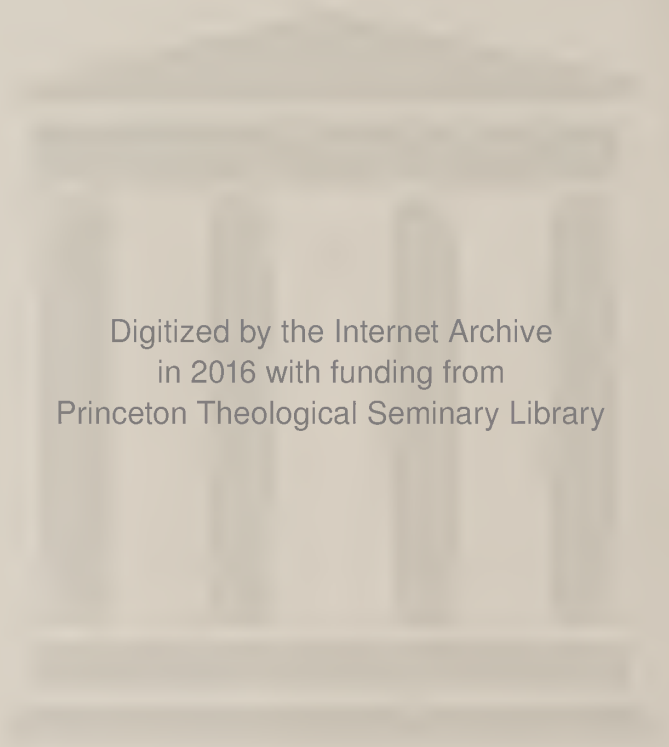

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ART. I.—*Ethnographic View of Western Africa.*

WESTERN AFRICA may be divided, according to its population, into three grand divisions. *First*—Senegambia, extending from the southern borders of the Great Desert to Cape Verga, a little south of the Rio Grande, and so named from its being watered by the two great rivers, Senegal and Gambia. *Second*—Upper, or Northern Guinea, reaching from Cape Verga to the Kamerun mountain in the Gulf of Benin, about four degrees north latitude. *Third*—Southern, or Lower Guinea, sometimes called Southern Ethiopia, extending from the Kamerun mountain to Cape Negro, the southern limit of Benguela.

The term *Guinea* is not of African origin, or at least not among those to whom it is applied. There is, according to Barbot, a district of country north of the Senegal, known by the name of *Genahoa*, the inhabitants of which were the first blacks that the Portuguese encountered, in their explorations along the coast in the fifteenth century; and they applied this name indiscriminately afterwards to all the black nations which they found further south. In the two succeeding centuries it was applied in a more restricted sense to that portion of the

coast which is now better known as the Gold and Slave coasts; owing to the fact, perhaps, that this region for a time offered a larger number of slaves for the foreign market, than any other part of the country. The natives here acknowledge this term as applied to themselves, but it was undoubtedly borrowed in the first instance from the Portuguese.

The physical aspect of the country, as might be inferred from the immense extent we have under consideration, is exceedingly variable, but is characterized everywhere by excessive richness of natural scenery. The coast of Senegambia is somewhat flat and monotonous, but this is the only exception to our general remark. In the region of Sierra Leone, Cape Mount and Cape Messurado, the eye rests upon bold head-lands and high promontories covered with the richest tropical verdure. In the vicinity of Cape Palmas, there are extended plains, slightly undulating, and covered with almost every variety of the palm and palmetto. On the coast of Drewin, the country rises into table-land of vast extent, and apparently of great fertility. The Gold coast presents every variety of hill and dale; and as we approach the equatorial regions, we are saluted by mountain scenery of unrivalled beauty and surpassing magnificence.

The inhabitants of Western Africa may be divided into three great families, corresponding to the geographical divisions which have just been made.

In Senegambia, the principal tribes or families are the Jalofs, the Mandingoes, the Fulahs, and the Susus, who belong in part to Senegambia, and in part to Northern Guinea.

The principal families in Northern Guinea, are the Vais, the Manou or Kru, the Kwakwas or Avĕkwom, the Inta, the Dahomy, and the Benin. Those of Southern Guinea, are the Pongo, Loango, Kongo, Angola and the Azinko families.

