom. II. p. 59. (Ed. Erasmi.)

‡ Catechismus Concil. Trident. issued with the bull of Pius V., and with the usual complement of Papal anathemas, threatening "the wrath of Almighty God, and of the blessed Peter and Paul against any man who should rashly dare to oppose it." (Ausu temerario contraire.) Pars I. and bull at the end of the volume. We quote from the fine edition "ad usum seminariorum." Lyons and Paris, 1848.

tributed, or because they used it as a mark or badge, whereby they might easily distinguish deserters or false brethren, privily brought in, who adulterated the gospel, from those who bound themselves by the oath of the warfare (army) of Christ."

This creed is thus propounded as the product of inspiration, the rule of Christian faith. It is constantly affirmed by the highest Roman authorities to contain *all that is essential for a Christian to believe.** And as the creed is not contained in the canonical books, but has been handed down by church tradition, the Papacy founds thereupon its theory of *tradition* or the oral transmission of truth and law of Christ, in the bosom of the Church and under its auspices and control, and that the doctrine and precepts so handed down have the same authority with those revealed in the Scriptures.

This theory, therefore, simply puts the creed in the place of the Bible.

The illustrious Protestants whose names stand at the head of our article, (with many others) have assailed this theory with an erudition which had left almost no document of ancient or mediæval times unsearched or untaxed. To us their onset seems like a war of giants, to demolish a pigmy; so utterly destitute of historical basis is the Romish figment which they attacked. But the labour was by no means unnecessary in their day. Under the long and absolute sway of the Papacy, this notion had been so *drilled and soldered* into the minds of men, that even after the Reformation, not a few intelligent Protestants were found (as Voëtius assures us) who could, with difficulty, be disabused of the impression which invested the creed *formally* with a sort of divine and inspired authority. And so long as this impression lingered among men, how was it possible to restore the word of God to its primitive and just supremacy in the church?

If the creed was composed by the Apostles, why is it not mentioned among the "Acts of the Apostles?" Why never alluded to in the Epistles? If it was composed by the Apostles, under divine inspiration, it must have formed a part of the canonical Scriptures, which has never been pretended. If it

* Tous les mystères qu'il importe de croirc. Bellarmin. Pref. p. 1.

was composed by the Apostles, it must have been in the Greek language, and of course would have been received and carefully preserved by the Greek churches, but they were not in possession of it (by the plain statement of Rufinus) some time after the beginning of the fifth century. If it was composed by the Apostles before their separation, it must have been drawn up at Jerusalem, and of course, the church of Jerusalem would have first received and ever retained the precious deposit, which it did not, but had a creed of its own, as we have seen. Of all the early ecclesiastical writers who have narrated the acts of Christ and his Apostles, and the Confessions drawn up by Synods, antisynods and councils, no one has ever mentioned a creed composed by the Apostles. Hilary in his first book on the Trinity, appeals to the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed, in support of the doctrine, but never mentions the Apostles' Creed. In his sixth book he enumerates all the Confessions of the Christian faith, but the list does not contain the Apostles' Creed. If it was composed by the Apostles, it would have been delivered to all the churches of the world; how then was it unknown to so large a part of them in the fifth century? how did it exist with so many variations for several centuries afterwards?* why was it necessary for the fathers both of the eastern and western churches, to draw up so many symbols and confessions on the rise of various heresies, (which are quite inferior to it in simplicity and precision,) if they could have fallen back on so venerable and unquestionable an exposition of the faith as an "Apostles' Creed?"

Such are some of the arguments by which "the might of" Vossius, Usher, and their compeers, have demolished the curtain which the Papal "builders" had been, for ages, erecting between the Church and the Bible.

Shall we add a mite of our own to a stock already so ample?

The ancient Christians were in the habit of reading, beside the Holy Scriptures, the pious remains of yet earlier times (as

* Arch. Usher produces a creed which he found written in the Latin Psalter of King Ethelstane, and another from the end of an old MS. of the Acts of the Apostles, in the Oxford library, both of which differed not inconsiderably from "the Apostles' Creed." So did another cited by Etherius, a Spanish bishop, A. 785, mentioned by Heidegger, p. 642.

Eusebius and others tell us) not indeed as of authority, but for edification in their religious assemblies; but neither among inspired nor ecclesiastical writings so read, is there any mention of an Apostles' Creed. There is the same unbroken silence respecting it alike in the assailants and apologists of the early church; in the heretics who forsook and afterwards attacked, and the orthodox who defended her faith.

One unquestionable fact concentrates the force of all these arguments, and is of itself sufficient to overturn the whole Papal theory and the vast structure of traditional imposture which has been built upon it; "*the Apostles' Creed,*" *either in name or form, was unknown to the Christian Church, for at least four hundred years after Christ.*

Witsius, speaking of Usher, Voëtius, Vossius, and Heidegger, remarks that "the almost measureless reading* which they all brought to the discussion of this subject has left nothing for other men to do." But no subject was ever yet exhausted. Truth and error alike change their aspects and relations as ages roll on. The whole front and issue of this question has, within a few years, so totally changed, that the artillery of these renowned defenders of the faith, sweeps over a now almost unoccupied field.

The new Creed Theory, forming a part of the system of "Development," as maintained by Moehler in Germany, Newman in England and Dr. Nevin in this country (and others in both,) is so remarkable that we shall leave Dr. Nevin to state it in his own language.

With regard to the historical era of the completion of the creed, Dr. Nevin expresses himself as follows:

"His (Irenæus's) whole manner may be taken as evidence that no fixed formula of this sort, as afterwards settled in our present Apostles' Creed, was then," (in the second century,) "in ecclesiastical use."† He speaks of "all its variations in the second century,"‡ and expresses his admiration "that it should rise into view gradually, now one article, now three, and now twelve,

* Maximi viri Usserius, Voëtius, Vossius, et Heideggerus, omnes immensæ propemodum lectionis, &c, p. 1.

† P. 113. ‡ P. 220.

. . . that it should appear under so many editions and phases, . . . that it should be so loose a deposit, apparently, in the hands of the Church, *from the first century to the fourth*, and after all, assume *in the end, the settled form it now carries, &c.*"

And yet on the page opposite our first quotation, he says: "the probability is certainly strong that *early** in the second century, *if not before*, nearly all the particulars now embraced in it (the creed) were found more or less in current use." And again more distinctly, "we meet the several parts of the creed under full revelation in the second century."

The reader is just as able to put these statements together in an intelligible and self-agreeing form, as we are.

As it regards the source of the creed, however, Dr. Nevin is entirely clear.

"The creed does not spring from the Bible. The early Church got it not from the Bible, but from the fact of Christianity itself, which must be allowed to be in its own nature older even and deeper than its own record under this form.† . . The divine tradition, which starts from the original substance of Christianity itself, as it underlies the Bible, meets us under its clearest, most primitive and most authoritative character, in the Apostles' Creed."‡

Nor is the creed the work of the Apostles. It is not "a bound scheme of words, handed down from the Apostles."§ The creed is no work of mere outward authority, imposed on the Church by Christ or his Apostles. It would help its credit greatly in the eyes of some, no doubt, if it could be made to appear under this view. Their idea of Christianity is such as involves prevailingly, the notion of a given or fixed scheme of things to be believed and done,‖ propounded for the use of men, on the authority of heaven, in a purely mechanical and outward

* Irenæus was *late* in the 2d century. Tillemont dates his work Against Heresies about 190, and says he died in 202.

† P. 337. ‡ P. 339. § P. 221.

‖ Tertullian seems to have had a very similar "idea." "This I lay down," he says, "among first principles; that there was *one fixed scheme instituted by Christ*, which all nations must, under all circumstances, believe." In primis hoc propono: unum utique et certum aliquid institutum esse a Christo, quod credere omnimodo debeant nationes. De Præsc. Hæret. IX. Opp. p. 205.

way. . . It is plain, however, that no such origin as this can be asserted in its favour. . . In no such form could it be the glorious Christian *creed*, which we now find it to be in fact.*

"In the next place, it is no product of *reflection*, . . no result of joint deliberation and discussion. This last view, especially, would suit the taste of many; more particularly, if it could be made to appear that the Bible had been taken as the source and rule of all evidence in the case, and that the formulary was exhibited, throughout, as an extract simply, and summary, of what is to be found in its inspired pages; . . . if that famous synod at Jerusalem, for instance, or some other . . were known to have taken the matter in hand, (after the fashion of the great *world convention* in London,) and to have produced . . what they conceived to be . . a truly *scriptural*† platform of Christian doctrine." "'The articles of agreement' of the *late* "Evangelical Alliance'" are instanced, and that new creed lately originated for the use of the Protestant Armenian Church, in Constantinople. We can see and understand easily how *that* was made; the missionary goes into his upper room, takes the Bible into his hands, &c., &c. . . All this we miss in the creed which bears the name of the Apostles. . . . It is not the work of any mind or set of minds . . reducing the contents of Christianity to logical statement for the understanding."

Whence, then, *is* this "glorious Christian Creed," which is neither from the Bible, from Christ, nor from the Apostles, nor yet the "product of reflection" or "joint deliberation," nor even "the work of any mind or set of minds?" The reader may go through Aristotle's Categories of space, or Plato's world of "things movable and things immovable," or even range over "the things which are in heaven and on earth and under the earth," and not find it. We do not wonder that, after all these negations, Dr. Nevin says, "No one can tell exactly whence or how it comes."—He essays the difficult task however.

"The immediate substance of Christianity," he says, "as it comes to a real revelation in the first place directly for faith

* Pp. 201, 2.

† All the italics on this page are Dr. N's.

forms the contents, and furnishes us with the true idea of the ancient creed. . . Its propositions are the utterance only of what is immediately at hand in the proper Christian consciousness itself. . . It owes its origin to the faith of the church . . in the way of free, gradual progress and growth. . . The creed, we say, sprang in the beginning, from the faith of the church as a whole. It is the product of the Christian life, in its general and collective capacity. . So in the early life of nations, we meet with creations continually, products of the spirit that seem to shoot forth spontaneously, by a sort of inward organic force, from the substance of the national mind itself. . . This may serve to explain what we mean when we say that the creed is to be taken as the full, free outbirth of the Christian faith as a whole. . . . The mere letter of Christianity, even as it stands in the New Testament itself" he represents as ("for a thoughtful mind") "something secondary to its living substance as exhibited in the actual mystery of Christ and his Church. . This mystery is actualized, . . comes to its revelation as the supernatural in the form of faith, by means of the Church. . . *The primitive form of this revelation is presented to us in the creed.* . . It must be taken as the grand epos of Christianity itself, the spontaneous poem of its own life unfolded in fit word and expression from the inmost consciousness of the universal Church." . . It is "the free, spontaneous product of the life of the Church as a whole, the self-adjusted utterance of its faith. . . . It is the free spontaneous externalization of the Christian consciousness, the substance of living Christianity as a whole, in its primary form of faith. . . The creed was not *made;* it *grew*, self-produced, we may say, out of the great fact of Christianity itself. . . Its contents thus come from within, and not from without." Again he calls it "the ancient creation of the church."* On the *authority* of the creed, Dr. Nevin is quite up to the highest point of Papal orthodoxy. . . . "To reject it is to reject the ancient faith; to make light account of it is to make light account of the very substance of Christianity, as it stood from the beginning. If the *regula fidei* of Irenæus and Tertullian, is to have any reality or be of

* P. 221.

any force for us whatever, we must own its presence in the Apostles' creed. We shall have for it most certainly but a figment of our own minds, if we pretend to find it any where else."*

This is philosophical catholicism. It is a combination of the mystical philosophy of our own age with the Romish idea of the Church. It is the helping hand stretched forth by the infidel philosophy to the Papacy, in the hour of her agony. It comes too late, it is true, to save her claim of infallibility. The Council of Trent, as we have seen, and the earlier Roman doctors (Bellarmin among the rest,) insisted that *the Creed was composed by the Apostles themselves, under divine inspiration.* This "old wife's fable" they were not ashamed to repeat to children, long after full grown men perceived its ridiculous inconsistency with history. But this figment is no longer necessary.† Romanism, since her marriage with the modern philosophy, is quite ashamed of it. Dr. Nevin distinctly repudiates it. He is "not disturbed‡ in the least by the difficulty some urge against the creed, on the ground of its outward history, as showing it to be vague and uncertain in its origin. . . . The outward history of it shows clearly enough that it did *not* pass at once into the complete form in which it became finally established." (A cruel thrust at the infallibility of the Council of Trent, and of Pius V.; in fact, at the truth of the whole testimony of the Roman Church, including councils, popes, catechisms and doctors, as to the history of the creed, down to our own times.) "The very circumstances which go with some to invalidate the credit of the Apostles' creed, in what regards the manner of its origin, *we hold to be of special weight in its favour.*"§ Certainly, the modern doctrine of

* P. 201—221.

† It is however, still taught in the Roman Catechisms. So Bellarmin. "Les Saintes Ecritures ne pouvant être lues en entier, ni comprises dans toutes leurs parties, les apôtres, établis par Jesus Christ maitres de l'univers, ont extrait du corps des Ecritures et réduit à douze courtes sentences tous les mysterès qu'il importe de croire. . . On l'appelle *Symbole des apôtres* parceque les apôtres, avant de se séparer pour aller prêcher l'Evangile dans tout l'univers, laissèrent aux fidéles cet abrégé de la doctrine; et ce symbole est composé de douze articles, nombre égal à celui des douze apôtres qui le composèrent."—*This edition is of* 1842.

‡ P. 218. § P. 220.

"development" is far more convenient and pliable for Papal purposes. The creed *was*, according to the old Roman doctrine, "an extract from the Holy Scriptures;" it is now "a product of the Spirit," "shooting forth spontaneously, by a sort of inward organic force, from the substance of the church itself; the full, free outbirth of the Christian faith." It *was* a rigid formula uttered, perhaps penned, by inspired Apostles; but now it is itself "the primitive form of revelation," "the self-adjusted utterance of the church's faith," "the substance of living Christianity as a whole." It *was* held to a somewhat close and uncomfortable relation to the "mere letter of Christianity, as it stands in the New Testament itself;" now, that "mere letter of Christianity" is "made (for a thoughtful mind,) *secondary* to its living substance as exhibited in the actual mystery of Christ and his church," and "this mystery is actualized," "comes to its revelation as the supernatural in the form of faith by means of the church, and the *primitive form* of this *revelation* is presented to us in THE CREED." On the old Roman system, it was enough that the authority of the church, should be *co-ordinate* with that of the Scripture.* It is now held to be *above* it; "the mere letter of Christianity as it stands in the New Testament" being "(for a thoughtful mind,) something *secondary* to its *living substance.*" The Bible is thus *secondary*, the creed "the primitive of the revelation of the supernatural." And this "creed was not *made;* it *grew*, self-produced, the spontaneous product of the life of the church. Its contents come *from within*, and not *from without.*" It is "the ancient *creation* of the church." Antiquity was once regarded as the exclusive claim and necessary imprint of Catholicism. It is so no longer. Her own "substance," "spirit," "life," "faith," is the "womb unmeasurable and boundless breast" which "teems and feeds" an endless progeny of "outbirths" and "creations." Unwritten traditions handed down by mysterious transmission from the days and lips of the Apostles, were once affirmed as the warranty of Papal innovations; but "young Rome" turns out of doors without ceremony that

* Omnes (scriptores pontificii) *parem* illi (symbolo) authoritatem tribuunt cum Scripturis canonicis. Voëtius, p. 67.

hoary imposture and absurdity, or keeps its beard only to overawe children with; the creed is now claimed as her own "creation," "the externalization of her consciousness," "the free spontaneous product of her life," "the *self-adjusted* utterance of her faith," "the full, free outbirth of her life;" and of course, she can "create," "externalize," "produce," "adjust," and "bring forth" whenever, whatever, and how much soever she likes; for her *vis genitrix* cannot be other than inexhaustible, her "living substance" being as Dr. Nevin affirms, "divine."* The χοὺς ἀρχαῖος, the *antique mould* which of old time gave the creed and other "products" of "the church" so much of their reverence and authority, is thus brushed away without hesitation, for lo! beneath it, under the magic touch of the modern philosophy, there appears the bloom of perpetual and self-renovating youth. "It is this *living* character precisely, its *self-conserving* and *self-determining* power which clothes it" (the creed) with its chief title to respect.†

One difficulty, however, meets us. As the creed came to its present size "in the way of free gradual progress and growth,"‡ why may it not continue to "grow?" Why may not this "trunk" put forth more shoots, more "living branches?" Dr. Nevin decides that it cannot, at least that it will not; having reached "the round symmetrical beauty of its *last* settled form," "its proper *ultimate* and *constant* type."§ By what authority he thus pronounces the process of "free growth" and "externalization" arrested, *ended, and determined*, he does not inform us. Is it because it has reached the apostolic number of twelve? But let us dispense with conjecture. It is quite needless that the creed should "grow" any more. It is now large enough. That single article, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," with the Papal interpretation, is a gate large enough for "an army with banners" to pass through. What an interminable line of shaven monks, begging friars, lying Jesuits, and inquisitors keen on the scent of heretical blood—what rites, orders, and ordinances ("which the Lord commanded not, neither came it into his mind,") interdicts and indulgences, anathemas and canonizations have already emerged through that ample portal and are ever on the march, a new line defiling at

* P. 217. † Ibid. p. 221. ‡ p. 215. § p. 220.

every order from the Vatican. Verily, the "merchandize" that passes in and out at that portal, is great—"the merchandize of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen and purple, &c., and souls of men"—and all under the sacred auspices and unquestionable sanction of "the *holy* Catholic *Church.*"

Never was so bold a theory of church power and supremacy propounded before. Even the Jesuits, who paid divine honours to the Pope,* held that the creed was "an extract from the Holy Scriptures," "the commandments of the Church based on the law of God" and "the Pope the vicegerent of Christ upon earth." But here is "a *regula fidei*," "a primitive form of faith" "externalized from the inmost consciousness," "created from the substance" of the Church herself.† And yet, "to reject *it*, is to reject the ancient faith; to make light account of *it*, is to make light account of the *very substance of Christianity.*" "If the rule of faith is to have any reality, or be of any force for us whatever, we must own its presence in *the Apostles' Creed.* We shall have for it" (Dr. Nevin warns us,) "most certainly but a figment of our own minds, if we pretend to find it *anywhere else*"—even of course in "the mere letter of Christianity as it stands in the New Testament."

It is but little to say of this system that it antiquates the

* "Gregory XV. went to visit the dying Cardinal, (Bellarmin,) who addressed him in these words, *Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst come under m roof,* (*Domine, non dignas sum ut intres, &c.*) *words which prove to what point Cardinal Bellarmin carried his respect for the Vicar of Jesus Christ.*" Vie de Bellarmin, by M. Abbé Migne. pref. to his Cat. "Must not all serious believing Protestants," says Dr. Schaf, (Prin. of Prot., p. 103,) "feel themselves more closely related in spirit to a Bellarmin . . than to . . a Bruno Bauer?" If we are called upon to choose between an idolater and an atheist, our hesitation is not long. We say *neither.* Blessed be God, we have a better alternative.

† We cannot wonder then, that Dr. Nevin lays down the following order of precedence, (and in doing so, distinctly takes the side of Rome in the great central issue between her and Protestantism,) "*First the Church, and then the Bible.* So in the creed, 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church,' not 'I believe in the Holy inspired Bible.' Not, certainly, to put any dishonour on this last, but to lay rather a solid foundation for its dignity and authority in the other article." (p. 339.) To lay a solid foundation for the dignity and authority of the Bible, in the faith of the Church!!

Scriptures, it nullifies inspiration,* it removes the Church from its ancient foundation "of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone," and hangs it, self-poised, in mid air. It makes it the source of law, faith and life to itself. What reverence does it leave, what significance even, for those glorious and precious revelations, "Thy word is truth. I am the Life. Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world;" or what force in those precepts, "Search the Scriptures, for *in them ye think ye have eternal life.*" "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly." What shadow of respect for that divine communication, (appended alike to the "law which was given by Moses" and to "the grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ;") "Ye shall not *add* unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it, that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God." "If any man shall *add* unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book."

The issue here is of no less magnitude than *the source and derivation of Christian truth.* The Papal theory, in whatever form, makes the "Apostles' Creed" a *separate, subsequent* and *sufficient* revelation of Christianity. Whether, with some of the eminent Papal writers, you hold it to be the composition of the "hundred and twenty" including the Apostles,† (Acts i. 15) or of the twelve Apostles, immediately after the descent of the

* It is well known that the Mystical Philosophy holds that a revelation being ex necessitate rei, made to the intuitional faculty, a verbal revelation is a sheer impossibilty, and a transmission of the contents of a revelation from one mind to another, of course, yet more so,—and therefore the ideas that "holy men of God *spake* as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," and that all *Scripture is given by inspiration* of God" are just to be regarded as among the myths of the world's childhood. (Dr. Nevin, however, holds to inspiration. He thinks that Ursinus was inspired. "In a deep and true sense," he says, (Hist. and Gen. of the Heid. Cat. p. 129,) "we may even say that he was inspired. He spake not of himself nor from himself simply: but *it was the life of the Church, (which is always truly a divine life,) that sought and found expression through his words.* It is this pre-eminently that imparts to the Catechism its power and glory." The Church, then, it seems, can inspire, though the Head and Creator of the Church cannot. Of course, if she can "create," "produce from her own substance" and externalize from her own consciousness a creed, she is quite competent to *inspire* a catechism. Whether Ursinus would have laughed at the nonsense or shuddered at the blasphemy of such "philosophy," we will not pretend to decide.)

† Antonius Nebrissensis, cited by Vossius, p. 3.

Holy Spirit at Pentecost,* or of the twelve, with Paul and Barnabas, (making, of course, fourteen authors and articles,†) or of the twelve in the second year of Claudius, before they fled to escape the persecution of Herod:‡ — whether it was *written* by the Apostles, or orally delivered and committed to the memory of the faithful:—whether it was a collect from the Scriptures,§ or given by inspiration of God, apart from all previous or other revelations;‖ whether its sentences were contributed singly or severally by the Apostles, Peter, (of course,) beginning, "I believe in God the Father Almighty," John adding, "Maker of heaven and earth," James, &c., &c.;¶ whether it was drawn up to preserve their own unity,** or to serve as an invariable and perpetual formula†† of the faith to Christians throughout the world and to all future time, it is, through all these modifications, *an independent revelation of Christianity, apart from and unknown to the inspired Scriptures, bearing in itself the contents of the Christian faith*—"the things which Christian men ought to hold," and is so finally ruled and settled by the supreme authority of the Papacy.

* Ante conversionem Pauli, of course. Bonaventura, cited by Voëtius, p. 66.

† Whose fourteen *sententiæ*, like so many osiers, were woven into a holy *basket* by Peter, quasi cophinum contexuit Petrus. Albertus Patav. quoted by Vossius. p. 4.

‡ Baronius, in Heidegger. p. 640, 1.

§ Extrait du corps des Ecritures. Bellarm. Pref. to Cat. Paschasius Ratb. also quoted by Vossius, p. 4.

‖ This is the general opinion of the Papal writers. Sententia est vulgatior, Vossius, p. 4.

¶ Each Apostle contributing his *bolus*, and all together making a *σύμβολον*, or *epulum spirituale*, as they call it, with a ridiculous disregard of the meaning of the word, not *σύμβολον* but *συμβολὴ*, signifying such a *collatio*.) And what, for four hundred years, became of half the *bolus* of Thomas ("he descended into hell") and for nearly the same length of time of the same portion of the *bolus* of James the son of Alpheus, "the Holy Catholic Church?" And yet this silly story has been adopted by Baronius; "ex Augustino supposititio." Heidegger, p. 640, "a sermon falsely attributed to St. Austin." Lord King, p. 26. The passage is now given up on all hands.

** So some after Rufinus "normam *sibi* futuræ prædicationis in commune constituunt, ne forte alii alio adducti, diversum aliquid his qui ad fidem Christi invitabantur, exponerent, p. 1. As if the illumination of the Holy Ghost were not sufficient to secure the Apostolic unity!

†† Certa et constans formula; such is the general account of its design.

In the later and far bolder form of the Papal theory, advanced by Dr. Nevin and the men of "development," that namely, which holds it to be neither "got from the Bible,"* nor "imposed on the Church by Christ or his Apostles,"† but "a growth from within,"‡ "a creation of the Church," "owing its *origin* to the faith of the Church," vivified, as she is, by the incarnation of the Son of God, and so made "the bearer" and "depositary of supernatural powers,"§ and yet "the primitive form of revelation," to which "the mere letter of Christianity, even as it stands in the New Testament, is something secondary," "the substance of living Christianity as a whole, in its primary form of faith,"‖ in this form we say, there is a yet more distinct renunciation of all dependence of the Church on the Scriptures, and all necessary connection between them.¶ If this theory be true, the creed ought forthwith to take the place of the Bible throughout the whole Christian œconomy. Instead of "searching the Scriptures," men must henceforth *search the creed.* Instead of having the "word of Christ dwell in them richly," they must have *the creed dwell in them richly.* Instead of going to "the Scriptures all-inspired of God," they must go *to the creed created by the Church,* for "doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness." Instead of being "sanctified by the word of God," they must be *sanctified by the creed of the Church.* All things must be changed to suit. Preachers, instead of taking a text from the Bible, must henceforth take a text from the creed.** The Church, instead of singing,

"Thy word is everlasting truth,"

must sing

My creed is everlasting truth!

The change would greatly abridge the cost and labour of our

* P. 337. † P. 201. ‡ P. 219.

§ Dr. Nevin. Antichrist, p. 52.

‖ "All Christianity starts in the realities of the Creed, and is of no force any farther than these continue to be felt in the way of faith." Antichrist, p. 67.

¶ So the Romanist Mœhler, though by no means so boldly as Dr. Nevin, "when ecclesiastical education in the way described, takes place in the individual, *the Sacred Scriptures are not even necessary.*" Symbolism, p. 350.

** Rather scanty material, but by the wise men of this school, *preaching* is thought to have been *overvalued.*

Bible Societies, which would then have only to print creeds instead of Bibles. It would quite supersede the voluminous emissions of our Boards of Publication. How light would be the burden of the colporteur! It would effectually tame the restless energy of our republicanism, and prove an absolute panacea for "the virulence of the *sect-plague*." Instead of the process ("full of peril") of *thinking* and *inquiring*, Christians would only have to *believe*.* In a word, in place of the Bible, through all the relations of Christianity, would be installed the Creed; from forth the ninth article of which, "the Holy Catholic Church" would "externalize" all matters of faith and practice, and (in the gateway of that article stands the Papal throne) would legislate† once more to Christendom and to the world.

Catholic instrumentalities, too, would be restored to full operation. Instead of an "Evangelical Alliance" to promote unity of faith, we should have an Inquisition; instead of gospel preachers, cowled monks and shaven priests; instead of "reasonings of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," racks and thumb-screws; for evangelists, begging friars; for "the Bible and God's Spirit,"‡ Papal bulls, anathemas, and indulgences. The citizen would become a *peasant* again, and the Christian a *Catholic*. The Church and the world would be replaced as they were under the midnight glories of the Dark Ages. This is "the great Millennium, the Church of the Future," after which Dr. Nevin tells us, "very many truly Catholic souls are *silently* breathing an impatient, *How long, Lord?*§

Of all the millennarian schemes of our age, we like Dr. Nevin's millennium of darkness and retrogression, the least.

* "Faith," says Dr. Nevin "goes before *all thought* and lies at the ground of it." "Our creed *precedes* and *underlies* our *intelligence*."

† "What a conception is that of Christianity, which excludes from its organic jurisdiction the broad, vast conception of the commonwealth or state!" Catholicism, p. 14.

‡ "Few seem to have the least fear of schism, if only they can lay claim in their own way, to *the Bible and God's Spirit*." Ant. p. 84. Cf. John v. 39, and 1 John ii. 20, 27, both from the *mystical* Apostle!

§ Antichrist, p. 71 and 76.

Is it not, in every aspect, a new Christianity—"another gospel?"

The theory may seem ridiculous, but it is a grave matter, associated and identified as it is, with this still vast and powerful Papacy. On that stock it has grown. If the germ of mysticism had been "graffed" into any branch of vital and scriptural Christianity, it would have withered and died at once: for the stock and scion being of different genera, the bud would not take. But inserted in "Catholicism," it has vegetated with a prodigious luxuriance. It is, indeed, a vast advance on any earlier "stadium"* of that system. Yet it is strictly and legitimately a development of it. The Roman Church began her apostacy, by claiming powers which the word of God did not grant nor even permit to any part of the Christian Church; she next prohibited the Scriptures because they rebuked and exposed her corruptions of Christian truth, and encroachments on Christian freedom; the Creed was a great assistance to her in this matter, serving in her abuse of it to antiquate (as summaries often have done) the volume from which it had been compiled. She at length took courage to contradict and *nullify* the plain and acknowledged precepts of the word of God;† and now at last, if she betakes herself to the encampment prepared for her by German mysticism—and she seems on the march to do so—she fully and for ever *forsakes* and renounces the word of God, shakes off what slack allegiance she has hitherto professed to hold to it, and proclaims her Creed "the primitive revelation," and herself the "Creator of the Christian faith."

This is certainly, a new phase in the "revelation" of "the

* "The Church is never stationary, but always passing forward from one stadium of perfection to another." Antichrist, p. 35. What "Church" is that whose every successive *stadium* is a further departure form the word of God? What will be her last *stadium?*

† So in the Council of Constance, "Decretum est Sept. xiii. circa S. Eucharistiæ Sacramentum quod '*licet* CHRISTUS *sub utraque specie instituerit, eundemque administrandi modum Ecclesia Primitiva retinuerit*, HIS TAMEN NON OBSTANTIBUS, *consuetudo* ECCLESIÆ, *qua sub specie panis tantummodo a laicis suscipitur*, EST OBSERVANDA.'" Cave, Scrip. Eccles. Sæc. Synodale, p. 150. What was this canon less than a declaration of open revolt from Christ, and at the same time repudiation of Christian antiquity?

man of sin and the son of perdition." Never before has he so distinctly taken the position of Antichrist; never before so boldly "seated himself in the temple of God, boasting himself that he is God." For who less than God can (either in the objective or subjective sense,) *originate and create faith?*

May God speed forward that revelation *in his time!* For "the day of Christ shall not come till that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming."

Dr. Nevin does not attempt to bring from the Bible any testimony to its own degradation below the Creed. But he does claim for his theory—a theory never heard of by Christian, Pagan, or Infidel, till the time of Strauss*—the sanction of every thing that is venerable in the history of that Christianity of which it strikes at the very foundation.

"It, (the Creed,) forms," he says, "the basis of all sound Christian profession in the Protestant, no less than in the Roman Catholic Church."†

"It lay at the foundation of all Christianity with Luther himself . . It was a necessary means of grace with him, he tells us himself, to repeat the creed with the Lord's Prayer, throughout his life." "*The creed with the Lord's Prayer!*" Here is Luther's own enumeration: "The Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Articles of Faith, some of the Psalms,‡ &c., I recite with myself early in the morning, and as often as I

* Dr. Nevin acknowledges, in the following passage, (p. 217,) to what notable source the Christian church is indebted for the *first hint*, which, by "thoughtful minds," has been wrought out into this new theory. "The main use of this work of Strauss, if it can be allowed to have any, *is found just in this*, that *it serves*, for a thoughtful mind, to *make the mere letter of Christianity, even as it stands in the New Testament itself, something secondary to its living substance, as exhibited in the mystery of Christ and his church . . So much of truth, however, may be allowed to it*, that this mystery . . comes to its revelation . . by means of the church . . The primitive form of this revelation is presented to us in the Creed." A fitting master, verily, to teach the Church of Christ such a lesson! When she goes to school to such "filthy dreamers" as Strauss, she may expect to come back with the discovery that the word of her Lord is "something secondary" to her own consciousness!

† P. 122.

‡ Orationem Dominicam, Decem Præcepta, Articulos Fidei, Psalmos aliquot, &c., Cat. Maj. Præf. Hase. Lib. Sym. p. 392.

have a little leisure;"—and he goes on to discourse of "the power of the word of God," and "the blessedness of daily meditation upon it," saying, that "no perfume is more precious, no odour more efficacious against devils and bad thoughts, than if thou handle by constant use the word and precepts of God, mixing therewith familiar discourses upon it, singing and meditating the same. This, verily, is that *holy water* and true *sign** (of the cross) whereby Satan is put to flight, and which he dreads above all things."†

So much for Luther's "necessary means of grace" in private, which were somewhat more ample than Dr. Nevin's *abridgment* would seem to imply. "His (Luther's) sense," Dr. Nevin adds, "of the authority that belongs to the ancient catholic faith altogether, was very earnest and deep." Undoubtedly it was; but not of that "catholic faith" of which "the creed is the primitive revelation." Hear his own words:

"By what sign, then," he says,‡ "shall I know a church? For some visible sign must be given, whereby we may be gathered together to hear the word of God. I answer, the necessary sign is Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and, most of all, the Gospel.§ These are the three signs, badges, and characters of Christians . . . . . Where thou seest that the Gospel is not, (as we see in the synagogue of the Papists,)‖ there thou mayest not doubt, *there is no church*, even though they baptize and eat from the altar . . . But there thou mayest know is Babylon, full of witches, owls, cormorants, and other monsters.¶ . . The Gospel, before Baptism and the Lord's Supper, is the one surest and noblest sign of a church, since by the Gospel alone, it is conceived, shapen, nourished, brought forth, brought up, fed, clothed, adorned, strengthened, armed, preserved,—in brief, *the whole life and substance of the church is in the word of*

* Hæc vere aqua illa sanctificata, verumque signum.

† Ibid. p. 393.

‡ Resp. ad Lib. Ambros. Catharini. Luth. Opp. Tom. II. p. 147. Wittenbergæ. 1546.

§ Omnium potissimum, Evangelium.

‖ Sicut in Synagoga Papistarum videmus.

¶ Babylonem ibi esse scias, plenam lamiis, pilosis ululis, onocrotalis, aliisque monstris.

God, even as Christ says, 'man liveth by every word which proceedeth from the mouth of God.'"*

"The Reformed Church here," says Dr. Nevin, was of one mind with the Lutheran. Thus, in Calvin's Catechism," &c.

Calvin's intention in following the order of the Creed and his view of the Creed itself is nowhere so fully stated as in his Institutes. "Thus far," he says, at the close of the second book, "I have followed the order of the Apostles' Creed; because, since it sketches in few words, the heads of redemption,† it may serve to us the purpose of an index,‡ in which we behold distinctly and severally, the Christian subjects which deserve our attention. I call it the Apostles' Creed, little concerned meanwhile, about its authorship.§ . . The only point of importance, I hold to be placed beyond controversy, that the whole history of our faith is therein set forth succinctly and in clear arrangements, and that nothing is contained in it which is not sealed by solid testimonies of Scripture."‖ And again, "A creed must be a complete summary of our faith, into which *nothing may be infused, which is not derived from the purest word of God.*¶ And, "since we see the whole sum of our salvation and even its several parts comprehended in Christ, *we must beware lest we derive even the minutest portion of it from any other source.*"**

"So," continues Dr. Nevin, "in the admirable symbol of the Palatinate, the Heidelberg Catechism, it is 'the articles of our catholic and undoubted Christian faith,' as comprehended in the same Creed which are made to underlie the doctrine of salvation from beginning to end." And again,†† "it" (the Heidelberg Catechism) "is based directly upon the Apostles' Creed, *with the sound and most certainly right feeling, that no Protestant doctrine can ever be held in a safe form, which is not so*

* Breviter, tota vita et substantia Ecclesiæ est in verbo Dei.

† Capita redemptionis.

‡ Vice tabulæ nobis esse potest.

§ De auctore interim minime solicitus.

‖ Nihil autem contineri, quod solidis Scripturæ testimoniis non sit consignatum. Inst. II. 16. § 18.

¶ Nisi ex purissimo Dei verbo petitum. II. c. 16, § 8.

** Cavendum ne vel minimam portiunculam alio derivemus. II. 16. § 19.

†† Introduction to Williard's Ursinus, p. 15.

held as to be in truth, a living branch from the trunk of this primitive symbol in the consciousness of faith."

The Heidelberg Catechism consists of three parts. The *second* of these follows the order of the Apostles' Creed. What it is that *underlies the doctrine of salvation*, to the apprehension of the author of the Catechism, (Ursinus,) is best learned from his own words. He inserts the Creed in his Catechism, with these and the like preliminary cautions. "Faith is borne upon the whole word of God and firmly assents to it.* . . *Human traditions*, edicts of popes and decrees of councils are excluded"† (from the ground of faith.) "*For faith can rest on the word of God alone, as its immovable foundation.*‡ Christians therefore, are neither to form for themselves matters of faith, nor to embrace what is formed or handed down by men, but *to believe the gospel.*"§

And with regard to this theory of a church-created creed, if Ursinus had been gifted with prescience to foresee that combination of Popery and mysticism, he could not have struck it with greater precision than he has done in the following words.

"Certain it is that no Church, whether of angels or of men, has power to frame new laws concerning the worship of God, or *new articles of faith binding the conscience.* For that belongs to God alone. Nor are we to believe God on the testimony of the Church, but the Church on the testimony of God."‖

Dr. Nevin claims also the sanction of the "Gallican," "Belgic," and "Helvetic Confessions," and "the Articles of the Church of England"¶ in support of his creed theory. A short citation from each will show what these "good confes-

* Fides igitur fertur in omne Dei verbum, eique firmiter assentitur.

† Excluduntur traditiones humanæ, &c.

‡ Solo Dei verbo tanquam immoto fundamento. Exp. Cat. Q. 22.

§ Supported by Mark i. 15.—1 Cor. ii. 5.

‖ Certum est, nec angelorum, nec hominum ecclesiam habere potestatem condendi novas leges de cultu Dei, aut novos articulos fidei obligantes conscientiam. Id enim est solius Dei. Neque Deo propter ecclesiæ, sed ecclesiæ propter Dei testimonium credendum est. Exp. Cat. Q. 23.

¶ Pp. 123, 4.

sions" "witness before" the world to be the fountain of Christian truth and the rule of Christian faith.

The Gallican Confession, (after the list of the canonical books,) declares as follows.

"We recognize these books to be canonical and the certain rule of our faith,* not so much by the common harmony and consent of the Church, as by the testimony and interior persuasion of the Holy Spirit, who makes us to discern them from other ecclesiastical books, on which, though they yet be useful, no man can found any article of faith."†

"And since it" ("the word which is contained in these books and proceedeth from God‡") "is the rule of all truth,§ containing all that is necessary for the service of God and our salvation, it is not lawful for men nor even for angels to add thereto, nor to diminish or change it. Whence it follows, that neither antiquity, nor customs, nor multitude, nor human wisdom, nor judgments, nor sentences, nor edicts, nor decrees, nor councils, nor visions, nor miracles, must be opposed to that Holy Scripture, but on the contrary, all things must be examined, proved and reformed according to it.‖ And in this view,¶ we acknowledge the three symbols, to wit, of the Apostles, of Nice, and of Athanasius, because they are conformed to the word of God."**

The Belgic Confession is admirably full and clear "de auctoritate"†† and "de perfectione‡‡ Sacræ Scripturæ." We cite but one sentence: "Since the whole method of that divine *cultus* which God requires from the faithful,§§ is therein most exactly and copiously described;‖‖‖‖ for no man, though he

* Règle tres certaine de nostre Foy.

† Sur lesquels (encore qu' ils soyent utiles,) on ne peut fonder aucun article de Foy. Conf. Fid. Gall. Art. IV. Niemeyer, Coll. Conf. p. 314.

‡ Procédée de Dieu.

§ La règle de toute vérité.

‖ Ainsi au contraire, toutes choses doyvent estre examinées, reiglées et reformées selon icelle.

¶ Suyvant cela.

** Pour ce qu' ils sont conformés à la parole de Dieu. Art. V.

†† Art. III. and V. ‡‡ Art. VI.

§§ Omnis divini cultus ratio, quam Deus a fidelibus exigit.

‖‖‖‖ Exactissime et fuse descripta.

be endowed with Apostolic dignity, nor even for any angel sent down from heaven, as holy Paul speaketh, is it lawful to teach otherwise than we have been already taught in the sacred Scriptures."*

In the article on "the most Holy Trinity" it says, "we freely receive those three symbols, namely, the Apostolic, Nicene and Athanasian."† The Helvetic Confession is particularly exact and full on the relation of church doctrine, whether brought out in the shape of interpretation, tradition or creed, to the Scriptures.

"The Canonical Scripture," it declares,‡ "which is the word of God, delivered by the Holy Spirit, and set forth to the world by prophets and apostles, is the most ancient, perfect and exalted philosophy§ and alone contains all‖ that conduces to the true knowledge, love and communion of God, to genuine piety and to the ordering of a devout and holy life.

"This holy, divine Scripture, is interpreted by none other than itself, and is cleared up by the analogy (under the guidance) of faith and love."¶

"So far as the holy fathers have not gone aside from this kind of interpretation, we not only receive them as interpreters of Scripture, but revere them as chosen vessels of God."**

"For the rest of the traditions of men, however specious and universal, which lead us aside from God and the true faith, we say in the words of the Lord, in vain do they worship me, teaching the doctrines of men."††

The doctrine of the Reformed Church of England on the subject of "the Holy Scripture" and of "the Creeds" is as follows:‡‡ "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be

* Aliter docere quam jampridem in Sacris Scripturis edocti sumus. Niemeyer, p. 361, &c.

† Recipimus libenter, &c., Art. IX. Niem. p. 365.

‡ Art. I. Niemeyer, p. 105.

§ Die aller älteste, volkomneste und höchste leer.

‖ Begrifft allein alles das, das zu warer erkantnüss, liebe und eer Gottes, &c.

¶ Erklärt werden durch die richtschnur des glaubens und der liebe. Art. II.

** Art. III. †† Art. IV. ‡‡ Articles VI. and VIII.

proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.

"The Nicene Creed and *that which is commonly called* the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: *for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture.*"

What then was the "warrant" by which the creeds themselves were to "be proved," what was the "basis" of Protestant doctrine, the "trunk" from which it grew and depended, the only "safe form" in which it could be "held," is abundantly evident from these citations. And every time the Reformed Church uttered her voice on this subject, whether it was among the mountains of Switzerland or in the Universities of Germany and England, or a century later, in the Synod of Dort and the Assembly of Westminster, it was to proclaim that *the word of God is the sole and all-sufficient rule of faith and life to the Christian Church.*

And her voice in this grand and unanimous utterance of it, was a distinct reverberation of that which came down to her, weakened and confused somewhat, but never extinct, through the lapse of ages, from her elder sister, who in *voice* as well as *feature*, bore a strong family resemblance to her, the Primitive Church. And yet Dr. Nevin claims the sanction of this too, for his theory of a "growing," "expanding," "self-adjusted," "church-created" Creed.

"That such an Apostolical rule, as to inward substance, existed and had force, as the unity of the universal Christian faith, in the early Church, no one who does not choose to put out his own eyes, can for a moment doubt; *and yet, it is just as clear that this living rule embodied itself finally, and became permanent and fixed, in the Creed* as we now have it. . . . If the *regula fidei* of Irenæus and Tertullian, is to have any reality, or be of any force for us whatever, we must own its presence in the Apostles' Creed."*

Now, we should be sorry to "put out our own eyes," for this, among other reasons, that then we might *fall into the ditch* with

* Apostles' Creed, No. III. p. 221.

this *blind guide.* But having our eyes open, and Irenæus and Tertullian before them, we confess ourselves amazed at the temerity of this citation.

Shall we summon Erasmus to try conclusions with Dr. Nevin on this point? Here is his testimony: "Irenæus fought against the troop of heretics with arguments (munitions) drawn *from the Scriptures alone.*"*

But let the good bishop of Lyons, (or Presbyter, for as to the matter of fact, we firmly believe it is of no consequence which title we use, *since he uses both indifferently,*) expound himself on this point.

Irenæus mentions no *regula fidei.* The phrase does not occur in his writings. "Regula veritatis," "principia Evangelii," and the like expressions, he uses often; by these *objective* denominations of the substance or material of the Christian faith, denoting that, to his apprehension, the "contents" of that faith came *from without, and not from within.*† In what sense he uses these expressions, we shall allow the reader to judge for himself.

"He who has the immovable *rule of truth* in his possession, which he receives by baptism, will recognize the names, phrases, and comparisons, which are from the Scriptures; but the blasphemous reasoning of those men he will not recognize. . . But reducing every one of their assertions to its proper rank, and *applying it to the indivisible substance of truth,* he will strip their figment and reveal its weakness. . And by this demonstration may we know that firm truth which is preached by the Church, and that falsification of it which is contrived by these men."‡

* Irenæus *solis scripturarum præsidiis* adversus hæreticorum catervam pugnavit. Eras. Epist. prefixed to the books of Irenæus.

† "From within, and not from without," says Dr. Nevin. Merc. Rev. Ap. Creed. No. III. p. 219.

‡ Qui *regulam veritatis immobilem* apud se habet, quam per baptismum accipit, hæc quidem *quæ sunt ex Scripturis,* nomina et dictiones et parabolas cognoscet: blasphemum autem illorum argumentum non cognoscet. . Unumquemque autem sermonum reddens suo ordini, et aptans veritatis corpusculo, denudabit, et insubstantivum ostendet figmentum ipsorum. . . et ex ostensione [cognoscere est] eam firmam, quæ ab Ecclesia prædicatur veritatem, et ab iis id quod fingitur falsiloquium. Iren. adv. Hæreses, Lib. I. Cap. 1, near the end. It is scarcely

And again: "While we hold the *rule of truth*, that is, that there is one God Almighty, who formed and arranged all things by his word, and from that state in which there was nothing, has brought this, in which all things exist, *as the Scripture declares*, "for by the word of the Lord were the heavens made," &c. (where he cites Ps. xxxii. 6, and John i. 3.) . . . "So long as we hold *this rule*, therefore, though they (the heretics) utter very many and various things, *we easily convict them of deviating from the truth.*"*

Once more for the *regula veritatis* of Irenæus. "When they (heretics) are refuted from the Scriptures, they turn to the accusation of the Scriptures themselves, as if they were not well expressed, or not of authority . . . . . which without doubt, is most impudently to blaspheme their own Creator."†

"These are *the first principles of the Gospel*, that there is one God, the Creator of this universe, the same who was announced by the prophets and gave the ordering of the law by Moses, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and they know no other God nor any other Father."‡

"The Gospel is the pillar and strength of that church which is scattered over the whole earth, and the breath of its life."§

"The Gospel lifts men up and bears them on its wings to the heavenly kingdom."‖

"Those who side with Valentinus, being destitute of all reverence, have gone to such a length of audacity, as to denominate that a true Gospel *which in nothing agrees with the Gospels of the Apostles*, so that the Gospel itself has not escaped their blas-

necessary to remind the reader that we only have Irenaeus in an old Latin translation, which is rude and often obscure.

* Cum teneamus autem nos regulam veritatis, id est, &c. *quemadmodum Scriptura dicit. . . . Hanc* ergo tenentes *regulam*, licet valde varia et multa dicant, *facile eos deviasse a veritate arguimus.* Adv. Hæreses, Lib. I. Cap. 19, beginning.

† Cum ex Scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum, quasi non recte habeant, neque sint ex authoritate. . . . Quod quidem impudentissime est blasphemare suum factorem. Adv. Hæreses, Lib. III. Cap. 2, beginning.

‡ Hæc quidem sunt *principia Evangelii*, &c. Adv. Hær. III. 11.

§ Columna et firmamentum Ecclesiae est Evangelium et Spiritus vitæ. Ibid.

‖ Evangelium, elevans et pennigerans homines in cœleste regnum. Ibid.

phemy.* . . . All who will, may perceive that it (their gospel) is unlike those which have been delivered to us by the Apostles, since it is plain from the Scriptures themselves, that it is not that Gospel of truth which was delivered by the Apostles."

The following passage is as remarkable for its beauty as for the distinctness of its testimony. But for the barbarous Latin, it might easily be mistaken for Melanchthon's.

"The church every where preaches the truth, and she is the seven-bowled candlestick, bearing the light of Christ.† Those, therefore, who forsake the preaching of the church, inveigh against the unskilfulness of holy presbyters,‡ not considering how much better is a religious simpleton than a blasphemer or an impudent sophist. Such, however, are all heretics, and those who think they have found out something beyond the truth, following ambiguous utterances, and making a bewildered and feeble progress, *not always having the same minds on the same subjects*,§ but blind themselves are led about by the blind . . . . . The opinions of such we must avoid, and look well to it, that we be not inveigled by them; but we must betake ourselves to the church, and be brought up in her bosom, and *nourished by the Scriptures of the Lord.*‖ For the Paradise of the church has been planted in this world. 'From every tree of Paradise,' therefore, 'thou shalt eat,' saith the Spirit of God, that is, feed on all the Scripture of the Lord."¶

* Hi qui sunt a Valentino . . . in tantum processerunt audaciae, uti . . Veritatis Evangelium titulent, in nihilo conveniens Apostolorum Evangeliis, ut nec Evangelium quidem sit apud eos sine blasphemia. Ibid.

† Ubique Ecclesia prædicat veritatem, et hæc est ἑπτάμυκος lucerna, Christi bajulans lumen. An allusion to Ex. xxv. 31, &c.

‡ Imperitiam sanctorum Presbyterorum arguunt. You will look in vain for this passage, (or any others of the many in which *Presbyteri* occurs in Irenæus,) in the Index locupletissimus of Feu-Ardentius. *Episcopi* is duly honoured. It would not have been edifying, to be sure, to have directed the attention of good Catholics to Irenæus's declaration that "the tradition from the Apostles is preserved in the church, *per successiones Presbyterorum*, (Lib. III. c. 2,) or to the startling fact that he uses *Presbyteri* and *Episcopi* interchangeably. Cf. e. g. Lib. V. c. 20 with Lib. III. c. 2.

§ Multiforme et imbecille faciontes iter, *de iisdem non semper easdem sententias habentes.*

‖ Confugere ad Ecclesiam, et in ejus sinu educari et dominicis Scripturis enutriri.

¶ Id est, ab omni Scriptura dominica manducate. Adv. Hær. Lib. V. c. 20.

And thus he expresses the transition in his argument from the Gospels to the Epistles.

. . . "Having then examined* the sentiment of those who delivered the Gospel to us, (from their own fountains,†) let us now come to the rest of the Apostles, and inquire into their teaching —and to conclude all let us hear the very words of our Lord."

Thus does the champion of the church's faith in the second century muster the war against errorists of every badge and banner. With him the *regula veritatis* is identical with the *principia Evangelii;* the *nomina, dictiones, parabolæ quæ sunt ex Scripturis* are the *Corpusculum veritatis,* the contact of which, like a powerful talisman, distinguishes *the firm truth which is preached by the church* from the *falsifications of heretics. The preaching of the church* is *the light of Christ. The food of her members* is *the Scriptures of the Lord.* All the weapons of his warfare "against heresies," are included in this inventory —"*the doctrine of those Apostles who delivered the Gospel to us —that of the other Apostles*—and *the very words of our Lord.*"

Then, as to the *regula fidei* of Tertullian. He can surely be no great authority for any thing, who in his latter years departed and revolted from the Christian church, and fell into the incredible folly of Montanism. But his authority, such as it is, is all against Dr. Nevin.

The phrases *regula fidei, lex fidei, regula fidei aut spei, regula Scripturaram, regula Dei,* often occur in his writings. *And they are used to denote the same thing.* But as Dr. Nevin is partial to the *regula fidei,* let us briefly notice the way in which Tertullian speaks of it. Unhappily for Dr. Nevin's argument, the books of Tertullian in which the *regula fidei* is mentioned, were principally written after he was thrust out of the bosom of the Catholic Church, and the *sect-plague* was fairly developed on him. But Dr. Nevin must look after that. As our faith is not derived from the Church," nor from "the Fathers," the authority of Tertullian the Montanist is with us much the same with that of Tertullian the Catholic, as far as determining the *regula fidei* is concerned.

The following passage occurs in his book "de Præscriptione

* Lib. III. c. 11, end. † Ex ipsis principiis ipsorum.

Hæreticorum:"* "The *rule of faith*,† that we may at once declare what we defend, is that whereby it is believed, that there is one God alone, and no other beside the Creator of the world, who brought forth all things from nothing by his own Word first of all sent down; that this Word was called his Son, who under the name of God was variously seen by the Patriarchs, who was always heard in the prophets, was afterwards conveyed by the Spirit and power of God into the Virgin Mary, was made flesh in her womb, was born of her Jesus Christ,‡ thereafter preached a new law and a new promise of the kingdom of heaven, wrought miracles, was fastened to the cross, on the third day rose again, was taken up to heaven and sat down at the right hand of the Father, sent forth the vicarious power of the Holy Spirit to actuate all who believe, will come again with glory to take his saints to the fruition of eternal life and the promised joys of heaven, and to award the wicked to eternal fire, both being resuscitated with the resurrection of the flesh. *This rule, instituted by Christ*, as will be proved, has no questions among us, but those which heresies introduce and which make heretics.§"

Again in his book "Adversus Praxeam"‖ we have a *regula fidei* different in form and order from the former, and less full, but *containing the article of the Paraclete.*¶ He immediately adds, "*this rule has descended from the beginning of the gospel.*"** There too, occurs the famous maxim, that "what was ancient and original in Christianity was true; what was later, was corrupted."††

* Tertulliani Opp. p. 206. Paris, 1664.