The inhabitants of Senegambia are distinguished from those of Northern and Southern Guinea by being Mohammedans, and by all those changes in their social character and condition, which that religion ordinarily introduces among those who embrace it. They may be regarded as standing something higher than the pagan tribes in point of civilization; and this shows, so far as this single circumstance goes, that the Afri-

can race are not entirely incapable of improvement and civilization.

After giving a slight sketch of the different tribes or families that have been enumerated, we shall endeavour to show in what points they resemble, and in what they differ from each other, and point out, so far as we can from our present imperfect knowledge of the subject, how far these different families are related to the ancient aboriginal races of the continent of Africa.

There are a few general statements, however, that it is proper to make before descending to particulars.

In the first place, there are no large or extended political organizations in Western Africa, with the exception perhaps of the kingdoms of Ashanti and Dehomi, and neither of these has a larger population or greater extent of territory than the smaller kingdoms of Europe. For the most part, the people live together in independent communities, of not more than eight or ten villages, and with an aggregate population of from two to twenty-five or thirty thousand. In these different communities they have no written forms of law, but are governed for the most part by certain traditional usages, that have been handed down from generation to generation. Nominally, monarchy is the only form of government acknowledged among them; but when closely scrutinized, their systems show much more of the popular and patriarchal than of the monarchic element.

The inhabitants of the country (with the exception of some smaller tribes of whom we shall speak more fully in another place) are by no means to be ranked as the lowest order of savages. They have fixed habitations, cultivate the soil, have herds of domestic animals, and have made very considerable progress in most of the mechanic arts. Traits of intellectual vigour disclosed by them in their native country, the style and structure of their languages, and their aptitude for commercial pursuits, show that they are entitled to a much higher place among the uncultivated nations of the earth than has generally been assigned them. They are not remarkable for metaphysical acumen, or for powers of abstract reasoning, but they have excellent memories, lively imaginations, and for close

observation, especially in scrutinizing the character and motives of men, they are scarcely surpassed by any people in the world.

The tribes of Senegambia have long since embraced the Mohammedan religion, and are zealous propagators of it, but without having abandoned the use of *fetiches*, or any of the essential elements of paganism. As a race they are eminently religious, and show a singular capacity for absorbing any number of religious systems, without abandoning anything, or being in the slightest degree disturbed by the conflicting spirit and claims of the different schemes that they may have incorporated into the same creed. Hence the religious systems of Senegambia may be regarded as a medley of all the essential elements of Mohammedanism, Judaism, and Paganism.

The tribes of Northern and Southern Guinea are essentially a pagan people; but in their religious notions and forms of idolatrous worship, they differ very much from each other. These differences will be pointed out when we come to speak more particularly of their ethnographic relationships. In both sections of country there are many decided traces of the Jewish religion. Among these may be specified the rite of circumcision, which, with the exception of the Kru or Manou family, is, we believe, universal; the division of the tribes into families, and in some cases into the number twelve; bloody sacrifices, with the sprinkling of blood upon their altars and door-posts; the observance of new moons; a formal and specified time for mourning for the dead, during which period they shave their heads and wear tattered clothes; demoniacal possessions, purifications, and various other usages of probable Jewish origin. In this connection it may also be mentioned, that we have recently discovered in Southern Guinea some traces of a corrupt form of Christianity, something, at least, that looks like infant baptism.

Some of these forms of Judaism that have just been mentioned, especially that of circumcision, might be supposed to have been borrowed from the Mohammedan nations of Northern or Central Africa, if it were not for the entire absence of every other trace of this faith, and for the jealous care with which the maritime tribes have always guarded against its introduc-

tion among themselves. It might also be surmised that the traces of Christianity that have been recently discovered among the tribes about the Gabun, might have been derived from the Roman Catholic missionaries who laboured in Kongo during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were it not for the fact that the same things are practised by the Pangwes and others, who have recently descended from the mountainous regions of the interior, and who, therefore, could have scarcely been reached by any of the forms of Romanism. It is much more probable that these traces of Christianity have travelled across the continent from Abyssinia.

Having made these general statements, we will now give a more particular account of the different families of Western Africa, and will begin with those of Senegambia. The leading tribes here are the Mandingoes, the Fulahs, and the Jalofs.