† Regula est autem fidei.

‡ Ex ea natum egisse (al. exisse) Jesum Christum. So Theophilus of Alex. "de virginali utero, quem sanctificavit, *egressus homo.* Lib. Pas. I in the end of Erasmus's Jerome.

§ Haec regula a Christo, ut probabitur, instituta, p. 207.

‖ Opp. p. 501.

¶ This was after Tertullian had embraced the strange delusion that Montanus was the Paraclete, whatever sense he attached to that name.

** Hanc regulam ab initio evangelii decucurrisse.

†† Id esse verum quodcunque primum; id esse adulterum quodcunque posterius. A maxim which in itself includes his testimony against a "growing and expanding creed." This maxim is memorable for having stirred up the soul of the immortal Usher to patristic studies. "He determined to read *through* the fathers

Again, in his book "de Virginibus Velandis," written also *post lapsum*, we meet with the following *regula fidei*. "The rule of faith, indeed, is assuredly *one, only, immovable, incapable of change*,* namely, that of believing in one Almighty God, the former of the world, and in his Son Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, raised from the dead on the third day, received into heaven, to come again to judge the living and the dead through the resurrection also of the body. *This law of faith abiding*,† other things, pertaining to discipline and conversation, admit of change and amendment;"‡ (This looks a little, it must be allowed, like the modern doctrine of *development*. Let it be observed however, that Tertullian learned this after he had fallen into "sect and schism." Observe, too, of what sort were the *first fruits* of this doctrine of development, for to the above words, Tertullian immediately adds,) "the grace of God operating and advancing even to the end. For while the devil is ever active, and suggests daily to wicked minds, how can we suppose that the work of God should cease or halt in its progress? *The Lord has therefore sent the Paraclete, that as the limited capacity of man could not take all things at once, Christian discipline might, by degrees, be directed, shapen, and carried to perfection, by that vicarious Holy Spirit of the Lord.*"§

and ascertain whether the claim of Stapleton (the defender of Romanism) was founded in fact. The task employed him eighteen years, from the 20th to the 38th year of his age." Life, pref. to his works. Dublin 1847. The conclusion to which the search led him is well known.

* Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola, immobilis, irreformabilis. Opp. p. 173.

† Hac lege fidei manente.

‡ Admittunt novitatem correctionis.

§ Ab illo vicario Domini Spiritu Sancto. The treatise "de Virginibus velandis" is reckoned among the writings of Tertullian after he became a Montanist. The subject and strain of it favour that supposition. If it be so, the above passage alone shuts out the charitable suggestion of Mosheim, that "the Paraclete which Montanus pretended to be, was not the Holy Ghost," that "however weak this heretic may have been in point of capacity, he was not fool enough to push his pretensions so far;" and that "this will appear with the utmost evidence to those who read with attention the account given of this matter by Tertullian, who was the most famous of all the disciples of Montanus." (Ecc. Hist. Vol. I. p. 192. Note.) On the contrary, in the above sentence, Tertullian speaks of the *Paracletus* as identical with *ille vicarius Domini Spiritus Sanctus*. We do

Thus the first attempt at *innovation*, and *amendment* ("novitas correctionis") in Christianity, even in secondary matters ("disciplinæ et conversationis") produced the blasphemous *ineptiæ* of Montanism. It was the doctrine of *development* that made the good Catholic Tertullian a "sectary," a "heretic," and a Montanist. He advances the doctrine however, cautiously. ("Strauss" had not yet appeared to help him out with it.)

The *law of faith*, (*a Christo instituta*) must *abide*. It is only in matters of "discipline and conversation" that *development* is admissible; and even in these it must be carried forward by "the operation of *the grace of God*," not of the "life," "the organic force," "spontaneously shooting up" of "the Church." Even in his wildest aberrations, Tertullian never dreamed of such folly. His very Montanism was far more sober and reverential than the "Catholicism" of Dr. Nevin.

While in the full communion of the Catholic church, his glowing pen recorded the following sentiments, (and many more like them) on the source and authority of Christian doctrine.* "To us (Christians) it is lawful to introduce nothing

not see how the learned Chancellor relieves the case much by supposing Montanus to have given out that he was ("not the Holy Ghost") but a divine teacher pointed out by Christ under the name of *Paraclete* or Comforter, who was to perfect the gospel by the addition of some doctrines omitted by our Saviour and to cast a full light upon others which were expressed in an obscure manner." Did Christ point out any other *paraclete* or *comforter* than "the Comforter which is the Holy Ghost?" Were not all *his* operations to be divine? Was he not to "teach *all things*" and to "abide with Christians *for ever?*" In our humble opinion, the man who undertook "to perfect the Gospel" &c., and "to cast a full light upon" things already illuminated by the Light of the world, was "fool enough" for anything—as much later instances than that of Montanus abundantly show. Few things have been more harmful to Christianity than the palliation of manifest departures from the truth of God. That Tertullian, who was undoubtedly one of the most splendid and powerful intellects of his age should have fallen into the delusion of "this ignorant fanatic" (as Mosheim calls him,) is indeed, matter of equal grief and wonder. It touches in fact, not more the sanity of his *faith* than that of his *reason*. But it only proves (and the whole history of the Church scarcely affords a more affecting lesson of the fact,) that when a man steps off the *rock* of God's word, there is no telling whither the waves of error may toss him.

* De Præsc. Hæreticorum. Opp. p. 202, &c. It is surprising that any should doubt (as Moreri seems to do) whether this book was written before his lapse. In the 52d chapter he distinctly calls the tenets of Montanism *blasphemy*.

from our own mind. We have the Apostles of the Lord as our examples, who derived nothing which they taught from their own mind, but *faithfully made over to the nations the system received from Christ.** Therefore, if an angel from heaven should preach otherwise, he must be called accursed by us."

Of heresies he says, "these are the *doctrines of men* and of devils,† born with itching ears from the wisdom of this world, which the Lord pronouncing folly, has chosen the foolish things of the world to the confusion of its own philosophy. For that (philosophy) is the material of worldly wisdom, a rash interpreter of the divine nature and government.‡ The heresies themselves derive their substance from philosophy.§ . . . The same material is worked up by heretics and philosophers, the same doublings (self-contradictions‖) involved. . . . What is there in common with Athens and Jerusalem? What has the Church to do with the Academy? What have Christians to do with heretics? *Our institution is from Solomon's porch,*¶ and Solomon himself had taught that the Lord must be sought in simplicity of heart. Let them beware who have brought forward a Stoic, a Platonic and a Dialectic Christianity.** *To us there is no need of curiosity, after Christ, nor of inquiry, after the gospel.*†† When we have believed (that), we desire nothing more to believe."

"*All things spoken by our Lord were laid down for all.* Through the ears of the Jews they have passed to us."

"Thou must, therefore, seek till thou find, and believe when thou hast found:‡‡ and nothing more must thou do but keep

* Nobis vero nihil ex nostro arbitrio inducere licet. Apostolos Domini habemus auctores, qui nec ipsi quicquam ex suo arbitrio, quod inducerent, elegerunt: *sed acceptam a Christo disciplinam fideliter nationibus adsignaverunt.*

† Doctrinæ hominum et dæmoniorum.

‡ Temerarius interpres divinæ naturæ et dispositionis.

§ Ipsæ hæreses a philosophia subornantur.

‖ Retractatus.

¶ Nostra institutio de porticu Solomonis est.

** Viderint qui Stoicum et Platonicum et Dialecticum Christianismum protulerunt.

†† Nobis curiositate opus non est post Christum Jesum, nec inquisitione post Evangelium.

‡‡ Could there be a plainer expression, at once of the *right* and the *duty of private judgment.*

what thou hast believed;* believing this too, that nothing else is to be believed, and therefore nothing to be required, since thou hast found and believed what was established by him who commands thee to *look after nothing else than what he has established.*"

"This limit has he himself fixed for thee who will not have thee to believe *any thing else than what he has laid down.*"†

"*What Christ has taught*, what must be sought after, *what is necessary to be believed.*"‡

"Heretics themselves treat of the Scripture, and reason from the Scripture. Could they, in fact, speak *of the things of faith* from any other source than from *the letters of faith?*"§

"It is evident, therefore, that the whole doctrine which harmonizes in faith with those Apostolic, maternal and original churches is to be reckoned a part of the truth; containing as it does, without doubt, *what the churches received from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, Christ from God;* and that all doctrine is to be prejudged of falsehood, which is contrary to the truth of the churches and of the Apostles and of Christ and of God. . . This doctrine of ours, *the rule of which* we have given above," &c.

The master-piece of his genius, also, his noble "Apology"‖ abounds in passages of the like import.

He holds out to "the rulers of the Roman empire,"¶ and to "the nations"** the Scriptures as the sole fountain of the Christian doctrine, and their divine origin as the sole authorization of the Christian faith. In a masterly contrast between them and the pagan mythologies and philosophies (with which he shows himself profoundly acquainted,††) he demonstrates the

* Custodiendum quod credidisti.

† Hanc tibi fossam determinavit ipse qui te non vult aliud credere, quam quod instituit.

‡ *Quod Christus instituit*, quod quæri oportet, *quod credi necesse est.*

§ Aliunde scilicet loqui possent de rebus fidei quam ex litteris fidei?

‖ Apologeticus adversus Gentes. It stands at the head of his works and was by the consent of all, written before his heresy.

¶ Romani imperii antistites, Cap. 1.

** Adversus Gentes.

†† It is not too much to say, that the early Christian apologists discover a far deeper knowledge of the ancient system, in history, thought, and life, than the Pagans themselves. Where, among the ancients, shall we find such profound

antiquity, majesty, purity of the "Holy Scriptures," "our letters," the "divine letters," the "holy voices," the "voices of God," "the teaching of God our Master."* Of the Old Testament, he says, "whosoever betakes himself to it will find God: he who contrives to *understand* it, will be compelled to *believe* it too.† The highest antiquity claims for those documents the first authority. The latest of them are found to be not later than the earliest of your sages, lawgivers, and historians. . . We present a yet higher claim, the majesty of the Scriptures, if not their antiquity. We prove them *divine*, even if you deny them to be *ancient*.‡"

"The disciples scattered over the world, obeyed the teaching of their Master, God."§ "The Son of God, the Arbiter and Master of our discipline, the illuminator and guide of the human race."‖

"We come together to refresh our remembrance of the divine letters. *With the holy voices we feed our faith*, we exalt our hope, we confirm our trust. . . . Your brethren we are too, by the law of nature, our common mother. But how much more worthily are they entitled and esteemed brethren, who acknowledge one Father, God; who drink one spirit of holiness, and *feed on one light of truth!*"¶

expositions of these as in the "Apologeticus" of Tertullian, and Justin Martyr's ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΙΝΕΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ and ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑΙ? The higher ground of Christianity gave them a *wider* as well as a *juster* view of these systems.

* Scripturæ Sanctæ, Cap. 39, litteræ nostræ, 23, litteræ divinæ, 39, Sanctæ voces ibid, voces Dei, 31, præceptum magistri Dei 21.

† Qui adierit inveniet Deum. Qui etiam studuerit intelligere, cogetur et credere. Cap. 18. Very different from Dr. Nevin's statement that "our creed *precedes* and *underlies* our intelligence." Merc. Rev. May 1847, p. 211.

‡ Majestatem Scripturarum, si non vetustatem. Divinas probamus si dubitatur antiquas, Cap. 20.

§ Discipuli quoque diffusi per orbem, præcepta Magistri Dei posuerunt.

‖ Disciplinæ arbiter et Magister, illuminator atque deductor generis humani, Filius Dei, 21.

¶ Qui unum patrem Deum agnoverunt, qui unum spiritum biberunt sanctitatis, qui ad unam lucem expaverunt veritatis, 39. A beautiful conception at once of the unity of the Church ("the brotherhood" 1 Pet. ii. 17,) and of the source of that faith, life, and love, which make them *one!* It is impossible to read so fine a passage without a sigh that one who was so *egregie Christianus* should ever have been *developed* into a Montanist. We cannot but hope that some kind historical Coroner may find this *felo de se* the result of *mental aberration.*

The reader has long ago been satisfied that Tertullian, quite as little as Irenæus, is inclined to dispute with "Strauss" the paternity of the idea which "for a thoughtful mind, makes the mere letter of Christianity, even as it stands in the New Testament itself, something secondary to its living substance as exhibited in the actual mystery of Christ and his Church—which mystery comes to its revelation as the supernatural by means of the Church—the primitive form of which revelation is presented to us in the Creed." Of all the "Heresies" attacked by Irenæus, none wore a front of so deadly hostility to the Christian faith. Among all the follies into which Tertullian fell, he never wandered so far, nor fell so low, as to conceive of a "Creed," "the primitive form of revelation," "unfolded in fit word and expression from the inmost consciousness of the universal Church!" No other parentage than "Strauss" and "the Papacy" could have generated such a progeny.

We have drawn largely on the reader's patience by citations from Irenæus and Tertullian, because Dr. Nevin appeals to them by name. But every link in the "Catena Patrum" is just as distinctly against him.

"Clement," says Irenæus,* "saw the Apostles themselves and conversed with them, and had in his view the yet audible preaching and tradition of the Apostles." . . "Under this Clement, the Church which is at Rome wrote a powerful letter to the Corinthians—declaring the traditions which they had lately received from the Apostles." Let us turn then to this "powerful letter" written, if Irenæus be correct, from one Christian Church to another in the first century.† It contains not one word or hint of any other tradition or *regula fidei* than the Scriptures, the study of which it enjoins with affectionate urgency as "the true utterances of the Holy Spirit." "Thus saith the holy word,"‡ "thus saith the wisdom which includes all virtue,"§ and similar formulæ introduce its citations from the Sacred Volume, and support alike its statements of truth and its exhortations to duty.

* Adv. Hæreses, Lib. III. Cap. 3.

† That fact has, it must be allowed, a very Puritan look. So has the "powerful epistle" itself, which is addressed, "From the presence of the Church of the Romans." Εκ προσώπου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας γεγραφῆσα. Cot. Pat. Apost. Tom. I. p. 145.

‡ Cap. 56.

§ Οὕτως γὰρ λέγει ἡ παντάπασι σοφία. Cap. 57.

From the second century, we have heard Dr. Nevin's own authorities. Nor is the testimony of Justin Martyr, (earlier in the same century,) at all less clear or explicit. He takes his ground and weapons in his controversy with Trypho the Jew, in these few words, "I am going to cite the Scriptures to you,"* and distinctly declines any "apparatus of argumentation," "for," he adds, "I have no skill of that sort, but grace from God alone has been given me for the understanding of *his Scriptures*,† of which grace I exhort all to become free and unstinted partakers." And to the Greeks he says, "*the teachers of our religion have delivered to us* nothing of their own human understanding, but *all things from the gift bestowed upon them by God from above.*‡

The testimony of Origen will doubtless be accepted in behalf of the third century. It is delivered in the beginning of his book "on First Principles," with a clearness and force which has never been surpassed. "All who believe and are sure that *both grace and truth are by Jesus Christ* and who know that Christ is truth, according to what he himself has said, 'I am the truth,' *receive the knowledge which guides men to a holy and happy life, from no other source than from the very words and teaching of Christ.*"§

He speaks of the "miserable audacity"‖ of those who attempt to "rectify the Scriptures and to add or take away such things as may seem good to themselves."

His fourth book "De Principiis," treats expressly of "the Inspiration of the Divine Scripture and how it is to be read and understood." And he enters on this demonstration for the following reason. "Forasmuch as in the treatment of so important subjects, we are not satisfied to rely on general

* Γραφὰς ὑμῖν ἀνίστορεῖν μέλλω. Dial. cum Tryph. Jud. Opp. p. 281.

† Εις το συνιέναι τὰς γραφας ἀυτου.

‡ Εκ τῆς ἀνωθεν ἀυτοῖς παρὰ Θεοῦ δοθείσης δωρεᾶς. Ad Græ. Coh. p. 11.

§ Omnes qui credunt et certi sunt quod et gratia et veritas per Jesum Christum facta sit et Christum veritatem esse norunt, secundum quod ipse dixit: "Ego sum veritas," scientiam quæ provocat homines ad bene beateque vivendum non aliunde quam ab ipsis verbis Christi, doctrinaque suscipiunt. (We give the translation of Rufinus, as the original Greek is here incomplete.) Περι Αρχων Origenis Opp. Tom. I. p. 47, (Ed. Bened.) Paris. 1740.

‖ Τόλμης μοχθηρᾶς. In Math. xix. 16, &c. Opp. Tom. III. 671.

ideas and the operation of visible things,* we must draw the proofs of those things which we affirm from those Scriptures which are believed by us to be divine, &c. Let us therefore state some of the reasons which lead us to the belief that they are divine."

"*The one Guide*‡ of those things which are truly agreeable to reason,§ *is the Word*, the teachings of which, to those who have no ears to hear, seem to manifest discrepancies,|| but they are, in truth, most harmonious. For as the chords of a psaltery or harp, each of which has its own sound, and one which seems to be at variance with that of another, appear to one who is unskilled in musical harmony to be discordant on account of the dissimilitude of sounds, so, those who are not capable of hearing the harmony of God in the sacred Scriptures¶ think that the Old Testament is out of tune** with the New, the Prophets with the Law, the Gospels with one another, or an Apostle with the Gospel, or with himself or another Apostle. But whosoever draws near, taught in the harmony of God,†† and wise in deed and speech, . . . he shall draw forth from them a strain of divine music, having learned to strike in time,‡‡ now the chords of the law, then those harmonious§§ ones of the Gospel, at one time the prophetic strings and again the like-toned|||| apostolic, and so the apostolic with the evangelical. For he knows that *the whole Scripture is the full-toned and harmonious organ of God, giving forth from many sounds one saving strain to all who will apprehend it.*"¶¶

"The fourth and fifth centuries," are Dr. Nevin's especial boast. "The fathers of this glorious period" he assures us,

* Περι τοῦ θεοπνεύστου της θείας γραφῆς.

† Ουκ ἀρκεύμενοι ταῖς κοιναῖς ἐννοίαις καὶ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τῶν βλεπομένων; which shows *his* conviction that men have no alternative but these and the teachings of Scripture.

‡ Lit. "Shepherd" (Ποιμήν.) § Τῶν λογικῶν.

|| Δόξαν μὲν ἐχόντων διαφωνίας.

¶ Οἱ μη 'επιστάμενοι ακούειν της τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς ἁρμονίας.

** 'Αναρμοστειν. †† Πεπαιδευμένος την του θεοῦ μουσικὴν. ‡‡ Κρούειν ἐν καιρῷ.

§ Συμφώνως. |||| 'Ομοτόνους.

¶¶ 'Εν γὰρ το τέλειον εἶδε καὶ ἡρμοσμένον ὄργανον τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι πᾶσαν τὴν γραφὴν, μίαν ἀποτελοῦν ἐκ διαφόρων φθόγγων σωτήρα τοῖς μανθάνειν ἐθέλουσι φωνήν. Comm. in Math. v. 9. Opp. Tom. III. p. 441.

"knew nothing of the view which makes the Bible and private judgment the principle of Christianity or the only rule of faith* . . . *The order of doctrine for them was the Apostles' Creed.*"

The distinct and manifest voice of history, never met a more flat and palpable contradiction, than the above assertion.

To accumulate citations is a wearisome task, and to read them scarcely less so. But the generous reader must have a little patience in this matter. These good "fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries," have had hard usage at the hand of Dr. Nevin for some time. They have had all sorts of

* Thus does Dr. Nevin *misstate* what he is labouring to undermine and render odious. Who ever held "the Bible *and private judgment*" to be "the principle of Christianity" and "the only rule of faith;" or, as Dr. Nevin elsewhere charges in the same piece, "the only source and rule of faith?" The doctrine of the Protestant and Primitive Church (for they are indeed *one*, and in no respect is their unity more clearly and beautifully revealed than by their unanimity on this point,) is simply this, that the inspired and written word of God is the only source and rule of the Christian faith—that the truth revealed in it shines by its own light, and needs no ecclesiastical or popish spectacles to behold it; that to apprehend and imbibe that heavenly light requires only the open eye of the soul, the spiritual apprehension; and that this is the gift of God, by the operation of his Holy Spirit. Here lies the *controversiæ summa*, as Melanchthon expresses it, the very pith and point of the dispute between Rome and all true, free and living Christianity, whether it lived before the corruption of the Papacy, struggled and gasped under its dark dominion, or broke forth again into glorious and powerful life at the Reformation. Melanchthon's own words taken from the same passage will be accepted, we doubt not, as a fair exposition of this doctrine. "Here is, as I think, the sum of the controversy. And now I ask you, my masters," (he addresses the *theologasters*, as he terms them, of the Parisian University,) "has the Scripture been given in such form that its undoubted meaning may be gathered without exposition of Councils, Fathers, and Schools, or not? If you deny that the meaning of Scripture is certain by itself, without glosses, I see not why the Scripture was given at all, if the Holy Spirit was unwilling to define with certainty what he would have us to believe. Why do the Apostles invite us at all to the study of the Scripture, if its meaning is uncertain? *Wherefore do the fathers desire us to believe them no farther than they fortify their statements by the testimonies of Scripture?*" (A sufficiently plain evidence of what Melanchthon considered the *regula fidei* in the early Church!) "Why too did the ancient councils decree nothing without Scripture, and in this way we distinguish between true and false councils, that the former agree with plain Scripture, the latter are contrary to Scripture?.... Since the word of God must be the rock on which the soul reposes, what, I pray, shall the soul apprehend from it, if it be not certain what is the mind of the Spirit of God?"—Phil. Melanthonis Apologia pro Luthero, adv. furiosum Parisiensium Theologastrorum Decretum.

things laid to their charge; such as *not holding the Bible to be the only source and rule of faith, denying the right of private judgment, looking directly towards Romanism, standing in the very same order of thought that completed itself afterwards in the Roman or Papal Church, acknowledging*, in fact, *the central dignity of the Bishop of Rome*,* (which might about as well be affirmed of the seven sages of Greece.) They have, in the meanwhile, been in no case allowed to speak for themselves, (though few men ever lived who were better able to do so.) It is right, therefore, that some of them should be allowed to give their deposition, in their own language, in relation to the source of truth, the ground and rule of faith, the supreme and sole tribunal before which all controversies pertaining to the Christian doctrine and life, must be tried and decided.

Athanasius thus commences his "Synopsis of the Sacred Scripture." "The whole Scripture of us Christians is inspired of God."†

In his Oration against the Gentiles, he says, that "the whole science of piety and of truth shines forth (manifests itself,) more brightly than the sun, through the teaching of Christ,"‡ and that "the holy and divinely inspired Scriptures are sufficient of themselves to the annunciation (indication) of the truth."§

And thus he concludes that noble discourse: "Rejoice, O thou that lovest Christ,‖ and be of good cheer, for immortality and the kingdom of heaven is the fruit of faith and piety towards him, *only if thy soul be adorned in conformity with his laws.*"¶

In his disputation with Arius before the Council of Nice,** when challenged by Arius to the controversy, he replies:

* Merc. Rev. Early Christianity.

† Πᾶσα γραφὴ ἡμῶν Χριστιανῶν θεόπνευστος ἐστιν. Athan. Opp. Tom. II. p. 61. Ex. Off. Comm. 1600.

‡ Ἡ μὲν περὶ τῆς θεοσεβείας καὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀληθείας γνῶσις . . ἡλίου λαμπρότερον ἑαυτὴν διὰ τῆς χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐτηδείκνυται. Tom. I. p. 1.

§ Αὐτάρκως γάρ ἐισιν αἱ ἁγιαι καὶ θεόπνευστοι γραφαὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαγγελίαν. Ibid.

‖ Ω φιλοχριστε.

¶ Μόνον ἐαν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ νόμους ἡ ψυχὴ κεκοσμημένη γένηται. p. 36.

** Opp. Tom. I. p. 82—110.

"There are great men in the house of God, but if you wish to discuss the matter with me, who am only the least,* I will cheerfully meet you in this inquiry, only let us enter on it in the love of truth, and not act contentiously towards *the inspired words*† alleged by one another." (A sufficient indication of the rule and arbiter of faith to which both were expected to appeal in that august council, composed of bishops assembled from every part of the world within the jurisdiction of Constantine, who sat in its deliberations as a private Christian.)

Athanasius then lays down the Christian doctrine of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which he *maintains, unfolds* and *defends against the objections of Arius, solely by by Scriptural authorities, appealing to no rule, formula, or tradition, but to the word of God alone.*

When he attests the unity of the Son with the Father, Arius retorts, "You are a Sabellian."‡ Athanasius replies, "Is our Lord then, a Sabellian, when he says, I and my Father are one?" "There appears to me," said Arius, "much discordance§ in the Scriptures on this point." "God forbid," replied Athanasius, "that man should accuse the divine and inspired Scriptures‖ of not uttering all these things with mutual harmony; for as an even balance,¶ so do all the Scriptures agree to one another."

"On what authority," demanded Arius, "do you call the Son eternal?" "*I have learned,*" answered Athanasius, "*from the divinely inspired Scriptures that the Son of God is eternal.*"**

When he defends acts of direct adoration of the Holy Spirit against the objections of Arius, *he neither appeals nor alludes to any church rule, tradition, nor usage, but reasons solely from the Scriptures.*††

In his letter to the bishops of Ægypt and Lybia against the errors of Arius, he says, "Our Lord himself has said 'Search

* Μη τὸν σμικρότατον μόνον.

† Τα θεόπνευστα ῥήματα προσφερόμενα.

‡ Αὕτη ἡ αἵρεσις Σαβελλίου ἐστιν.

§ Ἀσυμφωνία.

‖ Μὴ γένοιτο ἵνα ἄνθρωπος κατείπῃ τῶν θείων καὶ θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν.

¶ Ζυγὸς ὥσπερ δίκαιος.

** Ἀπὸ τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν ἔμαθον, ὅτι ἀΐδιός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.

†† P. 109, citing, with many other passages, the θειαι ἐμφασιαι, in Isaiah vi. 3.

the Scriptures, for they are they that testify of me.' *How then shall* men confess the Lord who have not, before-hand, searched the Scriptures?"*

Hilary, (of Poictiers,) reasoning against the Manichæans on the person of Christ, says, "*If the church knows from herself*, then bring against her the charge of rashly claimed knowledge; but if she has *learned from her Lord*,† allow to the Son a knowledge of his own nativity. Now, *these things have been so made known to her by the only-begotten God*,‡ that the Father and the Son are one."

Of the Manichæan system, he says, "This aberration of human folly has come of men's knowing from themselves rather than from God.§ . . . Have done, have done, nor falsify the heritage of the church's faith by deceptive fancy and agitating assertion."

"Those churches within which the word of God has not been wakeful,‖ have been shipwrecked."

"To corrupt the purity of the Gospels, and to deflect the straight rule of the Apostles," he uses as equivalent phrases,¶ so that it is quite clear what *he* regarded as the true and only *Apostolorum regula.*

Victorinus, (of Africa,) by no means stood in the first rank among the writers of the fourth century. But his testimony is interesting, because he was not converted to Christianity till far advanced in life, and, (as Jerome says,**) was so inveterate

* Πῶς οὖν ὁμολογήσουσι τὸν κύριον μὴ πρεσβυνῶντες τὰς γραφάς. Tom. I. 113. Could the authority of the Scriptures, and the duty and necessity of private judgment be more plainly asserted?

† Hilar. Pict. de Trinitate. Lib. VI. Opp. p. 883, 4. Ed. Bened. Si ex se scit (ecclesia,) infer calumniam temerariæ usurpatæ scientiæ; si vero de Domino suo didicit, &c.

‡ Hæc ita ei a Deo unigenito comperta sunt.

§ Dum quod sapiunt, ex se potius quam ex Deo sapiunt, p. 886.

‖ Intra quas verbum Dei non vigilaverit—Though the remark occurs in his comm. on our Lord's miracle, Matt. viii. 23, yet it is not easy to tell whether he speaks of the *Word* in a personal way or no. This is often the case with the early writers, especially Origen. See above.

¶ Evangeliorum sinceritatem corrumpere et rectam Apostolorum regulam depravare. Ad Const. August. Lib. I. 3. Opp. p. 1220.

** Cat. Script. "Victorinus Afer." Augustine, (Conf. Lib. VIII. c. 2,) has given a very interesting account of the conversion of Victorinus, from the relation of

a philosophizer as to be an unintelligible writer and commentator. Yet the Christian sentiment and habit which acknowledged the word of God as the only rule of faith, (as yet universal in the church,) appears in no writer of the age, more evident than in this philosophizing Christian. "Edocet Scriptura," with him, announces an authority to which he reverently bows himself and anticipates no opposition from others. After a series of quotations from Scripture, in support of what he asserts of the works and attributes of God, he adds, "*This, spoken as it has been by the divine Spirit, must be believed.* The rest of our positions we shall maintain by reasons drawn from nature."*

Cyril (of Jerusalem) gives his testimony on this subject in so many and such impressive forms, that the only difficulty his works present is that of selection. One of the topics of his Fourth Catechesis is "concerning the Divine Scriptures."† The good father states that he "founds his instructions on the divinely inspired Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. For," says he, "there is one God of both Testaments, who preannounced Christ in the Old Testament and revealed him in the New." And then adds this counsel to his catechumens: "*Read, therefore, the Divine Scriptures.*§ *Read not the Apocrypha. Have thou nothing to do with the Apocrypha.*"‖

And yet, if possible, more positively, in his 18th Catechesis. "We declare to you candidly, that we use not human and mod-

Simplicianus. He calls him "doctissimus senex, omnium liberalium doctrinarum peritissimus . . doctor nobilium senatorum," &c. He says, "the Holy Scripture" was the first means of leading him to Christianity and God." The work from which we quote is entitled "Pro religione Christiana contra philosophos physicos." It is contained in the magnificent "Scriptorum Veterum collectio Vaticana." Tom. III. It certainly is not liable to the charge of obscurity on the part of Jerome. His account of our Lord's early life is especially just and beautiful.

* Hoc a Divino Spiritu dictum credendum est; cetera physicis rationibus paucis comprobemus. Cap. 27. p. 161.

† Περι των θειων γραφων.

§ Αναγινωσκε τας θειας γραφας.

‖ Προς δε τα απόκρυφα μηδεν εχε κοινόν. These counsels, be it remembered, were addressed to catechumens, just receiving baptism. How do they bear on the question, not only of the necessity and sufficiency of the Scriptures, but of *private judgment and Church-tradition*, aside from Scripture?

ern inventions; for it is unprofitable. But we recall to your minds *only the things which are drawn from the Divine Scriptures.* For that is infallible: after the example of the blessed Apostle,* who also saith, 'which things we speak, not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth.''

Gregory of Nazianzum, in his funeral oration on Basil†, (his intimate friend and companion of his retirement in Cappadocia,) tells us that "Basil profoundly studied the Holy Scriptures in his solitude, and *drew from thence* the weapons with which he intrepidly and indefatigably contended for the refutation of errors."

The same discourse contains a fine eulogy of classical and various learning,‡ which, he says, "many Christians reject as delusive and misleading, but which Gregory defends for this especial reason, that "we learn from the worse to appreciate the better§ and on the very weakness and imperfection of those systems, to maintain the power of the word which is in our possession,‖ even as the divine Apostle says,¶ "bringing every thought (all intellect**) into captivity to Christ.' "

Gregory Nyssen gives his deposition with no less clearness and force.

"The faith of Christians," he says, "which by the command of the Lord, was preached to all nations on the whole globe of the earth, is 'not from men, neither by men, but by our Lord Jesus Christ;' who is the word of God, and the Light and the Life and the Truth and God and Wisdom.†† . . . We believe,

* Τὰ ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν μόνον ὑπομιμνήσκοντες· ἀσφαλέστατον γαρ· κατά τὸν μακάριον ἀπόστολον, ὃς καὶ φησίν—1 Cor. ii. 13.

† Or. XX. Εις Βας. ἐπισκ. καις. καπ. ἐπιταφιος.

‡ Τὴν τῶν ἔξωθεν παίδευσιν.

§ Ἐκ τοῦ χείρονος τὸ κρείττον καταμαθόντες.

‖ Τὴν ἀσθένειαν ἐκεινων, ἰσχύν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου πεποιήμενοι (fulcientes, Lat. trans.)

¶ Ὁ φησίν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος, &c.

** Πᾶν νόημα.

†† Christianorum fides, quæ secundum Domini mandatum a discipulis omnibus gentibus in toto terrarum orbe prædicata est, *neque ex hominibus*, &c., sed per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum; qui est Dei Verbum, et Vita, et Lux et Veritas et Deus et Sapientia. Or. I contra Eunomium. Greg. Episc. Nyss. Opp. p. 253. Coloniæ. 1617. We quote from the Latin version, not having the original at hand.

therefore, ('*credimus*,' here then, is *his* creed, with its Author, ground and rule,) "even as the Lord put forth the faith to his disciples, when he thus spake," (quotes Math. xxviii. 19.)

"This is the word of the mystery, in which, by a birth from above our nature is transformed into a better, since from corruptible it is renewed to incorruptible, from the old man it is renewed after the image of him who in the beginning created the divine similitude. *Of this faith, therefore, delivered by God to the Apostles, we make neither subtraction nor change* (*which is but perversion*) *nor addition;** clearly knowing, that he who dares to pervert the divine voice by any cavilling and sophistical interpretation, is of his father the devil:† since it was by forsaking the words of truth, and *speaking of his own*, that he became the father of lies. For whatsoever is spoken beyond the truth is absolutely a mere lie, and not truth.‡ . . *We have once learned from the Lord*,§ *what it is that we must contemplate with thought and mind;* through which a transformation of our nature is wrought, from mortal to immortal. This is *the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.*" He then goes on to develope the Christian faith on this basis, proving and explaining all points, and meeting all objections, from the Holy Scripture.

This is conclusive. There is, however, a short specimen of *exegesis* by this churchly father of the fourth century, which we add with peculiar satisfaction. It occurs in the last of his "Testimonia delecta."‖

"Jesus Christ, our Lord and our God, is called the Rock of life and the Rock of faith . . . the Rock of life, as he is the fountain, root, principle, and cause, imperishable and eternal; the Rock of faith, as he is the foundation, even as the Lord himself says to the chief of the Apostles, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my Church,' *on the confession, that is,*

* Hujus itaque a Deo Apostolis traditæ fidei neque subtractionem, neque immutationem sive perversionem, neque additionem facimus.

† Ex patre diabolo esse.

‡ Quidquid præter veritatem dicitur, merum est prorsus mendacium et non veritas.

§ Semel a Domino discimus, ad quod nos cogitatione et mente perspicere oportet.

‖ Opp. p. 252.

*of Christ,** because he said, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.'†

Dr. Nevin mentions "Ephraim the Syrian" among the Romanizing fathers of the fourth century, who "knew nothing of the view which makes the Bible the principle of Christianity," &c. We should not otherwise have thought of mentioning him. Gregory Nyssen thought quite otherwise of him, since he states that "nurtured from childhood in the meditation of the Sacred Scriptures,‡ and growing up and drinking from the perennial fountains of grace,§ he (Ephraim) strove to attain, in the words of the Apostle, 'to the measure of the stature of Christ.'"

But the good and humble Syrian "deacon" will in a very few words vindicate himself from the charge.

In his discourse "Concerning Faith"|| (which consists to a great extent of portions of Scripture linked together with a very simple exposition) he says, "he who desires to become a Christian, . . . must form himself to a virtuous habit and a holy life by the word of God . . . and holding on his way by the guidance of the word of God such an one becomes a foundation and a pillar by the grace of God and an occasion of life to many souls and is able to bear the infirmity of many."

* Super Confessionem videlicet Christi.

† Dr. Nevin's exegesis is on this wise. "'Thou art Peter,' &c. Not on Peter's person, apart from his confession, of course, was the Church to be built; but not on Peter's confession, either, apart from his person. *Peter in Christ*, (Dr. Nevin thus italicises; it was never, we believe, affirmed to be *Peter out of Christ*,) as the representative especially of the whole Apostolic college; the personality of Peter, as centered and poised now on the supernatural fact, which had entered into his consciousness.....this was the *rock* on which, from this time onward to the end of the world, the Church should continue to rise," &c. . . The confession of Peter represents the universal Christian consciousness.... *That consciousness expressed itself in the Creed.*" Antichrist, p. 27.

We decidedly prefer the exegesis of Gregory Nyssen and of the fourth century. We believe the Church is much safer built on the "Rock of faith, Jesus Christ, our Lord and our God," the object of Peter's "*confession*," than on Peter's "*personality*," however "poised," &c.

‡ Inde a pueritia in Sacrarum Scripturarum meditatione educatus.

§ Ex perennibus gratiæ fontibus bibens, &c. Greg. Nyss. Encom. Sanct. pat. Ephræm Syri. Opp. p. 508.

|| Ephr. Syrus, Græce, Oxon. 1609, last discours

To a "young convert,"* among other "counsels pertaining to the spiritual life," he says, "if thou seest thyself ill affected towards the reading of the divine oracles,† know that thy soul has fallen into a grievous disease: for this is the beginning of mental disorder, the end of which is death." Advice which a *puritan pastor* would readily adopt, but not, we think, a *popish confessor.*‡

But of all the "fathers of that glorious period," none seems to have more of Dr. Nevin's admiration than Basil (of Cæsarea) whom he often appeals to, duly decorating him with his later title of "the Great,"§ but never allowing the eloquent father to utter a word in explanation of his own sentiments.

We, therefore, (sparingly, as our limits compel us,) will indulge him with an opportunity.

Dr. Nevin says of him with the rest, "the order of doctrine for them was the Apostles' Creed," and asserts in a general

* Πρὸς νεόφυτον, περι πνευματικου βιου. P. 179.

† Κακουχοῦντα περὶ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν θείων λογίων.

‡ "Were the fathers who then lived to return to the world in our time, they would find themselves more at home in the Papal than in the Protestant communion." Early Christianity, Art. III. p. 3. "Ephraim the Syrian" scarcely would. For to this same "young convert" he speaks of "communing with the Supreme God through prayer and eating the body and drinking the blood of the only begotten Son of God" (πίναν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα. p. ρπ. γ) He would hardly "find himself at home" in a "communion" where the latter is denied to "young converts." "Reading the divine oracles" and "drinking the blood" of the Saviour are not "Papal" means of promoting "the spiritual life," at least, "in our time."

§ He stands a century after in Rufinus (Hist. Ecc. Lib. II. c. 9.) without either the *affix* or *suffix* (*St.* or *the Great*) which later superstition and adulation attached to his name. His friend Gregory too, *sine titulo.* A saint and a great man too Basil undoubtedly was; and for both reasons would have rejected both titles. Erasmus was of opinion that in strength and majesty of genius he was no way inferior to Demosthenes. Gregory (Or. Fun.) says that he was not more remarkable for his greatness of soul than for his lowliness of temper. Some of his writings (e. g. his books on Baptism) would furnish an admirable corrective of the notions lately ventilated of "sacramental" and "organic grace," "baptismal regeneration," and the like Papal ideas. Certain it is that his soul would have abhorred the fine things said of him by Dr. Nevin (Ear. Christ. p. 3. Art III.) Even that "sporting bishop" of the fifth century, Synesius, would have exclaimed, as he did on another occasion, μὴ, ὦ Σῶτερ, μὴ, ὦ Ἐλευθέριε. ("Never, O my Saviour, never, O my Redeemer!" Ep. to his brother, Opp. p. 81.) *He* too, could hardly have "found himself at home in the Papal communion in our time," for *he had a wife and four children.*

way, that he with them "stood in the bosom" of the Papal system.

The Apostle's Creed is not mentioned in all the writings of Basil.

As for "the order of his doctrine," we infer it from his own language.

Against Eunomius* he says, "there is no sublimer *doctrine in the gospel of our salvation* than faith in the Father and the Son."

He objects to a phrase used by Eunomius (in speaking of the manner of the Divine existence) that "though it seems extremely congruous to our mode of conceiving things,† it *nowhere occurs in Scripture*,‡ and ought therefore to be suppressed."

In his homily on Ps. xlv.§ which may be called a discourse on the church, he premises, "the oracles of God were not written for all, but for *those who have ears after the inner man*,‖ for *those who strive after progress, for those, as I think*,¶ *who take care of themselves*,"** (we must be literal here,) "and ever, by the exercises of godliness,†† are advancing to a higher ground. This is that noblest *change*‡‡ which the right hand of the Most High graciously bestows, which also blessed David experienced, (Ps. lxxvii. 11,) when having tasted the joys of goodness, he reaches forth unto those things which are before."

"The prophet," he says, "yielding to the energy of the Holy Spirit which came upon him, says, 'my heart venteth a good matter.' . . This venting is the inward effervescence of the food,§§

* Opp. Tom. I., p. 292, &c.

† Κἂν μάλιστα δικῆ ταις ἐννοίαις ἡμῶν συμβαίνειν.

‡ Οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γραφῆς κειμένην.

§ Opp. Tom. I. p. 226, &c. It is numbered Ps. xliv. in the Sept.

‖ Τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὦτα κατα τὸν ἔσω ἀνθρωπον.

¶ Ὡς οἶμαι.

** Τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιμελομένοις.

†† An allusion to the Sept. trans. of the title of the Psalms.

‡‡ Δια των γυμνασιων. Not a word of church, creed, "sacramental" or "organic grace." Free, individual aspiration and self-culture by all "the exercises of godliness," (including, of course, church, creed, and sacraments,) is the very soul of this fine passage. All progress is "graciously bestowed by the right hand of the Most High.' This looks very much like "bringing one's separate subjectivity to the case," which Dr. Nevin deplores as "sectarian." Ant. p. 58.

§§ We shall be excused from giving in full the good father's exegesis, which is founded on the Sept. trans. ἐξηρεύξατο, *eructavit*. This will explain what follows.

&c., so he who is nourished on the living bread which came down from heaven and giveth life to the world, and is filled with every word that cometh out of the mouth of God, (after the wonted tropology of the Scriptures,) the soul, that is, which is nourished by the divine teachings, emitteth a breath agreeable to the food it has taken . . . Let us, then, seek, ourselves,* to be nourished from the Word, to the utmost capacity of our souls, (quotes Prov. xiii. 25,) that, after the nature of the food on which we live, we may not vent every chance word, but that which is good . . *Seest thou what eructations come from the mouths of heretics? how offensive and ill-savoured, showing a very diseased condition in the bowels† of the unhappy men?* (Matt. xii. 35.) Do not thou, therefore, having itching ears, heap up to thyself teachers, who are skilled to create disorder in thine inner man, and cause the venting of evil words," &c. (Matt. xii. 37.)

"This word, 'I speak of the things which I have made, touching the King,' *completely guides us to the meaning of the prophetic personage.*"‡

'"My tongue is the pen of a ready writer.' As the pen is the graphic instrument, the hand of the expert moving it to the showing forth of the things to be written, *so the tongue of the just, the Holy Spirit moving the same, inwardly writeth the words of eternal life in the hearts of believers!*"§

"'Grace is shed upon thy lips' (v. 2.) They who are strangers to the word of truth call the preaching of the Gospel foolishness, despising the simplicity of the style of the Scriptures: but we who glory in the cross of Christ, to whom the things

* This, be it remembered, was a Congregational Homily, ὁμίλια συνήθης.

† Εν τῷ βάθει.

‡ Πάνυ προσάγει ἡμᾶς τῇ διανοίᾳ τοῦ προφητικοῦ προσώπου. Very like the Protestant principle of *the Bible interpreting itself.* So Tertullian, "The words of the Lord are put forth to *all* . . To *all* be it said, 'Seek and ye shall find.' Still it is of importance to *labour with the sense by the help of interpretation.* (Sensu certare interpretationis gubernaculo.) There is no divine word so disconnected and diffuse, that the words alone can be maintained, and the relation of the words (ratio verborum) not taken into the account." De Præs. Hær. Cap. 9. beg. If this, addressed as it is, "*to all*" and concerning "all the words of Christ," be not a recognition of *private judgment*, it would be difficult to find words for it.

§ Εγγράφει τα ῥηματα τῆς ἀιωνίου ζωῆς ταῖς καρδίαις τῶν πιστευόντων.

which are freely given unto us of God, have been made known by the Holy Spirit, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, know how rich is the grace which God has poured over the words of Christ. It was for this reason the preached word overran in a little time almost the whole world, because a rich and plenteous grace was shed over the preachers of the Gospel, whom the Scriptures have termed the lips of Christ. Therefore the preaching of the Gospel, even in despicable style, has a mighty power to guide and draw men to salvation. And the whole soul is subdued by its unchangeable doctrines, being established through grace, in an unwavering faith towards Christ. Whence the Apostle saith," &c. Rom. i. 5; 1 Cor. xv. 10.

V. 2. "Since the church is the body of Christ, and he is the head of the church, as we have said that those who minister to the heavenly word were the lips of Christ, (even as Paul, who had Christ speaking in him, 1 Cor. xiii. 3, and *whoever else resembles Paul in virtue,*) so also, *we who have believed* are severally the other members of the body of Christ."

"'Gird thy sword upon thy thigh,' v. 3. This we understand to refer tropically to *the living word of God,*" (quotes Heb. iv. 12.)

"'Hearken, O daughter,' v. 10. He summons the church to *hear and keep the things commanded her.** 'And consider.' He teaches her to have her intellect practised to contemplation by that word, *consider.* 'Incline thine ear.' Run not away after strange fables, but *receive the lowly instruction of the voice which speaketh in the Gospel word.*"†

V. 11. "He teaches the church *the necessity of subjection* ‡ by that word, 'He is thy Lord.' . . . *It is not the church to which our homage is paid, but Christ the Head of the church.*"

"'So shall the King greatly desire thy beauty.' Cast away, for me, he says, the doctrines of devils, *forget sacrifices;*§ . . . if by utter oblivion, thou blottest out the spots of unholy teach-

* Προσκαλεῖται τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν καὶ τὴν τήρησιν τῶν προστασσομένων, not to "externalize" and "create" the contents of her own faith.

† Το ταπεινὸν τῆς ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελικῷ λόγῳ φωνῆς.

‡ Το ἀναγκαῖον τῆς ὑποταγῆς.

§ Επιλάθου θυσιῶν.

ings, and assumest thine own proper beauty, then shalt thou appear an object of desire to thy Spouse and King."

V. 13. "All the glory of the King's daughter, that is, the bride of Christ, is *within*."* . . "Obedience to the word,"† "interior purity," Basil here makes to constitute this "inward glory of the bride of Christ." "The word exhorteth us," he adds, "to aspire to the inmost mysteries of the glory of the church, the beauty of the bride being wholly *within*. For he who beautifieth himself to the Father, who seeth in secret, and prayeth, and doeth all things, not to be seen by men, but to be manifest to God alone; this man hath all interior glory, even as the daughter of the King. The very golden tasselings,‡ with which her whole person is draped and adorned, are *inward. Look for nothing in outward gold and material variety*, but understand a drapery worthy of one renewed after the image of him that created him, as the Apostle saith. (Col. iii. 9, 10.) . . . Paul also exhorteth us to 'put on the Lord Jesus,' not after the outer man, but that the *remembrance of God may enrobe the soul*.§ The queen (that is *the soul* clad in the Bridegroom's word,) stands on the right hand of the Saviour, in garments inlaid with gold, that is to say, clothed in holy dignity and beauty, with *intelligent doctrines*‖ interwoven and variegated. . . . . The perfumes (v. 8) plenteously shed over the garments of Christ, (these are *the concomitants of discourses and diffusion of instructions*,) are wafted back, however, from the whole edifice. For he speaketh of a great 'edifice' here, and that too, built of 'ivory,'¶ the prophet thereby showing forth, as I think, the *richness of the love of Christ* towards the world.

"Now, I think the spiritual drapery is woven *complete*, when an *answerable practice is intertwined with the word of doctrine*.

* Εσωθεν.

† Cf. Dr. Nevin, "The Bible, to be a true word of Christ, must be *ruled by the life of the Church!*" p. 340.

‡ So the Sept. Κρυσσωτὰ.

§ Περισκιτάζη lit. *circumvest*. Dr. Nevin would have "the mind of the Holy Catholic Church to *circumfuse* his private thinking." Antichrist, p. 58.

‖ Εν δόγμασι νοεροῖς.

¶ "Ivory palaces." Eng. Trans.

For, as the bodily garment is finished when, the warp being first set up, the woof is inserted therein, so when the word has gone before, if conformable actions follow thereupon, there would then be a most glorious vesture of the soul, having attained, in word and act, a life complete in virtue."

In his exposition of v. 14, "the *virgins* her companions," we should expect, if anywhere, that Basil would "stand in the very same order of thought that completed itself afterwards in the Roman or Papal Church." For here was the precise point of divergence for Basil and many other leading minds* of the fourth century, from the Scriptural and Primitive into the Ecclesiastical system. We, therefore, give the exposition of that clause entire.

"Certain souls follow the bride of Christ, who receive not the germs of strange doctrines: these 'shall be brought unto the King,' in the train of the bride. Let those who have promised virginity to the Lord hear this, that 'virgins shall be brought to the King:' those virgins, however, who are near to the Church, who follow after her and stray not away from the discipline of the Church. But with mirth and gladness shall the virgins be brought and enter into the King's temple. Not those who constrainedly enter on virginity, nor those who, from sorrow or necessity, addict themselves to a chaste life, but those who, with mirth and gladness, *do so*, rejoicing in such rectitude—these 'shall be brought to the King' and 'they shall be conducted into 'no common place, but into the temple of the King.' For,

* Not for all of them, however. St. Gregory Nyssen, the brotherof Basil, rejoiced in his pious and affectionate Theoscbeia. Even that rigid churchman Jerome kept pretty close to the Pauline theory on this subject, and, among many other exceptional cases, conceded matrimony to those *qui propter nocturnos metus dormire soli non possunt* (Cont. Jovin.) No such concession to *weak nerves*, "in the Papal communion" since Gregory VII. Synesius, even after it became a decided *disqualification* for a "bishop" to "be the husband of one wife," being *rogatus episcopari*, replies (Ep. 105) "God and the holy hand of Theotimus gave me my wife, and I can neither forsake her *nor live with her as a harlot*." He too, would not have been "*at home* in the Papal communion in our time." His eloquence and "pure manners," however, induced them to waive the objection, and Synesius was "ordained bishop," but never rose, (probably on account of his *domestic incumbrance*) to the rank of a "saint" in the Romish Calendar. Basil decides (Ep. 199) that "matrimony must not be prohibited, but that *a man is better if he so abide*."

sacred vessels, which human use hath never defiled, they shall be brought into the holy of holies, and shall have the privilege of access into the innermost sanctuary, where profane feet shall never walk. But what this 'being brought into the temple of the King' is, the prophet signified, when in his own behalf he prayed and said, 'One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord and to inquire in his temple."

To such virginal aspirations, we believe, even "a Puritan" would not object. If this is "glorifying celibacy,"* let Basil rest under the charge.

On v. 16, "'Instead of thy fathers have been born thy sons.' . . Who, then, are the sons of the Church? *Without doubt, the sons of the Gospel.*" May God multiply such "sons of the Church," and daily enlarge and glorify the Church which consists of "sons of the Gospel!"

This entire Homily on the Church, if translated into English, and preached to "a congregation in Connecticut or Massachusetts" (with the one exception noted, and how far, even that is an exception we leave the reader to judge) would create no surprise, except by its somewhat fanciful expositions, its surpassing beauty and its high spirituality. But how strange and startling would be its effect if delivered amidst the sights and sounds and fumigations of a Popish cathedral!

Let us suppose that "St. Basil the Great, Archbishop of Cæsarea"† should according to Dr. Nevin's supposition, "return to the world in our day," and be requested by Cardinal Wiseman or Archbishop Hughes to "say mass" and preach in one of their cathedrals. In the first place, he would make an awkward mistake by calling "the mass" the "Lord's supper."‡ He would proceed to "fence the tables" in the downright style

* Ear. Chris. p. 3.