The Mandingoes occupy the first place as a commercial people. Their principal settlement is in a country which bears their own name, near the source of the Niger, and about seven hundred miles from the sea-coast. They have extended themselves over the kingdoms of Bambouk, Bambara, and Wuli, to the north and east, and in smaller or larger groups they have covered all the country from Jalakonda to the sea-coast. As trading parties, they have formed small villages around all the European settlements on the Gambia, at Sierra Leone, and sometimes go as far down the coast as Cape Messurado. They are to be met with on the upper waters of the Senegal, and Laing says they sometimes go as far as Tangiers, but this we think scarcely possible. Taken altogether, they are perhaps the most civilized, influential, and enterprising, of any of the tribes of Western Africa. Generally they are men of tall stature, slender, but well proportioned, black complexion, and woolly hair, but with much more regular features than belong to the true Negro. Their dress consists of a three-cornered cotton cap of their own make, of short trowsers, over which is thrown a sort of blouse or square cloth, also of their own manufacture, and leather sandals. A short sabre in a leather case is suspended from the left shoulder. In front they wear a small leather pouch, in which are sewed up scraps of writing from the Koran, which they regard as charms or amulets. As

a general thing, they are taciturn and thoughtful, but when accosted in a friendly manner, they can easily be drawn into conversation, and will give more correct information about the interior kingdoms than any other people to be found on the coast. Many of them seem to have a good knowledge of the Arabic, and one of their most lucrative employments is to write scraps of this language, chiefly extracts from the Koran, which they sew up in small leather bags, and sell to the pagan tribes for charms or *fetiches*. They are zealous promoters of the Mohammedan religion, and wherever they go, establish schools for the purpose of teaching Arabic, and inculcating the principles of their religion. In their schools the children are taught to make Arabic letters in the sand. Laing speaks of them as a shrewd and superior people; Park, as a "very gentle race, cheerful in their disposition, inquisitive, credulous, and fond of flattery." He experienced much kindness from them in sickness and distress, and especially from the females.

The Fulahs are a more numerous people. Their original country is Fuladu, north-west of Manding, and between the sources of the Niger and the Senegal. Besides this, they occupy three considerable provinces in Senegambia, viz., Futa-Torro, near the Senegal, Futa-Bondou, and Futa-Jallon, the capital of which is Timbu, to the north-east of Sierra Leone. They have also extended themselves into the central parts of Sudan, and have conquered several of the negro kingdoms along the banks of the Niger. In the central regions of Africa they are known as the Felatahs, but Adelung and others have satisfactorily shown that they are the same people as the Fulahs of Senegambia.

They are not regarded as a pure Negro race. Their complexion has been variously described as a *bronze*, *copper*, *reddish*, and *reddish brown* colour. Scattered over so immense an extent of country as they are, it is not surprising that there should be some variety of complexion as well as other physical traits, among the different branches of this great family. They do not regard themselves as Negroes, but insist that they are a mixed breed; and this opinion is entertained by the majority of those who have given particular attention to their ethnography; but hitherto it has been difficult to ascertain

what the elements of that intermixture are. Their physical type of character is too permanent and of too long standing, to admit of the idea of an intermixture. In all mixed races, there is a strong and constant tendency to one or the other of the parent types, and it is difficult to point out a mixed breed that has held an intermediate character for any considerable time, especially when it has been entirely cut off from the sources whence it derived its being. But the Fulahs are now, in all their physical characteristics, just what they have been for many centuries. And it would seem, therefore, that their complexion and other physical traits, entitle them to as distinct and independent a national character, as either the Arab or Negro, from the union of which it is supposed that they have received their origin.

Gustave D'Eichthal has published a learned article to show that the Fulahs are of Malayan origin, but Mr. William B. Hodgson, of Georgia, who has published one of the best and most learned papers in relation to the Fulah people, shows most satisfactorily that the data upon which that opinion is founded are quite insufficient to support any such conclusion.