† So Roman authorities call him. He calls himself a "co-presbyter," with his brethren (*συμπρεσβύτερος.*)

‡ Τὸ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον. Epist. 310. Tom. II. p. 752. Athanasius too calls it ἡ ἁγία τράπεζα. Ep. ad ubique Orth. Opp. p. 729. And yet Dr. Nevin is very hard on our unchurchly selves for "degrading it by this appellation to the level of a common SUPPER." Merc. Rev., March 1852.

of (what Dr. Nevin calls) "hard and bony Presbyterianism," saying, (they are his own words,*) "He that *cometh to the communion*† is nothing profited without a consideration of the word after which the participation of the body *and blood* of Christ is given to us." "Let a man therefore *examine himself* and so let him eat of that bread *and drink of that cup*,‡ for he that *eateth and drinketh* unworthily, eateth and drinketh to his own condemnation." Yet "unless ye eat the flesh and *drink the blood* of the Son of Man ye have no life in you. But through faith we are cleansed by the blood of Christ from all sin, and being baptized by water into the Lord's death, we become dead unto sin and the world, and are made alive unto righteousness, and so being baptized in the name of the Holy Ghost, we are born again; and being born again, we put on Christ, being clothed with the new man, &c. And therefore we must be nourished with the food of eternal life which the only begotten son of God hath given us."§

He would then proceed to lay down "the words of institution" from the gospels and 1 Cor. xi.‖ and go on to distribute *both kinds* to the astonished *faithful*, saying, with the precise introductory formulæ¶ now used in the "Protestant sects," "take, eat, this is my body broken for you," and with the presentation of the cup, "this cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins, *drink ye all of it*.** For thus eating and drinking, we perpetually *commemorate*†† the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us and rose again and let us learn that it is thus we must preserve in the presence of God and of his Christ the doctrine delivered to us by the Apostle,‡‡ when he saith 'the love of Christ constraineth us,'" &c. (2. Cor. v. 14, &c.)

* Ὅρος 21. Cap. 21. Tom. ii. p. 354, and more fully in his 2d book on Baptism.

† Προσερχόμενος τῇ κοινωνίᾳ.

‡ Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου πινέτω. Disc. on the holy Mysteries app. to his books on Baptism.

§ De Bapt. Lib. I. Cap. 3.

‖ He does so, quoting them in full. Ὅρ. 21. Cap. 3, &c. de Bapt. I. 3.

¶ Opp. Tom. II. p. 923. ** πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, Ibid.

†† The Archbishop would here be stricken on the spot by a papal thunderbolt, "Whosoever shall say that the sacrifice of the mass is simply a *commemoration*, is accursed (anathemate fulminari.) III. Anath. de Sac. Miss. Conc. Trid. Paol. Sarpi. p. 521.

‡‡ A very remarkable passage. It stands thus in full, on the page last cited.

Having thus "said Mass," the Archbishop would proceed (if he happened to select for the occasion, his Homily on Ps. xlv.) to deliver a good long discourse "on the Church," which would utterly leave on the outside of it, not only the Cardinal and Archbishop, but the Pope himself. And would then, in all probability, wind up with an extempore prayer, "selected from the Holy Scriptures," a practice which he fervently recommends in his beautiful observations on prayer.*

We doubt if the "Archicpiscopus Redivivus" would be called upon a second time to *exercise his gifts* "within the Papal Communion."

May God *raise up* many such "Saints," and "Great" men as Basil to proclaim his everlasting Gospel;—endowed with the most splendid natural talents, enriched with all learning, animated by an indomitable spirit of Christian freedom, yet bowing with profound humility to "the lowly instruction of the Gospel voice." If they should not "find themselves at home," as they certainly would not, "in the Papal Communion," we will insure them a joyful reception in the Protestant Church.

We have an extraordinary revelation of the inward life of Basil, in a long letter† to his bosom friend Gregory, written from his religious retreat in Cappadocia. It bears, as might be expected, something of the monastic tinge. Let the reader, however, judge whether the *religious experience* it discloses, and the ideas of the means of spiritual proficiency it expresses, are of the Protestant or Papal stamp. Dr. Nevin says that Basil, &c. "glorified monastic life." Of what sort was the monastic life which they thus "glorified?"

"What I am doing night and day in this remote place, I am ashamed to tell thee. I have forsaken, it is true, my pursuits in the city, as the occasions of innumerable ills, but *I have not been able to leave myself behind.* On the contrary, I am like those who are tossed about on the sea, and sea-sick from being unaccustomed to navigation. They are dissatisfied with their

* Opp. Tom. II. p. 769, "not using vain repetitions like the Greeks, but *making a collect from the Holy Scriptures,*" (ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων Γραφῶν ἐκλεγόμενος.) He subjoins a specimen.

† Ep. II. Classis I. Nov. Ordo. Opp. Tom. III. p. 99.

ship, as if its size caused the greater agitation, and so get down into a little skiff or shallop, and yet are none the less sea-sick and ill at ease, for their bile and nausea go along with them. My case is much the same. For, carrying with me the *disorders that dwell within*,* I am everywhere alike disquieted: so that *my benefit from this seclusion is not great.* There are things, however, which we must do in order to press on the footsteps of him who is guiding us to salvation. (For if any man, saith he, will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me.) These are some of them.

"We must try to maintain serenity of mind. . . . . The undistracted mind *turns upon itself, and through itself ascends to God.*" . . . "Prayers," "hymns, and songs of praise to the Creator," and "labour," cheered and sanctified by these, are added.

"But," he continues, "the principal path† to the discovery of duty, is the meditation of the divinely inspired Scriptures," and dwells largely on the perfection of its precepts and examples. "Prayers again, *succeeding these readings*, find the soul more fresh and active, stirred and awakened by desire towards God."

When we find the great Basil speaking in this letter of the sort of clothes, shoes, diet, &c., most conducive to detachment from the world, and fixedness of soul on divine things, we feel that he sinks below the element in which he generally moves, and approximates "the order of thoughts which completed itself afterwards in the Papal church." Still, as long as he keeps to "the principal path," he cannot "Romanize" in any thing material, and *he does not.*

The above letter was written when he was about twenty-eight years old, and probably before he entered the ministry. In another, written about ten years later,‡ consisting of counsels to those who were in religious seclusion, he says, "I have thought proper briefly to advise you *as I have learned from the inspired Scriptures.*" Almost all these counsels are expressed in the very words of Scripture. His first remark is, that "a Christian

* Τὰ ἔνοικα πάθη, which might here be neatly rendered by the *Puritan* phrase, "indwelling sin."

† Μεγίστη ὁδός. ‡ Ep. 22.

should have a spirit worthy of his heavenly calling, and a conversation as it becomes the Gospel of Christ."

In neither of these letters, is there an allusion to any means of grace other than the word of God, prayer, praise, self-communion, and communion with God, and pious converse; and all these joined with useful labour..

In a letter of spiritual advice to an individual,* he exhorts him to "take upon himself *the easy yoke of the Lord.*"

Basil advises "young men,"† apparently under his own educational care, to study the writings of the ancient Greeks, because the mental discipline thus acquired would better enable them to apprehend the sublimer revelations of the Scriptures, and compares the perception of truth in the former to *looking at the image of the sun in water;*‡ in the latter, to *directing our view to the light itself.*§

During a long absence from his flock at Cæsarea, he addressed them a pastoral letter,‖ containing this among other like counsels. "Take heed, O divine and most beloved souls, of the shepherds of the Philistines, lest some one of them stealthily fill up your wells and make turbid the pure knowledge of the things of faith. For this is ever their care, not *to teach simple souls from the divine Scriptures*, but to *sophisticate the truth from a science which is foreign to it* . . . bewitching the sheep that they drink not of that pure water which springeth up unto everlasting life, but that they bring on themselves that oracle of the prophet, 'they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and have hewn out for themselves broken cisterns which can hold no water.'"

Do such counsels breathe the spirit of a creed or church religion? Do they not send every one of these "beloved souls" to the "fountain of living waters" to draw thence and drink for itself? How were these "souls" to detect the stealthy and bewitching arts of the "Philistine shepherds," but by comparing their doctrines with the "divine Scriptures"—in plain words, by reading their Bible, in the exercise of free, intelli-

* Ep. 23.

† Προς τους νεους. Cap. 2, end. Opp. Tom. II. p. 243.

‡ Εν ὑδατι τον ἡλιον ὁρᾶν.

§ Αυτῷ προσβαλεῖμεν τῷ φωτὶ τὰς ὄψεις. ‖ Ep. 8.

gent, *private judgment*. This is good Protestant advice. But Papal pastors do not, "in our time," write such letters to their flocks.

About the year 368, the people of Neo-Cæsarea lost their bishop by death. Basil addressed a consolatory letter to them.* Whether it bears most of the Puritanic or Papal type, let the reader judge.

After many expressions of sympathy, and dissuasives from excessive grief, he continues:

"Shall we not shake off our sorrow? Shall we not bestir ourselves? Shall we not look up to the common Lord, who having permitted each of his saints to minister to their own generation, calls them back again, at fitting times, to himself? Call now seasonably to mind the counsels of him who, while yet ministering in your church, admonished you, 'beware of dogs, beware of evil workers.' . . These you must beware of under the care of some watchful shepherd. *It is yours to seek for him*,† laying aside all strife and love of pre-eminence. *It is the Lord's to point him out to you*, who from the time of Gregory, that great leader of your church, down to him who has just departed,‡ hath added one to another, and always with such fitness, that he has graciously bestowed a wondrous ornament, even as it were a string of most precious stones, upon your church. You must not, therefore, despair of successors. For the Lord knoweth them that are his; and *may lead into the midst of us those who, perchance, are quite unlooked for by us*. . .

"I beseech you by your fathers, by the true faith, by the departed, arouse your spirit, *let every man judge the business in hand to be his own proper concern*,§ and considering that he

* Ep. 28.

† Ὃν ὑμέτερον μὲν αἰτῆσαι.

‡ He commends especially the faithfulness and diligence of "the deceased" in *preaching*, and adds, "*on this account*, (ταύτη) not by reason of his *age*, he was esteemed worthy of higher honour in the assemblies of *his equally honoured brethren* (τῆς πρεπιμήσεως ἐν τοις συλλόγοις τῶν ὁμοτίμων,) through the superior venerableness of his wisdom, taking the precedence by the common concession." (ἐκ κοινῆς συγχωρήσεως τὸ πρωτεῖον καρπούμενος.) Did "Basil the Great stand in the bosom of the prelatical and high church system *at all points*?"

§ Οἰκεῖον ἕκαστον ἑαυτοῦ τὸ σπουδαζόμενον κρίναντα.

must himself be first affected by the issue of this transaction either way, not, as too often happens, throw off upon his neighbour the care of your common interests, and so, each one neglecting the matter in his own mind, all of you bring upon yourselves the sad consequences of your indifference. Receive these advices, with all good will, whether as expressions of neighbourly sympathy, or of the communion of those who hold the same faith, or, which is nearer the truth, of obedience to the law of love, and fear of the danger of being silent; resting assured that ye are our glorying, as we are also yours, in the day of our Lord, and that, by the pastor who is to be given to you, we shall be bound together yet more firmly in the bond of love, or utterly separated: which may God forbid!"

This would be very *seasonable* advice from a New England pastor to a neighbouring church, mourning the death of an eminent minister, and *every word of this letter might be so addressed* without infringing on that "parity and rank democracy" which Dr. Nevin deplores as one of the great mischiefs and afflictions of "Puritanism." But do "Catholic" Bishops address such missives "in our time" to *vacant congregations?*

And the people not only "sought for" and elected their own bishops, (pastor is the name Basil uses in this letter,) in the "glorious period of the fourth century," but they called them to account roundly too, when they thought either their conduct or their faith deserved it. See Basil's apologetic letter to his own flock when they were dissatisfied at his long absence,* and to "all" the Christians of New Cæsarea,† when they were alarmed by his monastic tendencies and certain changes which he made in the music of the Church, which he defends solely by the congruity of the thing to the Gospel and to the worship of the Church, and the like considerations, and never by any appeal to *tradition* or *sacerdotal* or *ecclesiastical authority.*

How close and intensely individual was the preaching of Basil, the most cursory glance at his homilies will show. We instance that "On the Soul."‡ He certainly did not bring out truth with the full-orbed brightness of a Howe, or as Robert Hall, send the *lucid arrows* to the conscience with the ine-

* Ep. 2d. † Ep. 207.

‡ Περὶ ψυχῆς. Tom. III. p. 833. σεαυτῷ μένω πρόσεχε is one of its leading counsels.

vitable precision of a Baxter or a Davies, a Payson or an Alexander; (what forbids us to say, "God having reserved some better thing for us that they without us should not be made perfect?) But he did bring his hearer to deal alone with his God and with himself. He held up to him no other aim than holiness of heart and life, and no other means of attaining it but the word and the grace of God. This alone would have utterly prevented him from "finding himself at home in the Papal communion in our time." The same lofty intrepidity of soul and "valour for truth" which led him to confront the tyrannical Valens, would surely have driven him to defy the Pope. And if the vigour of that "system" were equal to its spirit, we have not the slightest doubt that it would speedily bestow upon him, in addition to all his other titles, that of *Martyr*.

"We must have a full persuasion that every word of God is true and possible, even though nature fight against it. For *herein lies the very strife of faith.*"*

Such is the eighth rule of the *Moralia* of "Basil the Great,"† and with one allusion more, we end our *Basiliana*. For, when we unseal the "exundans fons ingenii" of the Christian Demosthenes," it will pour itself out inexhaustibly, unless we abruptly shut off its flow.

The death of Basil, exhibited in connection with that of Moehler, one of the most highly cultivated philosophic and devout Catholics "in our time," will form our last point of contrast. Basil, as Gregory tells us, met death with these words on his lips, "Into thine hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth."

The last scene of Moehler is thus drawn by his biographer.

"On the seventh of April he felt himself better, and *desired that for his entertainment a favourite book of travels might be read to him.* . . At the beginning of Holy Week, feeling his end approach, he *prepared by the reception of the sacraments*, for appearing before his Almighty Judge. . . The heavy ice-cold sweat-drops gathered about his brow and temples; the last

* Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν τῆς πίστεως.

† Opp. Tom. II. p. 336.

struggle had come on. *His confessor never left his side.* At one o'clock in the afternoon, he awoke from a gentle slumber, clasped both hands to his head, . . gasped violently three times, and the soul, bursting her fetters, sprang upwards to her God."*

Thus closes the life-drama of scriptural and of "sacramental," "organic," (*Catholic*) Christianity. The former, at the approach of the last enemy, repeats its *first faith* in the very "letters of faith," commits itself once more to the hands of its mighty and loving Redeemer, and its last glance is a *look towards Jesus.* The latter "entertains" as it may, its easier intervals, and when the inevitable moment comes, "receives the sacraments" and "*gives up the ghost.*"

Let me die the death of the Christian, rather than that of *the Catholic.*

Of Chrysostom (whom Dr. Nevin groups also with the "Romanizing fathers,") we must not speak at any length, and we need not. For the beautiful monograph of Neander is before the world in an English translation, and shows how eminently scriptural were both his personal culture and his ministry.

But when in his Homily on 1 Cor. i,† he defines the unity and ubiquity of the Christian Church to consist in this, that it comprehends "all who, in every place, call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, both theirs and ours, and that its members are those who are "sanctified in Christ Jesus," "called to be saints," and explains at length, how each of these clauses reveals a *mark* and *distinction* of the true Church, and that the inclusion of all such makes the Church *one* and *universal;* and when, in his Homily on Col. iii.‡ in the exposition of the words, "let the word of Christ dwell in you richly," (what a text for a "Romanizing" preacher!) he unfolds the exhaustless richness of the divine word, pointing out how "doctrine, opinions, exhortation,"§ may all be drawn from it, and fervently exhorts his people to read the Scriptures, not carelessly nor occasionally, but with much diligent endeavour;"‖

* Mem. of Joh. Ad. Moehler prefixed to his "Symbolism," p. 84, 5.

† Opp. Tom. X. p. 4. Ed. Bened.

‡ Opp. Tom. XI. p. 390.

§ Ἡ διδασκαλια, τα δογματα, ἡ παραίνεσις.

‖ Μὴ ἁπλῶς, οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σπουδῆς.

we feel sure that this style of preaching does not bear "a *very* near resemblance in all material points to the later religion of the Roman Church,"* that in fact it very nearly "corresponds with the modern ecclesiastical life of Connecticut and Massachusetts."† At least it is clear that Chrysostom could not have agreed with Dr. Nevin that "*all* true theology grows forth from the creed, and so remains *bound* to it perpetually as its necessary radix *or root.*"‡

Dr. Nevin cannot endure that "invisible" sort of unity which is manifested by "an occasional shaking of hands fraternally on the platform of a Bible Society, or a melting season of *promiscuous!* communion now and then around the sacramental board." It "falls immeasurably short," he says, "of the true idea of Catholic unity." "It has *no tendency whatever, however remote*, towards *true Catholicity.* It is *the very opposite* of all organic Christianity."§ Now what *organic* Christianity is, it would probably have puzzled Chrysostom to conceive, but his "idea of true Catholic unity" is precisely that which Dr. Nevin charges upon the "sect-system."

One declaration we add, grand and impressive, like the genius and the faith of him who uttered it—"The apostolic writings are the fortifications of the churches."‖

Could he then have "found himself at home," in a "Church" which is not only *without* those "fortifications" but which, with the aid of such a master-mason as "Strauss," has undertaken "in our time, to shoot up spontaneously," independent fortifications of its own? No, the princely Archbishop of Constantinople would rather have betaken himself to the humblest "Puritanic" quarters *within* those fortifications, exclaiming, as he once did, when he stemmed alone the wrath of the emperor and the fury of the multitude, "*We are servants of the crucified!*"¶

If we had time to descend to the fifth century and gather the suffrages of its eminent divines, great as the development of sacerdotal and ecclesiastical ideas during that century undoubt-

* Early Chris. p. 2.

† Ibid. p. 490.

‡ Apostles' Creed, p. 341.

§ Antichrist, p. 75, 6.

‖ Ταχῆ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἔστιν. Hom. on 2 Tim. iii. 1. Opp. Tom. VI. p. 282.

¶ Οἰκέται ἐσμὲν τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου. Ὁμιλ. εἰς Ευτροπίον c. 4.

edly was, we should find that they were of one mind with the Reformers on the great points at issue between them and Romanism. If we should consult all the councils of the Church from that first consisting of inspired Apostles, (Acts xv.) which appealed to "the words of the prophets" as the ground of their decision, down to the time when the Papacy gained the ascendant and "made void the word of God by her traditions," if we should appeal to the early historians and hymn-writers of the Church, we should derive from all one harmonious testimony to the fontal source and authoritative test of the Christian faith.

All these, with a harmony as perfect as the unity of the faith, and a variety as wonderful as the language and the imagination of man, proclaim the holy and inspired Scriptures to be "the bread" on which the Church feeds, "the garment" in which she is arrayed, "the breath of her life," "the light" by which she walks, "the sword" with which she fights, "the root" from which she grows, "the foundation" on which she stands, "the walls" which surround her, "the wings which bear her to heaven."

But we dismiss the subject and release the reader, (if indeed he has staid with us through this long discussion) with the fervent hope that he may so apprehend *the first aspects* of truth as they stand forth in *the creed*, as to become possessor of the whole ample and glorious (as good Hilary calls it) *Patrocinium Ecclesiæ* as it is revealed in the Bible.

ART. V.—*Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane, of Airthrey, and of his brother, James Alexander Haldane.* By Alexander Haldane, Esq., of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law. London: 1852. 8vo. pp. 676.

MUCH yet remains to be said or written on the uses and abuses of biography. The unhappy effects of spreading out on record the morbid anatomy of even pious minds, as stimulants and models to congenial spirits, in the forming period of life, can never be computed, though perhaps overbalanced by some positive advantages. A vitiated taste for this kind of nourish-

ment may often be detected by a corresponding distaste for the simple and healthful biography of Scripture. That biography affords the best corrective of the evil. The next best is the history of active, useful, healthy Christians, especially of those whose lives have many points of contact with the general history of their times. Such men were the brothers Robert and James Haldane, whose biography is therefore a welcome addition to our extant memorials of Christian excellence. Long, active, influential lives, extending through a most eventful period, and connected by a hundred ties with all the marked occurrences and characters of the contemporary Church and world, with just enough of eccentricity and error to give zest to their decided and preponderating merits—such are the attractions of the subject, and they certainly have lost nothing in the hands of the accomplished, pious, and impartial biographer, the son of the younger Haldane, and the nephew of the elder.

It is an interesting, although not a very surprising fact, that some of our best biographies of eminently good men are the work of lawyers. The combination of two lives in one biography, is a rare, if not a novel feature of the work before us. It has led to some confusion, or at least will cause some to the inattentive reader, who neglects to observe, that the younger brother is almost uniformly distinguished by his Christian name or his initials ("Mr. J. A. Haldane,") while the simple patronymic ("Mr. Haldane") is assigned to the "laird" by right of primogeniture. Apart from the mere nomenclature of the men, their lives are kept as distinct and separate as they could have been consistently with their near relationship, their intimate association during nearly fourscore years, and their joint participation in the most important incidents which constitute the subject-matter of the volume. More would certainly have been lost than gained, as to the aggregate impression and result, by the total omission, or even the separate narration of the younger and less celebrated brother's history.

If we may take our own vague and confused notions of these interesting lives, before we saw the book before us, as an index to the general curiosity and ignorance, we cannot be mistaken in believing that it furnishes a seasonable subject for the entertainment and instruction of our readers. As to the best way

of applying it to such a use, we have not been entirely free from hesitation. The more obvious and customary course would be to furnish a brief abstract or synopsis of the history. And this would no doubt be the best plan if the book were likely to continue inaccessible to most American readers, as an elegant and costly English publication. But as we have the promise of a reprint from one of our most enterprising houses, we think it better to excite than satisfy the public curiosity, by describing, in a desultory manner, some of the impressions which the book has made upon our own minds, thus presenting not so much what it contains, as what may lead some readers to judge of the contents for themselves.

The first particular that strikes us as imparting interest to this biography, is the social position and connections of the subjects. The family of Haldane, (of which Halden and Hadden are mere variations,) is one of the oldest in Scotland, and supposed to be of Danish or Norwegian origin. The biographer, with a venial complacency, enumerates the members of his race who have acquired personal or official eminence in almost every generation since the eleventh century; and this, for the most part, upon documentary authority. Besides many other noble or gentle affinities, the brothers whose biography is here recorded, were the nephews of Admiral Lord Duncan on the one side, and of the famous Sir Ralph Abercromby on the other.

Robert Haldane was the hereditary proprietor of one of the most beautiful estates in Scotland, described, after his improvement of it, by an enthusiastic Scottish lord, as a little heaven upon earth. In origin, connections, and predispositions, the brothers belonged to the aristocracy, and seem to have retained through life the lofty although courteous demeanour, which is commonly considered as belonging to that rank in the mother country. Their early education, although far from being finished, was in kind such as became their position in society. As boys, they were under the tuition of the celebrated Dr. Adam, the author of the Latin Grammar and Antiquities. They were also inmates of his family, and travelled with him in their boyhood through the north of England. Another fellow-traveller, on this occasion, was the well-known author of "McKnight on the Epistles," whose lax observance of the Sabbath on this jour-

ney, strengthened the subsequent aversion of the Haldanes to him, both as an expositor and a theologian. The names which we have mentioned are but a tithe of those occurring in the early period of this biography, and showing the varied and extensive acquaintance of its subjects, even in their youth.

Another circumstance which gives an additional zest to this biography, and may probably attract a class of readers not much addicted to the study of religious lives in general, is the early connection of both brothers with the naval service, the elder having held for several years the king's commission, and the younger a still higher rank in the service of the East India Company. During their short professional career both acquired considerable reputation by their personal merit, aided no doubt by their advantages of kindred, and especially the influence of the Duncans. Robert Haldane was long stationed at Gosport, and there witnessed the catastrophe, immortalized by Cowper, of the Royal George. James acquired distinction as an officer, by quelling a dangerous mutiny at the imminent risk of his own life, and a less enviable notoriety by a duel, in which his hand was injured by the bursting of his pistol. Although both, independently of one another, and, as it would seem, for different reasons, retired early from the service, both appear to have retained, and more especially the younger brother, "Captain Haldane," a lively interest in maritime affairs and in the welfare of seamen, as well as something of that undefinable peculiarity in character and manner which has always given popularity to every class and rank of sailors.

The next salient point in the biography is the remarkable conversion of the two brothers, at the very time when they had less intercourse and mutual influence than at any other period of their lives, and by means and agencies entirely different. While nothing could well be more convincing than the evidence of genuine conversion in both cases, there could not possibly have been less appearance of mere sympathy or imitation. The saving change in Robert Haldane was providentially connected with the part which he had somewhat rashly taken in favour of the French Revolution, when so many were deceived by the flattering promise of its earlier stages. The disputes in which he was involved by this step, led by degrees

to theological discussion with the neighbouring clergy, and eventually to his full reception of the gospel, not only as a system of belief, but as a method of salvation. The particular circumstances which attended the conversion of his brother, we have now forgotten, and we do not wish to overload this desultory sketch with laborious reference or long quotation. We only know that the change experienced by James, though equally evident and thorough, was less striking and less public, in its first manifestations. As they had been separated from each other in the naval service, so they left it independently, and if our memory does not deceive us, without previous concert or direct communication. This coincident and almost simultaneous conversion of two brothers, under circumstances and by means entirely unlike, when taken in connection with their subsequent co-operation in the "labour of love" for more than half a century, has certainly the aspect of a special divine guidance, giving shape and character to lives which, a little while before, had every probability of being spent in purely secular pursuits and pleasures.

Another striking feature in this joint life, is the way in which the brothers first displayed the reality and strength of their new principles. James, whose resources were comparatively slender, threw his whole soul into an energetic scheme of itinerant lay-preaching, which extended over the whole face of Scotland to the furthest and the least frequented of its islands. This vigorous home mission, which continued to occupy his summers after he became the pastor of an Independent Church in Edinburgh, loses some of its original and novel aspect, when compared with the similar and previous movements of a Wesley and a Whitefield, and the still more recent ones of Hill and Simeon, with whom James Haldane corresponded and co-operated very cordially. The first years however of his locomotive ministry derived a certain interest, not belonging to the other cases first referred to, from his being generally known as a layman, a gentleman, and a naval officer. We shall not forestall this part of the narrative by quoting any of the anecdotes and reminiscences, which his son has gathered, of the days when "Captain Haldane" used to preach upon the side of Calton Hill and elsewhere, in his blue coat and gilt buttons, with his

hair powdered and tied behind; when his field-sermons were announced by means of the town-drummer, and delivered sometimes in the teeth of magisterial authority and even of military force. That there was some fanaticism in all this, he appears to have been subsequently sensible himself; but it would be folly to deny that Providence employed him as an instrument in stirring up the Kirk of Scotland at the period of its most profound stagnation. This view of the matter is confirmed by the forbearance and even complacency with which his irregular ministrations were connived at or approved by some whose personal opinions, as well as their ecclesiastical position, were entirely adverse to such violations of order in the general and the abstract. The descriptions given of James Haldane's preaching are not very definite; but it seems to have been eminently biblical, doctrinal, and experimental. He declared himself, in his extreme old age, that since he first began to preach, he had experienced no change of conviction or belief as to any of the Calvinistic doctrines, always excepting what related to church order and the sacraments.

Equally marked, and still more characteristic, was the course pursued about the same time by the elder brother. While the Captain was itinerating as a lay-preacher, the Laird was selling his patrimonial estate of Airthrey, which had become a model of agricultural and picturesque improvement, and forming the scheme of a mission to Bengal, to be conducted by himself, David Bogue, Greville Ewing, and William Innes, on a very liberal and extensive scale, at the sole expense of Robert Haldane. This plan, matured before the formation of the London Missionary Society, was only defeated by the refusal of the East India Company to admit the missionaries into the territory under their control. The biographer complains, perhaps without necessity, of injustice done to his father's memory, in reference to this matter, by the sons and biographers of Wilberforce. The offensive imputation seems to be that of wildness and fanaticism, both religious and political, as the occasion or the cause of Haldane's failure. One thing is certain, that the sincerity of his intentions was established by the actual sale of his possessions, and the length to which he carried his arrangements for the execution of his favourite purpose.

The character of Robert Haldane is remarkably exemplified by his conduct after meeting with this great disappointment. Instead of abandoning his schemes of usefulness, he simply changed their form and their direction, and pursued them with unabated zeal. Beginning with the purchase of the Edinburgh Circus, he converted several similar places of amusement in the large towns of Scotland, into tabernacles or independent places of worship. It seems to have been this, rather than any change of principle, that first withdrew the brothers from the communion of the Church of Scotland. They originally no more thought, perhaps, of a secession, than Wesley or Whitefield from the Church of England; but having opened these irregular chapels, they were gradually led to the organization of mixed churches or societies, at first on very vague and liberal principles, admitting various shades of ecclesiastical practice and opinion. From this, by a natural transition, they soon passed into the more specific form of Baptist independency, connected with some notions of their own as to the duty of mutual exhortation as a part of public worship, founded on Heb. x. 25. This is the only part of Robert Haldane's course that can be justly represented as fanatical; and of this he afterwards repented, though he clothed his recantation in the form of an admission that the Church was "in the wilderness," and not yet ready for a restoration of the "primitive church order." Let it also be remembered, to his honour, that he always condemned the principle and practice of "close communion," and that of making ordinances the great theme of preaching and the test of Christian character. This sentiment, repeatedly expressed in the biography, and sometimes in his own words, may seem inconsistent with the fact, that the controversial writings of Dr. Alexander Carson were chiefly brought before the public by the aid of Mr. Haldane's purse, the genius and learning of the former being likened, by the author of this volume, to a heavy piece of ordnance dismounted in a ditch.

Robert Haldane's favourite employment in his early days, was landscape-gardening and the improvements connected with it, his taste and skill in which were famous throughout Scotland. This enhances the greatness of the sacrifice he made in selling Airthrey to provide funds for his Indian mission. It was per-

haps a symptom of more moderate and balanced judgment, that he many years afterwards purchased a tract of two thousand acres on the Summit Level between Edinburgh and Glasgow, which he found with but a single tree, and left a waving forest, interspersed with slate-roofed cottages and pretty farms. The people of this district were descendants of the old Cameronians, and some of them still kept in their houses muskets, or other arms, which had done good service at Bothwell Brigg. It is no small proof of Haldane's mental strength and moral worth, as well as of his wise superiority to minor points of difference, that though a Baptist, he acquired no small ascendency over this strong-minded and strong-willed peasantry, not only as a neighbour and a landlord, but as a preacher and expounder of the Scriptures.

The next phase of Robert Haldane's life and character, and one of the most interesting and important, is that presented by his visit to the continent in 1816. The providential leadings which conducted him to Paris, and from Paris to Geneva and Montauban, without any settled plan or definite design; the preparation which had been silently but powerfully made for his assertion of the truth there; the extraordinary influence exerted by him on Socinian ministers and students of theology, even when he was unable to address them in their own language, and could only reach them by pointing to texts of Scripture; the remarkable conversions which attested the divine blessing on his zeal for truth; and more especially the close connection between his evangelical exertions and the subsequent usefulness of such men as Gaussen, Galland, Malan and Merle d'Aubigné;—all these are powerful attractions, even for the general reader, and we will not weaken or forestall them, either by quotation or abridgment. We shall only say that they invest this portion of the narrative with what is commonly, but not very happily described as a romantic interest, and are sufficient of themselves to give the whole work popularity.

Another highly interesting scene in this biographical drama, is that in which the Haldanes, but particularly Robert, took an active part in the controversy respecting the circulation of the Apocrypha in foreign versions by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Exciting as this controversy was thirty years ago, its

details have fallen much into oblivion, while the feeling of curiosity respecting them is not yet wholly lost, so that many readers will no doubt be pleased with the continuous narrative of facts here given. We are glad to know on such authority that, while Mr. Haldane took the highest ground in opposition to all connivance at the corruption of the word of God, he wholly disapproved of Captain Gordon's Trinitarian Bible Society, which had its origin in these disputes. It was this controversy as to the Apocrypha that brought him into contact, and eventually into intimate association and co-operation, with that bright, but prematurely quenched light of the Scottish Kirk, the late Dr. Andrew Thomson, for many years an acknowledged leader of the evangelical party, the editor of the Christian Instructor, and the predecessor of Dr. Candlish in the pastoral charge of St. Georges, Edinburgh.

The feeling with which Haldane was regarded by such men as Thomson, Chalmers, Gordon, and others of the same class, notwithstanding his secession from the Kirk, and his peculiar views on some important points, is valuable as a means of defining his position in relation to the Church and the religious world at large. Among the documentary illustrations of the work before us is a private note from Dr. Chalmers to Mr. Haldane, accompanying a presentation copy of his Lectures on the Romans, and with a characteristic lowliness, which might in almost any other man have looked like affectation, confessing its entire inferiority to Haldane's exposition of the same epistle. The latter work was the fruit of the author's continental mission, and was originally published in French. It was afterwards re-written in English, and in that form passed through several editions, besides being translated into German. It is characteristic of the writer, in more than one respect, that at the close of his last revision of the work, not long before he died, he professed to be seriously doubtful as to only one expression in the whole epistle. The claim set up by the biographers and friends of Carson, to the learned part of this expository work, is virtually admitted by the author of the life before us, who distinctly states that Mr. Haldane relied, for the critical material of his exposition, on the superior scholarship and judgment of this learned friend. The other most impor-

tant work of Robert Haldane, that upon the Evidences of Christianity, grew out of the Apocrypha dispute, involving as it did the questions of canonical authority and inspiration.

Besides these two chief works, there is appended to the Life a list of more than fifteen publications by Robert Haldane, during a period of forty-five years. Some of these had only a local and temporary interest. This is also true of many of his brother's writings, which are still more numerous, though less known to the public, with the exception of some widely circulated tracts, and an expository work on the Galatians.

Robert Haldane died in his seventy-ninth year (1842), James in his eighty-third (1851.) The closing scenes of both were worthy of their lives. James had attended three Sabbath services, with scarcely any interruption, for fifty years, and was to have supplied another's pulpit on the day after that of his his decease. The last days of Robert were distinguished by that calmness and composure, self-possession and unshaken faith, which so often characterizes the death-beds of the most eminent believers, and afford more conclusive proof of ripeness for heaven than the most theatrical displays of rapture, not preceded and attested by a Christian life.

We have purposely avoided doing more than seemed sufficient to attract attention to this highly interesting book, which we think adapted to be eminently useful to the religious world in general, but especially to one or two particular coteries among ourselves. We shall only specify two opposite but equally mistaken classes; those who regard incessant study of the Scriptures and a zeal for doctrinal correctness as either a substitute for active usefulness or an excuse for its neglect; and those who, in their zeal for Christian charity, disparage doctrinal distinctions, nay the truth itself, and make almsgiving the sum total of religion. When the first of these classes shall do more, in proportion to their gifts and opportunities, for truth and sacred learning, without a corresponding practice, than the Haldanes did with it; or when the other shall do more for men's bodies by neglecting their souls, than the Haldanes did for both; let them together "rejoice in their boastings." But until they can endure this test, "all

such rejoicing is evil," and we trust that many such may be incited by the firm but liberal, intelligent but zealous, faith of these two noble brothers, to "GO AND DO LIKEWISE."

ART. VI.—*Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah: Including a Reconnoissance of a New Route through the Rocky Mountains.* By Howard Stansbury, Captain Corps Topographical Engineers, U. S. Army. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1852. 8vo pp. 487.

THE author of this volume, an accomplished engineer officer, having been ordered by Government to make an exploration and survey of the Great Salt Lake of Utah, proceeded in the spring of 1849 to Fort Leavenworth, from whence, on the 1st of June, with eighteen men, five wagons, and forty-six horses and mules, he set forth on his hazardous and adventurous expedition.

The circumstances in which he commenced his journey were by no means cheering. The only officer attached to his command was in consequence of illness unable to perform any duty, or even to sit his horse, and being unable to travel in any other manner, was carried on his bed in a spring wagon, which had been procured for the transportation of the instruments. In addition to this, the cholera was raging on the Missouri, and fearful rumours of its prevalence and fatality among the emigrants on the route, daily reached them from the plains; and on the day that the march was commenced, one of the little party was carried to the hospital, where he died in twenty-four hours.

Captain Stansbury followed the "emigration road," which he represents to be as broad and well beaten as any turnpike in the country. On the 9th of June he crossed the "Big Vermilion," and found the trees and stumps on its banks carved all over with the names of hundreds of emigrants who had preceded him, the dates of their passing, the state of their health and spirits, together with an occasional message to their friends

who were expected to follow. "Such a record," says Captain Stansbury, "in the midst of a wild solitude like this, could not but make a strong and cheering impression on every newcomer, who thus suddenly found himself as it were, in the midst of a great company of friends and fellow travellers. On the left bank was the freshly made grave of a French trader, whose name was known to most of our *voyageurs*. It was heaped up with earth, and covered longitudinally with heavy split logs, placed there to prevent the depredation of the wolves; the whole being surmounted by a wooden cross, with the name of the deceased, and the usual significant abbreviation I. H. S. carved rudely upon it. We had passed six graves already during the day. Melancholy accompaniments they are of a road, silent and solitary at best, and ill calculated to cheer the weary, drooping wayfarers. Our encampment was pleasantly situated under the spreading branches of some large oaks, with a spring of pure, cold water near at hand—the latter an item which we soon afterwards learned to value beyond all price. Just above us was a wagon with a small party of emigrants. They had lost most of their cattle on the journey; and the father of three of them having died on the road, they, in conformity with his dying wishes, were now on their return to the settlements. A short distance beyond these, we found another small company, who had been encamped here for twelve days, on account of the illness of one of their comrades. They also were on their return. Had we been going out on a private enterprise, discouragements were not wanting, as well from the dead as the living."

Companies of emigrants were frequently overtaken by our party. On one occasion they passed a company from Boston, consisting of seventy persons, one hundred and forty mules, a number of riding horses, and a drove of cattle for beef. They also passed an old Dutchman, with an immense wagon, drawn by six yoke of cattle, and loaded with household furniture. Behind followed a covered cart, containing a host of babies, which the wife drove herself; the cart having attached to it a large coop full of fowls. Two milch cows followed; and next came a little bare-footed girl, not more than seven years old, mounted on an old mare, while a sucking colt brought up the

rear. They were bound to the land of promise, of the distance of which they had not the most remote idea. This party was frequently encountered on the route, and when last seen, the old man was engaged in sawing his wagon into two parts, and in disposing of every thing he could sell or give away, to lighten his load. As the party advanced, they daily found evidence of the difficulties encountered by the bands of emigrants who had preceded them on the route. In the vicinity of "Fort Laramie" they passed in one morning, the nearly consumed fragments of a dozen wagons, that had been broken up and burned by their owners, and near them was piled up in one heap from six to eight hundred weight of bacon, thrown away for want of means to transport it farther. Boxes, bonnets, trunks, wagon wheels and bodies, cooking utensils, and almost every article of household furniture, were found from place to place along the prairie. And one week later the author states that on that day the road was literally strewed with articles that had been thrown away. Bar iron and steel, blacksmiths' large anvils and bellows, crowbars, drills, augers, gold-washers, chisels, axes, lead, trunks, spades, ploughs, large grindstones, baking ovens, cooking stoves without number, kegs, barrels, harness, clothing, bacon and beans were found along the road. Captain Stansbury here recognized the trunks of some of the passengers who had accompanied him from St. Louis to Kansas, on the Missouri, and who had thrown away every thing that could not be packed on mules. In the course of this one day the relics of seventeen wagons, and the carcasses of twenty-seven oxen were passed.

The progress of this little party was attended by many trying circumstances. They suffered from sickness, exposure to the weather, scarcity of water and provision, and the molestation of Indians, but they pursued their course amid all their trials, difficulties and privations, with undaunted spirits and without complaint. It should here be mentioned to the honour of this gallant little band, that it was determined among them, at the commencement of the expedition, that no travel should be pursued upon the Sabbath, but that that day should be devoted to its legitimate purpose as an interval of rest for man and beast; and Captain Stansbury bears the following most emphatic testimony to the wisdom of this determination. "I here beg to

record, as the result of my experience, derived not only from the present journey, but from the observation of many years spent in the performance of similar duties, that as a mere matter of pecuniary consideration, apart from all higher obligations, it is wise to keep the Sabbath. More work can be obtained from both men and animals by its observance, than where the whole seven days are uninterruptedly devoted to labour."

On the 11th of August the expedition reached Fort Bridger, an Indian trading post, having accomplished a distance of more than a thousand miles since leaving "Fort Leavenworth." From this point there are two routes to the Salt Lake, one having been laid out by the Mormon community in 1847. Captain Stansbury was desirous of ascertaining whether a shorter route than either of these could not be obtained, which would save the emigration to either Oregon or California, the great detour that has to be made by either of the present routes, and which would have a direct bearing upon the selection of a site for the military post contemplated for this region.

He determined, therefore, to make the examination himself, accompanied by Major Bridger, who had been engaged in the Indian trade, at the heads of the Missouri and Columbia, for thirty years; and to send on the train under the command of Lieutenant Gunnison, whose health had become so far established as to enable him to resume his seat in the saddle. The train accordingly left on the 16th of August, and on the 20th Captain Stansbury and Major Bridger, with two men, as many pack mules, a little flour and bacon, with some ground coffee and a blanket apiece, commenced their expedition. Having made a reconnoissance of the country, and satisfied himself that a good road can be obtained from Fort Bridger to the head of the Salt Lake, shortening the distance to emigrants, and passing through a country, abounding in wood, water, and fish, and affording the finest range imaginable for cattle, Captain Stansbury directed his course to the "City of the Great Salt Lake," which he reached on the 28th of August. The train under the command of Lieut. Gunnison, had arrived on the 23d, and was encamped at the Warm Springs, on the outskirts of the city, awaiting the arrival of Captain Stansbury.

Immediately on his arrival, Captain Stansbury waited upon

Brigham Young, the president of the Mormon Church and the governor of the commonwealth, and announced the object of his visit to that distant region. The president laid the matter before a council called for the purpose, and soon informed Captain Stansbury that the authorities were much pleased that the exploration was to be made; and that any assistance they could render to facilitate operations would be most cheerfully furnished to the extent of their ability. This pledge thus heartily given was as faithfully redeemed; and the warmest interest was manifested, and the most efficient aid rendered, by the president and the leading men of the community, both in the personal welfare of the party and in the successful prosecution of the work.

In this community Captain Stansbury resided for a year, the most intimate relations existing between himself and the Mormons, both rulers and people. For an account of the reconnoissance made of the country, we must refer our readers to the volume under notice, which being in the form of a report to the Department of War contains a minute description of that distant and comparatively unknown region.

That in the space of three years, so large and so flourishing a community, should be founded, in a spot so remote from the abodes of man, so completely shut out by natural barriers from the rest of the world, so entirely unconnected by watercourses with either of the oceans that wash the shores of this continent, may well fill us with surprise. From the States of Missouri and Illinois, where they had successively established themselves, these singular people were driven out by a strong hand, their leaders slaughtered in cold blood, while prisoners in a jail, their property laid waste and destroyed, and the accumulation of years of thrift and labour in a moment scattered to the wind. Thus driven forth, men and women without means to minister to the necessities of the sick, without bread to satisfy the craving hunger of their children, mother, babe, and grandsire, destitute of even the raiment necessary to protect them from the cold of mid-winter, what could be expected but that they should all miserably perish? They went forth carrying their sick, halt and blind, over roads which seemed one vast bog, over swollen water courses which to others would have

appeared impassable, children born upon the march were borne forward with the sad procession; those who perished by the way were hastily buried, and their "graves mark all the line of the first years of Mormon travel—dispiriting milestones to failing stragglers in the rear." Still they journeyed on, strengthening as they went, sowing fields on the march, the harvest to be gathered by their associates who were to follow, and while midway on their journey furnishing, on the demand of the government, a battalion of five hundred and twenty able-bodied men to join the army engaged in the Mexican war. Reaching their destination—a country which offered no advantages for navigation or commerce, but "isolated by vast uninhabitable deserts," and inaccessible but by long, painful, and perilous journeys, they have since the first winter, known no want, and in three years from the time of their arrival, have been admitted as a Territory of the American Union. "In this young and progressive country of ours, where cities grow up in a day, and states spring into existence in a year, the successful planting of a colony, where the natural advantages have been such as to hold out the promise of adequate reward to the projectors, would have excited no surprise; but the success of an enterprise under circumstances so at variance with all our preconceived ideas of its probability, may well be considered as one of the most remarkable incidents of the present age."

Captain Stansbury represents the situation of Great Salt Lake City as exceedingly beautiful, and the scale on which it is laid out as magnificent. It is four miles in length and three in breadth, the streets at right angles with each other, one hundred and thirty-two feet wide, with side walks of twenty feet: each house is required to be placed twenty feet from the street, the intervening space being filled with trees and shrubbery. The city "lies at the western base of the Wahsatch mountains, in a curve formed by the projections westward from the main range, of a lofty spur which forms its southern boundary. On the west it is washed by the waters of the Jordan, while to the southward for twenty-five miles, extends a broad level plain, watered by several little streams, which, flowing down from the eastern hills, form the great element of fertility and wealth to the community. Through the city itself flows an

unfailing stream of pure, sweet water, which by an ingenious mode of irrigation is made to traverse each side of every street, whence it is led into every garden spot, spreading life, verdure, and beauty, over what was once a barren waste. On the east and north the mountain descends to the plain by steps, which form broad and elevated terraces, commanding an extended view of the whole valley of the Jordan, which is bounded on the west by a range of rugged mountains, stretching far to the southward, and enclosing within their embrace the lovely little lake of Utah.

Our author's residence among the Mormons, led to the conviction that they were fair and just in all their dealings, and that "justice was equitably administered alike to 'saint' and 'gentile,' as they term all who are not of their persuasion." Their Courts were constantly appealed to by companies of passing emigrants, who having fallen out by the way, could not agree upon the division of their property; and the decisions, which were always fair and impartial, were, if resisted, sternly enforced by the whole power of the community. Appeals for protection from oppression by travellers were never disregarded, and one instance is mentioned in which the plunderers of a party of emigrants were pursued nearly two hundred miles into the western desert, brought back to the city, and the stolen property restored to the owners.

The president of the commonwealth is looked up to, not only as its spiritual head, but as the inspired source of law in temporal matters, and the establishment of a civil govern ment was merely a precautionary measure, intended for such "*gentiles*" as might settle among them, the power and authority of the church over its members being amply sufficient where they alone were concerned. This led to an insensible blending of the two authorities, the principal officers of one holding the same relative position under the other; and thus the bishop would interpose his spiritual authority between two members of the church, while in differences between those out of the society, he would exert the authority of a magistrate, conferred upon him by the constitution and civil laws of the community. Every person on joining the society pays into its treasury one-tenth of all that he possesses; and afterwards a

tenth of the yearly increase of his goods, and a tenth of his time devoted to labour on the public works. None but members of the church are liable to this exaction, and the proceeds belong exclusively to the church. All property, whether belonging to "saint" or "gentile," is subject to a tax, and this constitutes the revenue of the civil government. All goods brought into the city are subject to a duty of one per cent., except ardent spirits, which pay a duty of one-half the price at which they are sold, and this heavy duty is imposed for the purpose of discouraging the introduction of that species of poison into the community. The circulating medium is gold of their own coinage, and they have in operation a mint, from which gold coins of the federal denomination are issued, stamped, without assay, from the dust brought from California. To this circulation is added from time to time, such foreign gold as is brought in by converts from Europe.

In any other community, duties and taxes so onerous would be loudly complained of, and considered as a burden upon industry and enterprise quite insupportable; but our author declares that nothing can exceed the appearance of prosperity, peaceful harmony, and cheerful contentment that pervades the whole community. All the necessaries and comforts of life are most abundant, and when the erection of a poor-house was at one time projected, it was ascertained, upon strict inquiry, that the whole population contained but two persons who could be considered as objects of public charity.

As the public curiosity has of late been much excited on the subject of the Mormons and their noted leader, Brigham Young, it may not be amiss to state here, the impressions received by the author of this volume, from a year's residence in the community, and an intimate acquaintance with the president. He "appeared to be a man of clear, sound sense, fully alive to the responsibilities of the station he occupies, sincerely devoted to the good name and interests of the people over which he presides, sensitively jealous of the least attempt to undervalue or misrepresent them, and indefatigable in devising ways and means for their moral, mental, and physical elevation. He appeared to possess the unlimited personal and official confidence of his people; while both he and his two counsellors,

forming the presidency of the church, seemed to have but one object in view, the prosperity and peace of the society over which they presided."

The author does not go into much detail on the subject of the religious tenets held by the Mormons, inasmuch as his associate, Lieutenant Gunnison, who has paid especial attention to this matter, is about publishing a treatise on the subject.

On the subject of the private and domestic relations of this strange people, the volume before us contains much information. And we must be permitted to observe, that his natural kindness of disposition, and a grateful sense of the many kindnesses and courtesies bestowed upon him by this people, when called by duty to a point so remote from the comforts and enjoyments of his own fireside, have doubtless induced Captain Stansbury to view with more toleration their wide departure from the habits and practice of all civilized and Christian people, than in other circumstances he would have permitted himself to do. We do not desire our readers to suppose that the author has, in any way, attempted to justify or defend the "spiritual wife" system which prevails among the Mormons, and for the practice of which they have once and again been thrust forth from the abodes of civilized man, by indignant communities whose moral sense had been outraged by the enormities perpetrated in their midst. But we deny that the circumstances stated afford any extenuation for their conduct; and we are unable to perceive the broad distinction which the author conceives to exist between gross licentiousness and the polygamy tolerated in Utah. It matters not that "peace, harmony, cheerfulness," "confidence and sisterly affection seem pre-eminently conspicuous" among "the different members of the family." It matters not that the tie that binds a Mormon to his second, third, or fourth wife, is just as strong, sacred, and indissoluble as that which unites him to his first. The system is repugnant to every principle of religion and sound morals, and justly commends itself to the unmingled abhorrence of the civilized world.

Captain Stansbury strongly approves of the appointment by the President of the United States of Brigham Young as the territorial governor of Utah, and declares it to be a measure dictated by sound policy and justice. Resolute in danger,

firm and sagacious in council, prompt and energetic in emergency, possessing the entire confidence of the people, he conceives that the appointment will be recognized as an assurance that they will hereafter receive at the hands of the general Government that respect and protection which they so much desire.

Having completed his exploration, Captain Stansbury, on the 28th of August, 1850, left the Great Salt Lake and took up his march for home, and after exploring a new pass through the Rocky Mountains, on the 6th of November arrived at Fort Leavenworth.

The incidents attending Captain Stansbury's journey, both going and returning, are exceedingly interesting, but we have no space even to allude to them in passing. The work abounds in beautiful illustrations, and the appendix, in addition to other valuable matter, contains tables of measured distances, from the Missouri River at Fort Leavenworth to Great Salt Lake city, and of the distances between the same points on the return route; table of geographical positions; description of mammals, birds, reptiles and insects, by Professors Baird, Girard, and Haldeman, with plates; catalogue with plates of the plants collected by the expedition, arranged by Dr. John Torrey; observations on the geology and palæontology of the country traversed by the expedition, by Professor Hall; a chemical analysis of the waters of the Great Salt Lake, and other mineral waters and saline substances, by Dr. Gale; and the meteorological observations made on the route.

That Captain Stansbury discharged the responsible and arduous duty imposed upon him to the satisfaction of the Government, is evident from the fact that this work has been published by order of the Senate as an official document; and we can assure all who will take the trouble to peruse the book, that they will derive from it rich stores both of entertainment and instruction.

SHORT NOTICES.

Grammar of the Pârsi, with specimens of the Language, by Dr. Fr. Spiegel, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Erlangen, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the German Oriental Society at Halle and Leipsic. Leipsic; 1851, 8vo. pp. 209.
[Grammatik der Pârsisprache, nebst Sprachproben, von Dr. Fr. Spiegel, u. s. w.]

The ancient Persian languages may almost be said to have been revived within the last twenty years, and that through the labours chiefly of Burnouf and Bopp. The oldest of all is the Zend. It has an alphabet of Semitic origin, written from right to left, and the language itself approximates in character the oldest Sanscrit of the Vedas. It contains numerous portions of the ancient standards of the religion of Zoroaster, especially the Vendidad, the Yaçna, and the Vispered, together with some hymns and liturgical fragments. The Vendidad contains mythical accounts of the original condition of Persia and its first settlement, together with sundry precepts and instructions of a moral and theological character. It was first published at Hamburgh in 1829, and subsequently with a Gujarati translation, paraphrase and comment at Bombay in 1842. The Yaçna is of liturgical content with doxologies and hymns. An extended commentary upon the Yaçna, which, however, was only continued through the first chapter, was published by Burnouf; who devotes upwards of a hundred pages in the preface to investigations regarding the Zend alphabet. The Vispered consists of invocations of the spirits of heaven and the genii of nature. The Yaçna and Vispered were published in Gujurati, at Bombay, in 1843. The Vendidad, Yaçna, and Vispered together constitute the Vendidad-Sade, published at Paris, 1829–1843, and at Bombay, 1834.

The Pehlvi, or Huzvâresh, is the next in age of these languages. It is still but little known. Its principal remains are the versions and paraphrases of the old Zend books, made in the period of the Sassanides, and the Bundehesh, which is a kind of dogmatic manual of the religion of Zoroaster, and a tolerably late compilation containing treatises on the origin of all things, the plan of the heavens and the stars, terrestrial creatures, the original condition of the human race, and the genealogies of Zoroaster, and of the ancient races of Persian kings. There are in addition other books of this kind, as the Viraf-nameh, &c.