The Fulahs have never been in the habit of selling any of their own people into slavery, except for outrageous crimes, and very few of them, therefore, have ever found their way to the United States. One by the name of Job Ben Solomon, who was kidnapped by the Mandingoes, was brought to Maryland by Captain Pyke, about the year 1730, but was ransomed by Oglethorpe, and sent back to his native country in 1733. Another, Abduhl Rahahman, forty years a slave in the United States, was ransomed in 1838, and sent to Liberia. James Hamilton Couper, Esq., of Darien, Georgia, in a letter to Mr. Hodgson a few years since, mentions one on his own plantation, and another on the plantation of Mr. Spalding, of Sapelo Island. A very remarkable specimen of this family by the name of Moro, still lives in Wilmington, North Carolina. He was formerly a slave of General Owen of that place, but for many years has been free. He is now upwards of eighty years of age, seems to be a most decided Christian, and not only reads his Arabic Bible with ease, but evinces a familiarity with its contents, most extraordinary for any one of his age.

Those seen at Gambia and Sierra Leone are of a dark brown complexion, soft and curly hair, features regular and good, limbs delicate and well formed, and stature about medium size. These traits of physical character however, are not peculiar to the Fulah people. They occur in isolated cases among all the families of Southern Guinea, as we shall have occasion to show more particularly in another place.

The Jalofs occupy all the maritime districts, and a considerable portion of the interior parts of Senegambia. They are not like the Mandingoes and Fulahs, interspersed among other tribes over a large extent of country, but have a country of well defined limits, and dwell under one compact government. They are divided into four provinces or kingdoms, but acknowledge one great chief, whom they denominate *Barbi Yalof*, emperor of the Jalofs, and whose residence is at Hikarkor. The four provinces are, Cayor, which formerly included Cape Verde and the island of Goree (now held by the French); Sin, a small state to the south of Cayor, and embracing about thirty miles of sea-coast; Salem, a province lying along the northern banks of the Gambia, the capital of which is Cayon; and Brenk, which includes the residence and the principal dominions of the emperor. The entire population of the Jalofs is supposed to be about 1,000,000, which is much less than that of the Mandingoes, and perhaps not one-third of that of the Fulahs. It would seem that the emperor of the Jalofs exercises decided authority over his subjects, and no one ever approaches his presence without making some decided acknowledgment of his superior rank in the way of bodily prostrations. Goldbery speaks of the Jalofs as having "fine, brilliant, pure black complexions, of a noble and impressive form, a character disposed to benevolence, a degree of self-respect, and national pride. They boast of their antiquity and superiority over other African races, with whom they will not intermingle. Their language is said to be peculiar to themselves, is meager in point of words, but is soft and easy to be acquired."

It is said they are almost as much addicted to the observance of caste as the Hindus. Besides the nobles, who are called the "good Jalofs," there are four distinct ranks or castes; viz., the *tug*, or smiths, the *oudae*, who are tanners and sandal-

makers, the *moul*, or fishermen, and the *gaewell*, who are musicians and bards. The "good Jalofs" will not intermarry with any of these castes. The *gaewell* are the lowest order, and are not permitted to live within the enclosure of the town. They are not permitted to own cattle, to drink sweet milk, and are refused interment on the ground that nothing will grow where they have been buried. Besides the castes which have been enumerated, there is another called the *Laubies*, who are said to be much like the European *gipsies*.

In stature, the Jalofs are very much like the Mandingoes, but have less of the Negro features. Nothing, however, is so striking in their appearance, as their intense black and glossy complexion. In some respects they are like the Tibus of the Great Desert, but too little is known of their languages to say whether they are related.

As to these three leading families of Senegambia, too little is known of their character or languages, to decide how far they are related to each other. In physical character and in language they differ very materially, and it is probable they have been brought together from very remote points of the continent. It is not probable that they are related to the inhabitants of Northern or Southern Guinea.

The Mandingo dialect, as described by McBrair, shows some slight grammatical affinities for the dialects of Northern Guinea, but none whatever, with the exception perhaps of three or four verbal resemblances, and even these of a doubtful character, to those of Southern Guinea.

The main points of discussion in this article, will have more particular reference to the inhabitants of Northern and Southern Guinea. The character, habits, and languages of these, will be developed more fully.