The most complete translation of the remains in the Zend and Pehlvi languages is that of Anquetil du Perron, in his Zendavesta.

Besides these there is another dialect differing both from the Zend and the Pehlvi, and forming the connecting link between them and the modern Persian, To this, the name of the Pârsi has been given, and to its illustration the grammar before us has been devoted. It has not a proper alphabet of its own, like the dialects before named, but is found written both with the Zend and with the Arabic character. It contains certain portions of the Zendavesta, *e. g.* the Aferîns, the Patets, and the translations of Minokhired, Shikand-gumâni, &c. It approaches the modern Persian, particularly, as this appears in one of its earliest monuments, the poems of Ferdusi.

Dr. Spiegel says of the origin of this book in his preface: "In my labours preparatory to an edition and explanation of the Zendavesta, with which I have, for several years, been exclusively occupied, I found one of the principal difficulties to be the fragmentary character of the books. Of the entire old Persian literature, only feeble remains are preserved to us, which are of too small a compass to be explained from themselves. The aid upon which most reliance has hitherto been placed next to the Zend text, viz., comparison with the Sanscrit, especially the idiom of the Vedas, is not sufficient for the complete explanation of the Zendavesta. The first great step to the understanding of the religious books of the old Persians, the discovery of the grammatical system of the Zend language, could certainly be successfully taken only by the bringing in of the Sanscrit. But after this first great step was accomplished, in its grand features, by the acuteness of Burnouf, the Sanscrit could now only render important service toward the explanation of words; it could not itself suffice for this. Specific peculiarities of Pârsism could naturally enough never be explained from India. There still remains an important aid, viz., the tradition of the Parsees, which they have recorded in the old translation of the Zend writings, and in a series of independent works, both dating from the times of the Sassanides. In the use of these highly important traditional books, there now arises a new difficulty. The Sanscrit version of Neriosengh, which has hitherto been exclusively used, is, in the first place, a derived source, and secondly, it does not, such as it is, even extend to all the books of the Zendavesta. The original versions of the Zend text are composed in an unknown language, the Huzvâresh (אוזואר i. e. huzaothra, *bonum sacrificium*,) which needs explanation scarcely less than the Zend language itself. Connected

with these versions, is a number of other fragments, partly versions, partly independent works, which are found in a younger language, and one bearing a greater resemblance to the modern Persian than the Huzvâresh, while yet it has much similarity to the last named language. It has become known to us under the name Pârsi or Pâzend.*

"In the obscurity which, until now, still reigns over this territory, it seems to me most advisable to begin with that which is closest at hand. It is self-evident, that with the otherwise insufficient material which is at our command for the explanation of the Zendavesta, sources so important as the Huzvâresh and Pârsi writings undoubtedly are, should not remain unused. The Pârsi, as lying next the modern Persian, must first be investigated; with the results obtained from a more exact study of the Pârsi writings, I might hope to make progress in the enigmatical Huzvâresh. In the year 1846 I began my studies with the copies of the Patet Irâni, Aferîn of the seven Amshaspands, and some smaller Pârsi pieces which I had taken at Copenhagen. Although these studies were not without results, it would not have been possible for me by their means to write a Pârsi grammar, had not new and incomparably richer materials come into my hands, through the kindness of Professor J. Müller, of Munich. The scholar just named had the goodness to allow me the use of his copies from the Parisian Pârsi manuscripts for my work. Among these the Minokhered holds the first place. A glance at my work and the relation of the illustrations obtained from this book to the remainder, will show what thanks I owe to Professor Müller. With these aids, which I made use of during the year 1846, was the present grammar elaborated.

"By these aids I was put in a position to become acquainted not only with the Pârsi language, but also with its literature; and the latter appeared to me to possess an independent interest altogether apart from the help which it can afford toward the understanding of the earlier Pârsi writings. A residence of six months in London during the year 1847, I also employed upon studies relating to the Pârsi. I compared a manuscript of the Minokhered, which was found at the East India house among the MSS. de Guises, accurately with the Parisian, and it was of great service to me in the restoration of the text, and especially in the supplying of such words, or even sentences, as were wanting in the Parisian manuscript.

* Spiegel follows Hyde in opposition to Anquetil du Perron, in considering Pâzend, as well as Zend, to be originally and properly the name not of a language but of a book. Such appears to be its use in Oriental writers generally.

"The results of my studies in the Pârsi are for the most part contained in the present book. An exhibition of the etymology (formen-lehre) of this interesting language, appeared to me to be of value in the investigation of the Irânic tongues, especially the modern Persian. I have intentionally brought this grammar within as small a compass as possible. Without having paid some attention, at least, to the modern Persian, a person would scarcely proceed to the study of the Pârsi. I therefore everywhere presuppose the modern Persian in my work: what agrees with the grammar of the modern Persian has been passed over in the Pârsi grammar, but the deviations I have carefully noted."

Dr. Spiegel is now engaged in issuing an edition of the Avesta, to be printed at the famous typographical establishment at Vienna, with letters cut expressly for the purpose, and of which the first part has already appeared. The text, with the various readings of different manuscripts appended, is to appear in three volumes, each of thirty sheets, 8vo. The first and second volumes are each to be in two parts, containing respectively the original text and the Huzvâresh translation. The first volume will contain the Vendidad; the second the Yaçna and Vispered; the third the Yeshts, and the smaller pieces, as far as the latter possess any interest. A German translation of the Avesta with the utmost possible regard to the tradition, and with the necessary explanations and introductions is announced as about to appear separately, and to be issued in every case as nearly as may be, simultaneously with the text.

It will complete the enumeration of the languages of Persia, once perished, now revived or reviving, to add the inscriptions in the mysterious arrow-headed character found upon the ruins at Persepolis, at Babylon, and in fact all over the ancient Persian empire. Without its even being known by whom they were written, or when, or for what purpose—whether they were alphabetical signs, or abbreviated hieroglyphical emblems—to what language they belonged, or whether to any—in fact, with nothing more than a bare surmise that they were in some way significant, antiquarians and philologists made them the subject of the most careful and thorough scrutiny and comparison. Grotefend, Klaproth, Rawlinson and Lassen, with many others, engaged in the investigation, and with signal success. Although no such important historical discoveries have been made, as some fancied to lie buried beneath these unknown symbols, traced by the hands of a once powerful but now perished people, it can with confidence be maintained, that the solution of the enigma has been effected. The alphabet has been discov-

ered, proper names have been read and identified, and the language in which all are written has been determined. And it is not impossible that by the aid of the clew now gained, farther explorations may develope results more important and valuable from their historical interest, than those yet attained. The most recent works in English upon the cuneiform or arrow-headed character, are those published in London during the present year by Rawlinson and Layard.

Letters to a Millenarian. By the Rev. A. Williamson, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Chester, New Jersey. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1852. pp. 179.

We have seldom read a book more evidently the product of the author's own mind than this. The writer unfolds to the reader the process of investigation and thought by which he has arrived at his conclusions. That process is singularly clear and logical, and is set forth with sincerity and calmness. The question which Mr. Williamson proposes to examine is, Who are the heirs of the promises made to Abraham? The conclusion at which he arrives, is, that the existing Jews are not the heirs; but that the promises included in the Abrahamic covenant, which remain to be accomplished, have respect to the Church. The class of persons spoken of in those prophecies which relate to events subsequent to the death of Christ, who are called Judah, Israel, Jerusalem, or Zion, are not the natural descendants of Abraham, or the Jewish people, but that body which consists of the Jewish gentile believers in the Lord Jesus; or, in other words, the Christian Church. He therefore holds that the Scriptures do not teach the future national conversion of the Jews, nor their restoration to their own land, much less the personal reign of Christ over them in Jerusalem. The process of argument by which these conclusions are reached is the following.

In the first place it is evident that all the natural descendants of Abraham were not the heirs of the promise. Ishmael and the sons of Abraham by Keturah were from the beginning excluded. Of the sons of Isaac, Esau was set aside and Jacob chosen. In the third generation only one sixteenth part of Abraham's descendants were included in the covenant.

In the second place, "excision from the people" or forfeiture of participation of the blessings of the covenant, was made by the terms of the covenant itself the penalty of apostacy. Thus the ten tribes were cut off, and merged in the heathen world. They have never been restored as tribes, and are irrecoverably lost. By amalgamation with other nations they have ceased to exist as a constituent element of the covenant people.

Individuals from all the tribes were doubtless included among those who returned from Babylon, but as a nation they have disappeared, and forfeited all special interest in the Abrahamic promises. Again, when Judah was carried into captivity only a remnant was restored. The mass of the nation was finally exscinded in accordance with the denunciation of their own law. When Christ came, only a remnant according to the election of grace, acknowledged him as the Messiah; the rest were hardened and rejected. As in the former case, the small portion which returned from Babylon to their own land was accounted the seed of Abraham, and heirs of the promise, while the greater portion became lost in the heathen world; so our author contends, only the small portion who received Christ as the Son of God, were counted as children and heirs, while the mass of the nation were finally cast off. He therefore, argues that there is no more propriety in regarding the present Jews as the seed of Abraham and heirs according to the promise, than there is so to regard the lost tribes or the multitudes of Judah who were absorbed by amalgamation in the heathen world. Nay, the case is stronger against the modern Jews, because their crime was greater, the crucifixion of Christ; and because there is no promise of restoration in reference to them, such as was made to the captives in Babylon. They were threatened with excision, without a word to intimate a national return. To make the unfaithful part of the nation, who crucified the Son of God, or their descendants and followers in apostacy, the heirs of special privileges and blessings, forfeited by that portion of the nation who received Christ and became one body with the converts from heathenism, is to make peculiar blessings the reward of the greatest of crimes. Sure it is that those Hebrews who believed in Christ ceased to be Jews, and were lost as such in the Christian Church. If the apostate portion of the nation are the special heirs of the promise, and if they are to be the peculiar people of God under the Messiah's personal reign, then the heaviest penalty has been made to follow obedience to the command of God to believe on Jesus Christ as his beloved Son. This cannot be credited. We are to look for the heirs, not in the multitude of unbelieving Jews who rejected Christ, and were broken off from the olive tree; but in the remnant (as of old) who received him as their Lord—and with whom the multitudes of the gentiles were united. It is that tree with its Jewish root and gentile branches, on which the dew of the promise falls. They constitute the true Israel who are the children and heirs of Abraham. As to the present Jews, they are to be regarded, says our author, as essentialy gentile in their

character, and as having no more interest in the promises than the descendants of Ishmael or Esau.

The conclusion to which Mr. Williamson is thus brought by his independent investigation, is precisely that to which the Reformers as a body arrived long ago. In its essential features we doubt not it is correct, that is, that the body contemplated in the promises and predictions of the Old Testament, as the heirs of Abraham, is the Christian church, composed as it is of the original stock of faithful Jews and believing gentiles; and that whatever of blessings are in store for the present Jews as a distinct people, are connected with their amalgamation with the Christian church, so that they become heirs of Abraham only as the Chinese or Sandwich Islanders inherit the promises, viz. by faith in Christ and union with his Church. The body over which Christ is to reign at his second advent, is not the Hebrew nation, but the church in which the distinction between Jew and gentile, has been done away. This is according to Paul's express declaration." "There is," says he, "neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free; there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." "So then, brethren, *we* (we Christians) are not the children of the bond-woman, but of the free."

The great point in which we are disposed to differ from our author is with respect to the national conversion of the Jews. The Jews were as a body cast off at the time of the Babylonish captivity, but this rejection was neither total nor final. A part of the nation was preserved, and, as a nation restored. So the apostle as it seems to us, clearly teaches that the rejection of the Jews at the time of Christ was neither total nor final. It was not total, because he himself and many others believed in Christ and were included in his kingdom. It was not final, because the promise made to Abraham, and afterwards so often repeated and expanded, secured their return, not, it may be, to their land, not to their exclusive relationship to Christ as his peculiar people, but to the church. They are to be grafted in again into the olive tree. They are to be merged in that one body in which there is neither Jew nor Gentile, but all are one in Christ Jesus. And it is for this they are preserved as a distinct people, instead of being, as always before in case of final excision, merged and lost in the heathen world.

Redemption's Dawn: or Biographical Studies in the Old Testament History and Prophecy, in eleven Lectures. By N. C. Burt, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Springfield, Ohio. Philadelphia: Smith & English, 86 North Sixth Street, 1852, pp. 264.

We placed this well written and interesting volume in the

hands of a friend for an extended notice. It was not until the eleventh hour that we were informed of his inability to perform the task. We can therefore do nothing more than commend it to the favourable notice of our readers.

The Sinner's Progress: or the Life and Death of Mr. Badman. Also, the Ruin of Antichrist: an extract from the "Holy City." By John Bunyan. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 118 Arch Street, 1852.

This is a handsome volume of 198 and 112 pages. The public are familiar with Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and his Holy War, while his other writings are too much neglected. We are glad that our Baptist friends are bringing out in such attractive forms, other treasures from the store-house of his pious thoughts.

A New Theory of the Apocalypse, corroborated by Daniel's numbers. By Rev. S. S. Ralston. Cincinnati, 1852, pp. 64.

The Apocalypse has ever exerted a peculiar power over a certain class of minds in the church. Some of the brightest and best of Christians have in a measure been spell-bound by its fascinations. To all such, every effort towards its elucidation must be welcome. Mr. Ralston has evidently devoted great labour and ingenuity in the defence and exposition of his new theory, and we cheerfully inform our readers, that "the work will be sent by mail at 25 cents per copy." Orders inclosing money, to be sent to Rev. S. S. Ralston, Auburn, Lincoln county, Missouri. "Letters on business to be prepaid."

The Life and Letters of Barthold George Niebuhr. With Essays on his Character and Influence, by the Chevalier Bunsen, and Professors Brandis and Lorbell. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1852. pp. 503. 12mo.

Since the Life of Arnold, there has been no book of the sort, likely to be sought after with more eagerness than this. The volume is founded upon the "Lebensnachrichten über Barthold Georg Niebuhr," compiled from his private correspondence, with a narrative designed mainly to connect and illustrate the selection, chiefly furnished by Madam Hensler, the sister-in-law of the distinguished subject. The object of the Editor, as explained by herself, in the original work, was simply biographical: "to communicate whatever can throw light upon his natural capacities and dispositions, his mental development, his studies, his mode of thought, his views of life, the state, art, and literature; his relations as a citizen, a friend, and a member of

the domestic circle." Keeping this purpose in view, the translator has made a selection of the correspondence amounting to about half the original, aiming to retain what would be most likely to interest English readers. None of the letters of the distinguished *savant*, on learned subjects, are given; while every word and sentiment bearing on the great political questions, with which Niebuhr was so closely identified, had to be weighed in the balances of a despotic censorship, before they could be given to the world. The regret which the curious and intelligent reader will feel on both these accounts, may be mitigated by the promise, that the present volume, if successful, (as we take for granted it cannot fail to be,) will be followed by another, containing the letters referred to, together with the most valuable portions of his smaller writings.

We are thankful for so much, and thankful for the promise of more. Notwithstanding the winnowing to which the free and easy correspondence of the memoir has been subjected, it still presents us with a most refreshing picture of a man of the keenest intellect, of large and profound sympathies, and a pure love of truth, justice, and humanity: but alas! that we should be compelled to add, not gifted with that simple and genial faith, which is the crowning beauty and excellence of the character of his great English admirer, Dr. Arnold, and his equally great German friend and successor, the Chevalier Bunsen.

While the learning and research of late scholars have restored some things, which the severe literary scepticism of Niebuhr had rejected as fabulous, and while some of his startling novelties in Roman history, grounded on the application of his keen philosophical criticism, are not likely to stand the tests of later critical research, yet it is undeniable, that the studies of Niebuhr constitute an epoch in historical science. Blending the principles of philological criticism, which Wolf had pushed to their utmost in his Homeric studies, with the broad and comprehensive insight which his experience as a statesman had given him, into the civil life of a nation as furnishing the true clew to its history, he opened up a path to the student of early history, which cannot be closed again to science, however many may be the stumbling-blocks it presents to those who attempt to pursue it with ill-trained powers.

There are few processes more interesting or more quickening to thought, than the boldness, tempered by consummate skill and steadiness of hand, with which he deals with his vague and fragmentary materials, causing the lines of history to rise and protrude with palpable self-evidencing truth, from the mass of tradition and fable:—seizing, in the language of Professor

Loebell, of Bonn, the true meaning, and supplying the deficiencies of the merest fragments of semi-historic truth, and extracting from them the most astonishing results.

The brief essay which closes the volume, by the Chevalier Bunsen, on Niebuhr as a diplomatist in Rome, is a gem in its way.

The Indications of the Creator: or the Natural Evidences of Final Cause. By George Taylor. Second edition. New York: Charles Scribner, 1852.

This is the second edition of a work which, on its first appearance, we had occasion to recommend to the attention of our readers. The author, though not himself devoted professionally to the natural sciences, has yet kept himself acquainted with their progress; and has brought together in his book many of the most striking features and phenomena of the natural world, in all its leading divisions, with a view of giving distinctness to the utterance of the intuitive convictions of the human soul, touching the existence and perfections of the great First Cause. The great recommendation of the book is its comprehensiveness. It lays all the leading branches of modern scientific research under tribute, for the purposes of the argument. Those among our readers who are not able to keep pace with the rejoicing progress of natural science, will be greatly entertained and instructed by it, as well as benefitted by its moral reasonings. The results are stated very clearly for the most part, and there is sufficient continuity to make the whole intelligible to ordinary readers.

In this expression of approbation we are not, of course, to be understood as endorsing every thing in the book. In some instances, the author's habit of mind, in looking at his facts in the light of a previous theory, has led him, we think, to overstate the case; and to draw inferences which will fail to command the full conviction of his reader. As a specimen of what we mean, we may refer to the assumption, which he evidently favours, that every climate furnishes all the remedies needed to cure the diseases indigenous to itself. This is pushing the principle of his argument to an extreme, which is alike questionable and needless. Of this, however, we think there are but few examples, and such as do occur, ought not to impair the force of the countless curious facts, which admit of no solution but that which the author puts upon them.

Physical Theory of Another Life. By Isaac Taylor. New York: William Gowans. 1852. Pp. 267, 12mo.

One seldom sees any thing more beautiful, without any attempt at gorgeousness or pretence, than the typography and

paper of this edition of the bold thoughts and brilliant fancies of a well-known writer. But the special value of this edition, besides its chaste beauty, consists in a catalogue, appended by the editor, and filling eighteen 12mo pages, containing a list of works treating of the immortality of the soul; and giving in full the title of each. A large proportion of them, we observe, have prices annexed, intimating that they are for sale by the publisher. Some of our readers may thank us for the information, for we are quite sure, that no similar collection could be found in the United States.

1. *Counsels of the Aged to the Young.* By the Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D.

2. *Letters to the Aged.* By the Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 265 Chestnut Street.

These two very small volumes strike us as remarkably characteristic of one of the great peculiarities of their venerated author—his power of adapting himself to the sympathies and wants of classes of persons the most diverse, as well as remote from what we might suppose to be his own sphere of thought and life. The latter of the two contains a very brief note, by the editor, giving, in a sentence or two, an account of his beautiful and impressive departure from among us. The appeal to his aged readers, who are still impenitent, near the close of the fourth letter, one would fancy, could hardly be resisted: it is so gentle, affectionate, and hopeful.

1. *Pictorial Scenes and Incidents Illustrative of Christian Missions.*

2. *The Eastern Traveller, or Descriptions of Places and Customs, mentioned in the Bible.* By John Macgregor, M. A.

3. *An Affectionate Address to Fathers.* By the Rev. D. Baker, D. D., of Texas. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 265 Chestnut Street.

The Pictorial Scenes will tell its affecting story to the hearts of youthful readers, with unquestionable power. Who does not remember how he once hung fascinated over such pictures, and how their impression has been woven into the very texture of his life?

The Eastern Traveller blends important Biblical instruction with the entertainment of curious travel. It is a small book, but by no means a trivial one.

The Address to Fathers displays the warmth and earnestness and tact, so characteristic of the author.

These are all—each in its way—judicious and valuable additions to the catalogue of the Board.

The Value and Sacredness of Divine Truth. An Address before the Society of Inquiry in the Theological Institute of Connecticut, East Windsor Hill, August 4, 1852. By Edwin Hall, Pastor of the First Church in Norwalk, Connecticut.

In these days, the very title of this address will command the favour of good men. Their respect for it and its author will be increased as they read it. It is mainly an exposure, accompanied with sharp, but merited and wholesome rebuke, of the various methods of tampering with and betraying divine truth. While Dr. Hall is bold, earnest, and out-spoken, we discern no acerbity in his discourse, no denunciations which godly simplicity and sincerity, and an enlightened zeal for the truth, would not naturally prompt. As he unmasks one after another the artifices and pretexts that have been used to shield Dr. Bushnell's heresies from ecclesiastical censure, we think the authors of them will hardly be willing to acknowledge their own progeny. We should not have supposed such frivolous pretexts could have been made by grave and intelligent clergymen, were it not for the documentary evidence of the fact. This discourse, we think, must make an end of such trifling with sacred things. What shifts will next be made by the apologists and abettors of those who impugn all the distinctive articles of the Christian religion, and sap the foundations of all faith, we cannot divine. Their experience, thus far, must have convinced them that they will encounter a formidable opposition, in their endeavour to make these heresies lawful in evangelical communions. We trust they will give over the attempt. This seasonable and forcible exposure of the futility of their pleas will, we doubt not, conduce to this desirable issue of this painful affair.

Last, but not least, in his enumeration of the arts recently adopted to weaken the authority of divine truth, Dr. Hall specifies the theory of the distinction between "the theology of the intellect and the theology of the feelings." As the author of this theory laboured hard in defending himself, to create the impression that the objections raised against it by us, arose chiefly from antipathy to New England, we quote Dr. Hall's remarks upon it, to show how orthodox men in New England regard it: we think Prof. Park will find the questions he has raised, to be not entirely geographical, and that he will be obliged to resort to some other line of defence than the revival of stale prejudices against Princeton and old Calvinism. Dr. Hall says:

"But now there comes another, with a theory which shall hush nearly all controversies, and build a safe and commodious bridge over the impassable gulf which separates between ortho-

doxy and the more reputable forms of error. He has invented a distinction between '*the theology of intellect and the theology of feeling.*'

"If this means simply that figurative language is not to receive a literal interpretation, and that poetry is not to be confounded with prose, then it is but giving a very inappropriate and pompous title to a very old and very simple thing; and entering upon a most elaborate disquisition and argument to prove what nobody has ever doubted. But this is not all that the inventor intended; for he denies expressly that the theology of the feelings 'can be termed *mere* poetry.' He declares that 'it is no play, but solemn earnestness.'—'Neither can its words be called merely figurative,' but are 'forms of language which circumscribe a substance of doctrine;' so that 'this form of doctrine is far from being fitly represented by the term imaginative.'

"Be it so. Then the invention has an application wider, perhaps, than the inventor was at first aware of. Here is a hard doctrine, which the carnal mind hates, and which the unsanctified reason abhors. But it is in the catechism; it is in the creed. It will not do to reject it; and yet he who desires to be at peace with both catechism and creed, cannot by any means receive it as true. What shall he do? In times of olden simplicity a man would have had no other resource than to reject a plain, prosaic statement of the creed, if he did not believe it. But here is an invention which obviates that difficulty. Here is a doctrine. Do you receive it as true? No; I regard it as 'the simplest form of absurdity.' How can I believe what I regard as untrue? Oh, it is indeed untrue, if you refer it to the theology of the *intellect.* But refer it to the *theology of the feelings.* Receive it, not as *truth*, but as true *material for feeling;* '*emotive theology;*' and say no more about it. What doctrine of the catechism or creed need cause any one 'the least consciousness of oppression or restraint,' on this principle?

"But some one will say, this is a use which the inventor never intended. I answer, that he has himself indicated this use, when he has represented the soul as 'quick to seize at a *truth* as held up in one way, and spurn at it as held up in another;' as 'marvellous in its tact for decomposing its honest belief, *disowning with the intellect what it embraces with the affections.*' I answer, further, that *it is the use which he has made of it.* He has taken the sober, prosaic doctrines of the creed and catechism concerning the imputation of Adam's guilt and Christ's righteousness, and removed them from the theology of the intellect, as out of place in the category of truth. I answer, further, that he has indicated this use to be made of the theology of the

feeling, by making feeling the test of truth; affirming that when the words of any doctrine '*make an abiding impression that the divine government is harsh, pitiless, insincere, oppressive, devoid of sympathy with our most refined sentiments, reckless even of the most delicate emotion of the tenderest nature, then we may infer that we have left out of our theology some element which we should have inserted, or have brought into it some element which we should have discarded.*'

"And have we not men making high pretensions to piety, who, on this ground of repugnance to their feelings, reject the doctrine of a vicarious atonement? Are not the doctrines of the fall, of election and reprobation, and of eternal punishment, 'harsh, pitiless, insincere, oppressive,' in view of all Socinians and Universalists? But are they therefore untrue?

"If a man may avow his belief in the catechism and creed, and then be at liberty to deny its doctrines in the sense which the framers of the creed and catechism intended to convey; if he is at liberty to remove those doctrines from one theology to the other; to accommodate his belief or unbelief, his philosophy or his fancy, then how are we to determine, when a man owns the catechism or creed, what he believes, or what he does not believe? Under such a use, what is this new distinction, but a device for enabling all men to receive all creeds; every man deciding for himself what in the creed is true, and referring that to the intellect; and referring to the theology of the feelings all that he would reject as untrue; so that, *salva fide* and *salva conscientia*, he may freely accept 'as many creeds as are offered him?' Admirable expedient for harmonizing all differences, believing all creeds, and transmuting all heresies into orthodoxy! Admirable invention! save that, like many other pieces of theoretic machinery, it has to encounter, in practice, some troublesome amount of uncalculated friction; and that is, the utter impossibility that any man should *believe in his heart* any thing that his intellect rejects as *untrue*. The 'tearful German,' who said, 'In my heart I am a Christian, while in my head I am a philosopher' (infidel), was an infidel, nevertheless.

"But we have lingered too long in these dreary wastes. Let us come where we can breathe purer air, and tread on firmer ground; to contemplate truth in its holiness and beauty as we find it in the pages of God's sacred word."—pp. 15–17.

Professor Park can hardly complain that others thus understand his sermon, when he has himself avowed, that "one aim of the sermon is to show that all creeds which are allowable can be reconciled with each other." Bib. Sac. Vol. VIII. p. 175.

The Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles, with English Notes, for the use of Students in Schools and Colleges, by Henry Crosby, A.M. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1852.

We look upon every well-edited Greek tragedy as a valuable contribution to the material of classical education. The spirit which pervades these writings is peculiarly chaste, thoughtful, and reverential; such as, along with the corrections and amplifications of a Christian teacher, cannot but be happy in its influence on the young mind. Professor Crosby has here given us the master-piece of Sophocles with singular correctness and beauty of typography, and with notes judiciously adapted to assist the apprehension of the student, without superseding the necessity of that labour and research which is itself one of the greatest benefits of study. The text is founded on that of Tauchnitz.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

The Commentary of Drechsler on Isaiah, will now, since his death, be completed by Delitzsch. Two parts only were issued during Drechsler's life, the first in 1845, containing an exposition of 12 chapters; the second in 1849, completing chapter 27. Delitzsch expects from papers put into his hands to be able to continue the exposition through chapter 39. On the remaining portion of the book he will prepare an independent commentary of his own.

An Encyclopedia for Protestant Theology and Church, which was announced five years since, is now on the point of appearing. It is edited by Dr. Herzog, Ord. Professor of Theology at Halle, with the assistance of a numerous and able corps of coadjutors, among whom may be instanced Gieseler, Hagenbach, Lücke, Nitzsch, Thilo, Tholuck, Tevesten, Ullman, Umbreit, &c. It is to contain, in articles alphabetically arranged, the results of scientific investigation in all parts of theology, and will be issued in numbers of five sheets each; the first number is announced as probably about to appear during the present month. Ten numbers will make up a volume, and it is estimated that ten volumes will complete the work. Its publication may occupy five or six years.

M. Baumgarten, The Acts of the Apostles, or the course of

Development of the Church from Jerusalem to Rome. First division of the second part. From Antioch to Corinth. 8vo. pp. 342. Halle.

A second edition revised and enlarged, (the reverse process would in our judgment have been more of an improvement,) of Stier's Discourses of the Lord Jesus, is now in the course of publication.

Philippi's Commentary on Romans is just completed by the issue of the third and last division, containing chapters 12–16. 8vo. pp. 154. Frankfort on the Mayn.

L. G. Rauwenhoff, Disquisitio de loco Paulino, qui est de διχαιώσει. 8vo. pp. 136.

A. Schumann, Christ or the Doctrine of the Old and New Testament of the Person of the Redeemer, biblico-dogmatically developed. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 442.

H. Ewald, History of the People Israel until Christ, Vol. III. Part 2. This concludes at once this volume and the entire work. 8vo. pp. 570. Göttingen.

T. Rudow, Dissertation upon the historical arguments, by which recently the Pauline origin of the pastoral espistles has been impugned. 4to pp. 53.

Meyer's New Testament. 12th Division of the Commentary, J. E. Huther on the 1st and 2d Epistles of Peter and the Epistle of Jude. 8vo. pp. 342.

The New Testament, translated from the Greek, by C. v. d. Heydt. 8vo. pp. 635. Elberfeld.

J. F. Räbiger, Treatise on the Christology of Paul, against Baur. 8vo. pp. 94.

H. F. Kohlbrügge, Sermons on the first Epistle of the Apostle Peter, chap. ii. 8vo. pp. 76.

P. F. Keerl, The Apocrypha of the Old Testament. A testimony against the same on the ground of the word of God. 8vo. pp. 192. Leipsic. A prize essay.

G. Volckmar, The Gospel of Marcion. Text and criticism with reference to the Gospels of Justin Martyr, the Clementines, and the Apostolical Fathers. A revision of the more modern investigations, according to the sources themselves, for the determination of the text and the explanation of the Gospel of Luke. 8vo. pp. 268.

H. B. Fassel, The Mosaic and Rabbinical Civil Law, treated after the arrangement and division of the more modern lawbooks, and elucidated with a statement of the sources. Vol. I. Part 2. 8vo. pp. 141–436. Vienna.

G. Widenmann, Religion and the Laws of the World, with an

Appendix on the moral, spiritual, and political character of our time. 8vo. pp 232. Nördlingen.

A. Hahn, Sermons and Discourses delivered amid the movements in Church and State since 1830. 8vo. pp. 319.

A. Gladisch, Religion and Philosophy in their world-historical development and relation to each other. 8vo. pp. 235.

F. Peterson, Universal History of Religion, presented from the standpoint of the Christian Revelation. Vol. I. No. 1. 8vo. pp. 48. To be completed in 5 vols. of 5 numbers each.

J. P. Lange, Christian Dogmatics. Part III. Dogmatics applied, or Polemics and Irenics. 8vo. pp. 344.

G. V. Lechler, The Apostolical and Post-apostolical Age. Presented with reference to the distinction and the unity between Paul and the other Apostles, between Heathen-Christians and Jewish Christians. 4to. pp. 348. A prize essay.

J. F. Damberger, Synchronous History of the Church and of the World in the middle ages. 8vo. Vol. IV. pp. 979. Also Vol XIV. No. 1. pp. 276.

F. W. Hassenkamp, Hessian Church History since the times of the Reformation. Vol. I. pp. 640. Marburg.

M. Gœbel, History of the Christian Life in the Rhenish and Westphalian Evangelical Church. Vol. II. The 17th Century, or the Dominant Church and the Sects. 8vo. pp. 880. Coblentz.

C. Becker, Contributions to the Church History of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation at Frankfort on the Mayn, with special relation to Liturgy. 8vo. pp. 217.

A. J. Binterim, Pragmatical History of the German Councils, from the fourth century to the Council of Trent. 2d edition. Vols. III and IV.

J. Sporschil, History of the Germans, from the most ancient times to our days. 8vo. Vol. IV. pp. 752.

J. G. T. Grässe, Compendium of a Universal Literary History of all the known nations of the world, from the most ancient to the most modern times. Vol. III. Division 1. The Literary History of the 16th Century in its writers and their works upon the various departments of the sciences and the fine arts. 8vo. pp. 1283.

J. N. Uschold, Sketch of the History of Philosophy. 8vo. pp. 266.

R. Graf, The Origin of the Austrian Monarchy. 4to. pp. 24.

M. Schuler, History of the Confederates under the Franco-Helvetian Dominion. Vol. I. First Period. From the commencement of the Swiss Republic to the war with Austria, from April 12, 1798, to March 1, 1799. 8vo. pp. 685. Zurich.

C. Otto, Justin, the Philosopher and Martyr. 8vo. pp. 20. Vienna. Reprinted from the Transactions for 1852, of the Royal Academy of Sciences.

J. Beidtel, On the State of Austria in the years 1740–1792. 8vo. pp. 84. Vienna. From transactions of R. A. of S.

Contributions to the Flora of the Russian Empire. Royal Academy of Sciences. No. 8. 8vo. pp. 324. St. Petersburg.

Contributions to the Knowledge of the Russian Empire, and the adjacent lands of Asia. Vol. XVII. Containing A. Lehmann's Journey to Bokhara and Samarcand, in the years 1841 and 1842. From his posthumous writings, with a Zoological Appendix, by J. F. Brandt. 5 lith. plates and one map. 8vo. pp. 342. St. Petersburg.

F. Junghuhn, Java, its form, plants, and inner cultivation. From the 2d Holland edition, translated into German. Vol. II. pp. 1–416. Vol. III. pp. 1–184.

C. R. Lepsius, Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia, from the drawings of the Scientific Expedition of the years 1842–1845. Nos. 1–24. 240 plates. Berlin, 1850–2. Imp. Fol.

R. Lepsius, Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai. 8vo. pp. 456.

C. A. Menzel, Works of Art from Antiquity to the present time. Vol. I. Nos. 1–15. pp. 128.

M. Uhlemann, The *quousque tandem* of the Champollion school, with the Rosettan Inscription elucidated. 8vo. pp. 20.

C. G. Zumpt, On the Architectural plan of the Roman dwelling-house. 2d edition. 8vo. pp. 29.

E. Gerhard, Select Grecian Vase-Figures, principally discovered in Etruria. 4to. Part 4. No. 1. Vase-Figures of Grecian every day life. pp. 16.

Efforts of the Christian middle ages. From contemporaneous monuments. Division I. From the most ancient times to the end of the 13th century. No. 15. 4to. 10 pp. text and six plates.

Strabonis Geographia, with a Critical Commentary, by G. Kramer. 8vo. Vol. III. pp. 683.

C. Ritter, Universal Comparative Geography. Part XVI. Division 1. Palestine and Syria continued, with a plan of Jerusalem, and a map of Galilee. 8vo. pp. 834.

J. Grimm, On the Origin of Language. 8vo. pp. 56.

J. Deuschle, The Platonic Philosophy of Language. 4to. pp. 83.

Horace, in Latin, with a metrical translation by J. S. Strodtmann. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 454.

F. Jacob, Horace and his Friends. 8vo. pp. 215.

J. Nordmann, The Age of Dante. 8vo. pp. 190.

L. Ross, The Theseion and the Temple of Ares at Athens. 8vo. pp. 72.

Poetarum Tragicorum Græcorum Fragmenta, by F. G. Wagner. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 509.

F. Miklosisch, Comparative Grammar of the Slavonic Languages. Vol. I. Orthography. 8vo. pp. 518. Royal Acad. of Sciences. Prize Essay.

Schleicher, On v (-ov-, -ev-) before the case endings in Slavonic. 8vo. pp. 19. Vienna. R. A. of S.

E. F. Leopold, Manual Greek-Latin Lexicon. 16mo. pp. 895.

G. C. Crusius, Complete Greek-German Dictionary of the Poems of Homer and the Homerides, with constant reference to the elucidation of the domestic, religious, political, civil, and military condition of the heroic age, with explanations of the most difficult passages and of all mythological and geographical proper names. Fourth Edition. 8vo. pp. 491.

F. Hammer Purgstall's Account of the Turkish Commentary of Jelaleddin Rumi, published at Cairo in the year of the Hejira 1251 (1835), in 6 folio vols. Transac. R. A. of S. 8vo. pp. 112. Vienna.

F. Hammer Purgstall, On the Names of the Arabs. Fol. pp. 72. R. A. of S.

A Geographical Lexicon, in Arabic. From two Arabic MSS, by F. G. Juynboll. 8vo. pp. 146. Fasc. IV., containing from the letter Dal–Za.

Leonis Mutinensis Examen Traditionis, Ed. J. Reggio, Prof. et Rab. (Jew.) 8vo. pp. 269.

Avesta; the Sacred Writings of the Pârsees, translated from the original text, with constant regard to the Tradition, by F. Spiegel. Vol. I. The Vendidad. 8vo. pp. 295.

Zendavesta, or the religious books of the Zoroastrians, edited and interpreted by Prof. N. L. Westergaard. Vol. I. The Zend Texts. Part 1. Yasna. 4to. pp. 124. Copenhagen.

E. Jonas, The Pulpit Eloquence of Luther, as to its genesis, character, contents, and form. 8vo. pp. 515.

J. C. K. Hofmann, Scripture-Proof (Der Schrift-beweis.) A Theological Essay. Part I. 8vo. pp. 574. Nördlingen.

Wiesinger's Commentary on Philippians, Titus, and 1st Timothy, has been translated into English, and published in London. 8vo. pp. 450.

F. X. Reithmayr, Introduction to the Canonical Books of the New Testament. 8vo. pp. 786.

A. Maier, Introduction to the writings of the New Testament, 8vo. pp. 604.

C. P. Caspari, On Micah the Morasthite, and his Prophecy. Part I., pp. 180. 8vo.

The Bibliothek Amerikanische, Leipsic. Vols. 9 and 10 contain Uncle Tom's Cabin in German.

A. Hahn, Privat-docent in the University at Königsberg, has been appointed Extraor. Professor of Theology, in the University at Greifswald.

F. H. Reuter, Privat-docent in the Theological Faculty at Berlin, has been made Extraordinary Professor of Evangelical Theology, in the University of Breslau.

G. F. Œhler, previous to 1845 Professor in the Theological Seminary at Schönthal, in the Kingdom of Wirtemberg, and since that time Ordinary Professor in the Faculty of Evangelical Theology, at Breslau, has become Ordinary Professor of Old Testament Theology, in the Theological Seminary at Tübingen. As long ago as 1845, Professor Œhler published Prolegomena to the Theology of the Old Testament; but we are not aware that the work then promised, and stated to be almost in a state of readiness, has ever actually appeared.

Dr. John Charlesson Hahn, of London, has been appointed Lector of Modern Languages in the University of Jena.

Among the marks and titles of honour conferred upon literary men, we notice the decoration of the Royal Prussian Order of the Red Eagle, granted to Hengstenberg, Professor at Berlin, and the Knight's Cross of the Royal Norwegian Order of St. Olaf, to Lassen, Ordinary Professor in the Philosophical Faculty at Bonn.

J. C. Stuck, Author of the Commentary on Hosea, died August 30th, 1851. He was born February 5th 1777. He had been in the pastoral office from 1798.

J. A. E. Schmidt, since 1818 Lector of Modern Greek and Russian, in the University at Leipsic, and the Author of various grammars and dictionaries, Modern Greek, Russian, Polish, French, &c., died September 7th, 1851.

During the summer semester, the following German Universities have had the number of students below, affixed to their names, and distributed among the four principal faculties, as follows, viz.

University.	Whole No.	Theology.	Law.	Medicine.	Philosophy.
Erlangen,	400	151	140	53	14
Freiburg,	338	172	44	67	19
Heidelberg,	732	62	497	94	33
Leipsic,	812	165	347	156	25
Löwen,	574	57	198	114	99
Munich,	1888	256	862	244	439
Wurzburg,	772	89	189	342	142

Those pursuing studies not belonging to the four main departments named above, are included in the first column, but in no one of the others.

ENGLAND.

The Hakluyt Society have just published Gerrit de Veer's "Account of the William Barentgoon's Three Voyages to the Arctic Regions," edited by Charles T. Beke, Esq., Phil. D. They have in preparation, Mendoza's "Historie of the great and mightie Kingdom of China," translated by R. Parke, (1588;) to be edited by Sir George Staunton, Bart.; besides a collection of Early Documents on Spitzbergen, to be edited by Adam White, Esq., of the British Museum.

It is rumoured that Carlyle is about putting forth a new historical work.

Dr. Tregelles has published a Lecture on the Historic Evidences of the authorship and transmission of the books of the Old and New Testaments. It is a protest against the use made by Papists and Rationalists of certain difficulties in the history of the later Scriptures.

"Synodical Action necessary to the Church," a letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, by the Rev. H. Caswell.

"The Fortress of Comorn, (Komárom,) during the War of Independence in Hungary, in 1848–49, by Col. Sigismund Thaly, translated by W. Rushton." The writer is a well qualified man, and was in Comorn all the time.

One of the most striking things in cotemporary English literature, is the great number of books relating to Australia.

It will be interesting to Naturalists to learn the publication of the following work: "The Life of the Rev. William Kirby, Rector of Barham," by John Freeman, M. A., Rector of Ashwicken, Norfolk. Longman & Co. The entomological letters are selected by Mr. Spence, his friend and coadjutor. The chapter communicated by him, is the most interesting. He describes their enormous correspondence, the great sheets of paper they used in the days of dear postage, and Mr. Kirby's curious methodical ways. Mr. Spence gives an analysis of the parts done by each, of the Introduction to Entomology, though, he says, after all, that their speculations and facts are so interwoven, that no proper separation can be made.

Poems of S. T. Coleridge, edited by Derwent and Sara Coleridge. This contains some new poems, and is interesting as the last work upon which the gifted daughter of the poet employed herself, before her death. She inherited the imagina-

tive and metaphysical powers of her father, and had made vast acquirements.

The English are working as hard as ever at their School-books. We notice

"Latin *viâ* English, being the Second Part of Spelling turned Etymology," by Rev. T. K. Arnold. A rather oddly conceived way of teaching the meanings of Latin words, by taking advantage of the Latin roots in our language. It is, at least, a display of ingenuity. "A Complete Latin Grammar, for the Use of Learners," by the Rev. J. W. Donaldson, D. D. He claims that "it presents, for the first time, a rational arrangement of the facts, and corrects for the first time, many time-honoured inaccuracies." This is really a new work, and of great ability; whether it is a book for beginners, may, from its great complexity, be doubted. It is complete and accurate, and is especially good on the subjunctive.

Felton's Clouds of Aristophanes, edited by the indefatigable T. K. Arnold.

The Analysis of Sentences explained and systematized after the plan of Becker's German Grammar, by J. D. Morell, A. M. He says, that he is "convinced that the proper study of language is the preparatory discipline for all abstract thinking, and that if the intellect is to be strengthened in this direction, we must begin the process here." The first and second parts explain the elements of sentences, and describe the different kinds of sentences. The third is a logical analysis of sentences, showing how the rules of syntax may be thence derived. Here, more particularly, he follows Becker. All who have read Mr. Morell's writings, will expect in this simplicity and perspicuity.

An attempt to illustrate the Chronology of the Old Testament, by a reference to the Year of Jubilee, and A Chronological table of the History of the Old Testament, by Rev. G. B. Sandford, M. A.

"A Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language, with a preliminary dissertation, by John Crawfurd, F.R.S." The Author, Historian of the Indian Archipelago, has here supplied the most complete and accurate guide to Malay yet written. He has had, in its preparation, the advantage of a corrected copy of Marsden's Dictionary, with a supplement and assistance from Professor Wilson, of Oxford, and other eminent scholars. It is more than a grammar, being an inquiry into the nature and origin of the connection subsisting between most of the languages prevailing from Madagascar to Easter Island, in the Pacific, and from China to New Zealand, a space equal to one-fifth of the surface of the earth. These languages have been generally supposed to belong to one great family. Mr. Craw-

ford thinks that each is a distinct and original tongue, and that the tribes are different races. He regrets the test employed by certain scholars, to prove the common origin of the languages of the Indian Archipelago, viz., the similarity of the grammatical structure, and the identity of some words denoting simple ideas. His test words are those that are indispensable to the structure of sentences, which form, as it were, the frame-work of propositions, those that represent the cases of languages of complex structure, and the auxiliaries representing time and mood. He says, "If a sentence can be constructed by words of the same origin in two or more languages, such languages may be considered as sister tongues." This book is of considerable importance in an ethnological point of view; but it must be remembered that the author has nearly all the ablest philological ethnologists against him. The tests he proposes would be valid in the case of languages which are closely affiliated; but are wholly inapplicable to those languages whose only relation is that of a common origin.

The Life and Times of Dante Aligheri, by Count Cæsare Balbo, translated by F. J. Bunbury. Life of Marie De Medicis, by Miss Pardoe.

Observations on the Social and Political state of Denmark, and the Duchies of Sleswick and Holstein in 1851, by Samuel Laing, Esq. Longman & Co.

Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Mount Sinai, by Richard Lepsius. Berlin: Herz. London: Williams & Norgate.

This is one of the fruits of the Prussian expedition into Egypt in 1842–5, under the direction of Lepsius. He has ever since been collecting the results. First appeared his essay on the Chronology of the Egyptians, and along with this was begun the publication of the drawings of the expedition, which is still going on. This book consists of the series of his letters reporting the progress of the work. They give a good idea of the face of the country and the condition of the people, and as he occupied his leisure time in studying the dialects of the natives, they contain a great deal of ethnological and philological information.

Lieut. Van de Velde, late of the Dutch Navy, and author of "Surveys and Researches in the Sunda Islands, and of an Illustrated and Descriptive account of the Dutch East India Archipelago, and of a large and splendid map of Java, (published 1845,) has just returned to England, from a close and accurate survey of a portion of Palestine. Commencing at Beirout, he surveyed the western slope of Lebanon as far as

the Leontes; traced that river to its source, and by favour of the Sheiks explored the whole of Galilee; the northern part of which, owing to the savage nature of the inhabitants, has been heretofore wholly unknown; and fixed the site of Hazor and certain Phœnician towns. Thence he went to Accho, surveying the surrounding country, explored the region of Mount Carmel, and passing south through Samaria, discovered the sites of Dothan, Ai, and other places, and so reached Jerusalem. Thence, he went to the region west of the Dead Sea, and to its shores, to verify the results of recent surveys, (some of which he doubts,) as far as Beersheba, crossing, in various directions, the country between that place and ancient Ekron. Thence to Jerusalem, exploring the northern part of Judea, as far as Jordan and the Dead Sea. He then travelled north through East Samaria, explored, principally, the region between Sichem and the Jordan, identifying the sites and ruins of Akrabi, Dauneh, Fasaïlus, the Oasis of Kurawa, Wady el Feryah, &c. He crossed the Jordan at Pella, and corroborating the description of Irby and Mangles, he next surveyed the region about Beizan, Mt. Tabor, Nazareth, Nain, Endor, Shunem, Jezreel, and the Lake of Tiberias. East of that lake he could not go, because of the war between the Druses and Bedouins. Then, after another tour in Samaria, he followed up the Jordan to the Lake Huleh and its sources. Reaching Lebanon, he ascended Tomat-Niha, crossed Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon to Damascus, thence passed up into Cœlo-Syria, explored the sources of the Orontes, and the wonderful monuments of that region, and so came to Beirout. Important geographical results are promised from this expedition. Besides surveys and scientific observations, he has made one hundred sketches of places rarely visited before.

"The Works of William Shakspeare; with a new collation of the early editions, all the original novels and tales on which the plays are founded, copious Archæological illustrations to each play, and a Life of the Poet, by James Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., Hon. Member of the Royal Irish Academy, and the Royal Society of Literature; with Illustrations by, and under the direction of, F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A." This edition is to be in twenty folio volumes, corresponding in size with the first collective edition of 1623. The editor expects to complete the edition in about six years. Subscription price is two guineas a volume, and all the volumes over twenty are to be thrown in. It is proposed to render this a complete thesaurus of Shakspearian lore. Every aid and antiquarian illustration from the Elizabethan Literature has been collected by the

labour of twelve years. The engravings are restricted to the purpose of elucidation—each to be a true copy of a monument of some kind. Only 150 copies will be printed, and to enhance the value of these copies, all the plates will be immediately destroyed, no other impressions being taken.

The International Postage Association has projected a system which is applicable to all nations, the gist of which is this: Each country in the Union that may be formed, fixes and collects a uniform rate upon all letters going out to others of the Union, receiving and transmitting all letters coming to it from the other members.

Ranke is said to be engaged in writing a work on French history in the 17th century, and is now at Brussels, consulting the rich archives of that city.

A Congress of German Stenographers was lately assembled at Munich. There were 60 present. One exhibited a new system of musical notation, by means of which a piece of music could be taken down while it is played.

Berzelius, the great Swedish chemist, left behind him a full autobiography, which is said to be very valuable. Its publication in Sweden has been delayed, on account of the personalities contained in it, as the law of libel in Sweden is exceedingly strict. It is thought that Sir Humphrey Davy, whom the Swede owed no good will, figures prominently in it, and considerable eagerness has been manifested in England to have it published, especially while Dr. Davy is alive. A Mr. Wilson, proposes in the Athenæum, to publish it immediately, omitting all the allusions to Swedes.

"The Israel of the Alps;" a history of the Persecutions of the Waldenses. By Rev. Dr. Alexis Muston. Translated by William Hazlitt. It is said to be severe, dramatic, and terrible.

Irish Ethnology, socially and politically considered, by George Ellis.

Exercises adapted to the Complete Latin Grammar, by Rev. J. W. Donaldson, D. D.

Two additional volumes of Macaulay's History, will soon be out. Also, a volume of the Correspondence of Dr. Chalmers, edited by his biographer, Dr. Hanna. This may be regarded as an almost indispensable supplement to the Life, now completed by the issue of the fourth volume.

We notice among the London Theological announcements, the "Cyclopedia Bibliographica," in two volumes: the first containing a complete alphabetical catalogue of authors and works: and the second, a Catalogue Raisonnée of all the depart-

ments of Theology arranged under common places in scientific order.

Anticleptic Gradus, founded on Queherat's Thesaurus Poeticus Linguæ Latinæ. Edited by T. K. Arnold.

The History of Holland and the Dutch Nation, from the beginning of the 10th to the 18th century; including an account of the municipal institutions, commercial pursuits, and social habits of the people, the rise and progress of the Protestant Reformation in Holland, the intestine dissensions, foreign wars, &c., chiefly compiled, by permission of the Dutch government, from original documents and state papers, by C. M. Davies: in 3 vols. London: G. Willis.

It is announced that a treatise is about to appear on the "Notions of the Chinese, concerning God and Spirits," by W. J. Boone, Missionary Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States to China.

Among Weale's excellent series of Manuals, we notice, A Grammar of the German Language, by G. L. Strauss, adapted for the use of English Students, price one shilling sterling. Its being in such good company is very much in its favour.

One of the later volumes of Bohn's Standard Library is "Memorials of Christian Life, in the Early and Middle Ages," by Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated by J. E. Ryland.

Archdeacon Hare is out with a pamphlet, "The Contest with Rome," with notes, replying to Newman's late lectures.

"Outline of the History of Assyria, as collected from the inscriptions discovered by Austen H. Layard, in the Ruins of Nineveh," by Lieut. Col. Rawlinson.

FRANCE.

The Scientific Congress of France is now sitting in one of the halls of the capitol, at Toulouse. Count de Peyronnet, President. MM. de Chaumont, Bertiné, Roux of Marseilles, and du Mège, Vice-Presidents.

Letters received at Paris, from M. Place, state further success and discoveries at Nineveh—statues, bas reliefs, jewellery, together with some valuable architectural remains.

M. Tascherau, who was appointed to superintend the publication of a catalogue of the National Library, has reported that there has been great mismanagement of the matter, books coming in faster than they were catalogued. He thinks that the work may be finished in about ten years, and that the divisions "History of England," "History of France," and "Medicine," will be done in a few months.

"Histoire de la vie politique et privée de Louis Philippe." M. A. Dumas.

"Les Etats Unis d'Amerique; aperçu statistique, geographique," &c. S. G. Goodrich, (our Consul, old Peter Parley.)

"Histoire de la Littérature Romaine," Alexis Pierron. This is one of a sort of Encyclopedia of Histories, published by a society of scholars, under the direction of M. Duruy. It will consist of 50 volumes.

Voyage du Sheikh Ibn. Batoutah, à travers l'Afrique septentrionale, et l'Egypte, au commencement du XIV siècle. Traduit de l'Arabe, par Cherbonneau.

William le Taciturne, Prince d'Orange, 1533 à 1584. Eugène Mahon.

Œuvres de Rabelais. Nouvelle edition augmentée, par L. Jacob, Bibliophile.

Les Revolutions d'Italie. A. Quinet.

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