Dr. Prichard, in his work on "the Physical History of Man," has made a just and important distinction between what he calls the Ethiopian and Nigritian branches of the black or African race. The ancients included all the inhabitants of Central and Eastern Africa under the name of Ethiopians, and they used this term to distinguish them from the Libyans of Northern Africa. The term *Ethiopia*, for a time at least, was also applied to a black race in Southern Arabia, the chief dif-

ference between whom and those of the same name in east Africa, according to Herodotus, was that one had straight, and the other woolly or crisped hair. At a later period, the term Ethiopia was restricted to the more easterly nations of Africa, and Nigritia was given to the more westerly districts; and this distinction was undoubtedly founded upon a palpable physical difference between these two great families. They have never been separated, however, by any very marked geographical lines, as communities of the Ethiopian branch have been found interspersed among those of Nigritia; whilst darker families of the Nigritian stock have been found interspersed among those of the Ethiopian family.

The well-known physical characteristics of the true Negro, consist in a dark, or black complexion, crisped or woolly hair, retreating forehead, flat nose, and thick lips, and very variable stature. The Nigritian and the Ethiopian types of character are are distinguishable by a nearer or more remote approximation to this standard. The Nigritian is the most like it, but seldom conforms in all respects. The Ethiopian on the other hand, to use Dr. Prichard's distinction, is an approximation to the Negro, but never exhibits any of these distinctive features to the same extent. The complexion of the Ethiopian is sometimes black, but more generally a bronze, olive, dark copper, or red brown. In some cases the hair is black, and is rather curled or frizzled than woolly, their features are more rounded and regular, but not so acute as those of the Arab; their noses are not so flattened as those of the Negro, but scarcely so prominent as that of the European; their lips are generally thick and full, but seldom turned out like those of the full Negro; their figure is slender and well-shaped, and often resembles that which is most frequently exemplified by the Egyptian painting and statues.

The same author has applied this distinction to the families of blacks living in Central Africa and Northern Guinea, and those living south of the Mountains of the Moon, of which Southern Guinea is the western frontier.

We take Northern and Southern Guinea as the representatives of these two great branches of the African race, and after giving a brief sketch of the leading tribes or families of the two, we shall point out a few particulars in which they are

alike, and then show more fully wherein they differ, and upon what grounds they are to be regarded as entirely distinct from each other.

NORTHERN GUINEA.

The Vai family.

The first of the six principal families of Northern Guinea, in geographical order, is that of the Vai, whose chief settlements are about Cape Mount, half way between Sierra Leone and Monrovia.* This family includes the Timanis and the Bulloms near Sierra Leone, the Deys the former occupants of Cape Messurado, and the Condoes, the Golahs, and the Menda tribes of the interior. We have placed the Vais at the head of this family, because they have signalized themselves by the invention of an alphabet of their own, that is now growing into general use among themselves. This discovery, or invention, was commenced twenty years ago by two uneducated youths of the tribe, and some account of it was published in the number of the *Missionary Herald* for June 1833. A fuller account has recently been given of it by Captain Forbes of the British Navy, in his book on Dahomy. It has been noticed by the missionaries of Sierra Leone, also, and recently several little books have been published by the Church Missionary Society in London, in this newly invented character for the use of the Vai people.

The Vai people are very black, of slender frames, but with large and well-formed heads, and of a decidedly intellectual cast of countenance. They are mild and gentle in their character, are fond of agriculture, but unfortunately, for a long succession of years, deeply implicated in the foreign slave-trade. Of late years some of them have embraced the religion of Mohammed, but the greater part remain pagans.

The Manou, or Kru family.

Under this name are included all the smaller tribes between the Basa and St. Andrew rivers, or that portion of the coast which was formerly known as the Grain, but more recently as the Liberian Coast. It includes the Basas, the Fish, the Kru

* They were frequently denominated the *Quodja* people by the earlier writers on Africa.

proper, the Sestos, the Grebo, Drewin, and St. Andrews people.

The people of Berebi, Drewin, and St. Andrews, have generally been ranked with the Kwakwa family of the Ivory Coast; but the slightest acquaintance with their language, character, and appearance, shows that they belong to the Kru, and not to the Kwakwa family. Malte Brun, upon the authority of Lopez and some of the earlier writers upon Africa, states that all the families on the Grain Coast were once united under a general government, the chief of whom was known by the name of *manou*, *menou*, or *mandou;* and that this whole family was a branch from the kingdom of Amina, which is laid down on the older maps to the east of Sierra Leone and Monrovia. The present inhabitants of the country, at least those about Cape Palmas, have no recollection of the existence of any such government, but they acknowledge the term *Mena* as the generic name of all the dialects on this part of the coast.

The Kru family have always had a prominent place in the accounts of those who have written about Western Africa. They are not only employed as labourers on board of vessels which go to the coast, but they visit all the American and European settlements in the country, and occasionally go to England and come to this country as sailors. They possess most of the distinctive features of the Negro race, but these are seldom very prominently developed. Their complexion, as a general thing, is very much like that of the present generation of pure blacks in this country. There are among them, however, a less or greater number whose complexion varies from a jet black to that of a true mulatto, but with no essential variation of features. Some prominence should be given to this fact, as this is the only family in Northern Guinea in which there is any variation from a jet black, and this is confined to the tribes between Basa and Cape Palmas. Those between Cape Palmas and St. Andrews, are black without exception. The person of the Kruman is large, square built, and remarkably erect. He has an open and manly countenance, and his gait is impressively dignified and independent. His head, however, is small and peaked, and is not indicative of high intellectual capacity. Their children,

however, show no inaptitude to be taught, but make as much proficiency as any other in the country.

The Mena language has as many as seven or eight dialects along the sea-board, and perhaps as many in the interior. The Grebo dialect, that spoken near Cape Palmas, has been more thoroughly studied than any other, but has been found to be very difficult of acquisition. It is decidedly monosyllabic, harsh, abrupt, has but few inflections, and is exceedingly meager in point of words.

The inland tribes are not materially different from those along the sea-board, either in their physical character, their customs, habits or language. There is a large tribe living along the western slope of the Kong mountains called the *Panh* people, whose complexion is decidedly lighter than those nearer the sea; and this is found to be characteristic of all the mountain tribes of Africa.

The Kwakwa, or Avĕkwom family.

This family extends from Frisco to Cape Appolonia, and takes in the different communities living at Frisco, Cape Lahu, Jack-a-Jacks, Bassam, and Assaini. The most prominent tribe among these are the Avĕkwom of Cape Lahu. In size they are less than the Krumen, but are remarkably well made. Their complexion is very black, their hair is soft, which may be ascribed to their oiling and braiding it a great deal, and their heads are round and remarkably large. They are very pacific in their disposition, but have a good share of self-respect, and affect great contempt for the surrounding tribes. They act as factors for the interior kingdoms of Gaman and Buntaku. Their trade in former years consisted of ivory and gold dust, but of late years palm oil has become an article of much greater commercial importance. In physical character they bear a much stronger resemblance to the Fantis than to the Krumen, but their language shows very little affinity for either.

The Inta, or Amina family.

Under this name are included the Fanti, Ashantis, and all the smaller tribes on the Gold Coast, with the exception of the

Akra people, who are supposed to be more nearly related to the Dahomy tribes. The Fanti and Ashanti dialects are so much alike that they can scarcely be regarded even as different dialects of the same language. Both Fantis and Ashantis have a jet and somewhat glossy complexion and woolly hair, but their features, and especially those of the Fantis, are better and much more regular than those of the Krumen. The Ashantis have the Negro characteristics more deeply drawn than almost any other people in this whole region of country.

Dahomy family.

The Dahomy country extends from the river Volta to Lagos, and extends over an interior region of country of equal extent. In this kingdom are five or six different tribes, all of whom are more or less remotely related to each other, among which may be mentioned those of Akra, (which, however, geographically belongs to the Gold Coast,) Popo, Ardrah, Whidah, and the Foy, or Dahomy proper. Prichard represents them as "tall, well made, straight, and robust." Their complexion is black, but not jet or glossy as that of the Fantis, and still less so than that of the Negroes on the Senegal and Gambia.

Benin family.

We apply this name to all the country between Lagos and the Kamerun mountains. It includes all the principal settlements on the rivers which form the Delta of the Niger, amongst which may be mentioned those of Benin proper, Bony, Bras, Nun, New and Old Kalabar. All these rivers are the outlets of the Niger, and the tribes residing on their banks are supposed to be related to the Mokos and Ibos inland. They are all extensively engaged in the manufacture and sale of palm oil, and the number of vessels which go there for the purpose of carrying on this trade, especially from Liverpool, is greater than is to be found upon any other part of the coast.

The country they inhabit, however, is very uninviting and unhealthy, and the character of the people, with the exception of those of Old Kalabar, is that of a comparatively low order of savages. They are generally very black, and have the Negro features more fully developed than any of the other

communities we have been considering. The natives of Old Kalabar form an exception to these general remarks. They have had, for more than a century past, a greater or less number of persons among them who could read and write, and they have kept a kind of historic record of all the important events that have occurred among them for a long time past. A Scotch mission has recently been established among them, and their language has been reduced to writing, but it discovers very little affinity for the other languages of Northern Guinea, except in some of its grammatical principles. It has no affinity whatever, either verbal or grammatical, with the Duali on the opposite side of the mountain of Kamerun, so that this may be regarded as the southernmost of all the tribes of Northern Guinea.

How far are these different families of Northern Guinea related to each other?

We want material to settle this question. It is doubtful whether they all belong to one original stock. Their spoken dialects differ so widely that it is almost impossible to say that they belong to one family; and their agreement, if indeed there is any, must be in some general principles of inflection and not in words.

Comparative vocabularies of all these languages, with the exception of the Vai and the Dahomy, have been published in the Journal of the Oriental Society, from which it may be seen how far there are verbal rèsemblances among them. Taking the Grebo as the standard, we find that the Vai and the Mandingo have each about five or six words of apparently common origin; and they agree further in the fact, that all their nouns, and perhaps their verbs, commence with consonants, and form their inflections almost entirely upon the final syllable. The Vai agrees with the Grebo further in having a large number of monosyllabic nouns. These two families, it will be remembered, are to the north of the Grebos, who live in the vicinity of Cape Palmas. Going eastward, there are an equal number of words in the Avĕkwom, the Inta, and the Dahomy languages, that would seem to have a common origin with those of the Grebo, but all these differ from it again in having a large

number of their nouns and verbs commence with the letters *e* and *a*, and show no disposition whatever to use monosyllabic nouns. The Fanti differs still further, in deriving the plural forms of its nouns from the singular by changes on the incipient instead of the final syllable, a circumstance which almost isolates it from the other families of Northern Guinea. How it is in this respect with the Avĕkwom and the Dahomy, is not known. The Old Kalabar or Efik forms its plurals by changes on the last syllable, or by suffixes.

But whatever discrepancies there may be in the languages of the principal families of Northern Guinea, there is a striking similarity in their physical character, their customs and usages, their religious notions and superstitious practices, and in their intellectual character; and especially so when contrasted with the families of Southern Guinea, which we are now about to consider.

SOUTHERN GUINEA.

Formerly Cape Lopez, 1° south latitude, was assumed as the northern boundary of Southern Guinea, but the great Ethiopian family evidently begins at the southern base of the Kamerun mountain, and this, therefore, should be regarded as the proper dividing line between Northern and Southern Guinea. The mountain itself is a notable land-mark. It rises up almost from the water's edge to the height of 14,000 feet, and has the appearance of being covered with perpetual snow. The language of Old Kalabar on the north, and the Duali on the south side of this mountain, are as different from each other, with the exception of a few words that they have borrowed by frequent intercommunication, as any two dialects that might be selected from the remotest parts of the country.

In geographical area, Northern Guinea is more than a third greater than Southern Guinea; but from its peculiar position on the map of Africa, it does not extend over more than three or four degrees of latitude, whilst Southern Guinea extends over eighteen or twenty. This circumstance would naturally lead to the expectation of a more uniform type of physical character among the inhabitants of the former than the latter. And this is actually the case. The inhabitants of Northern Guinea,

with the exceptions alluded to in the Kru family, are generally very black, whilst among those of Southern Guinea, as we shall show more fully in another place, we find every shade of colour, from a jet black to a light brown. There is great variety of physical type in the same communities, however, which may be accounted for by the intermixture of the maritime and the mountain tribes, a process which the foreign slave trade would naturally promote. Why the same phenomena are not developed in Northern as well as in Southern Guinea, we are not prepared to say.

General divisions of Southern Guinea.

It is well known that the inhabitants of Southern Guinea constitute a part of one great family, which extends over the whole of the southern half of the continent of Africa, and is known as the Ethiopian, in distinction from the Nigritian, which is to be found on the north side of the Mountains of the Moon. We shall not stop to point out the relationships existing between the different and distant members of this great family, as this has already been done by Vater, Prichard, Latham, and others, but will proceed to compare the maritime provinces of the Ethiopian family with the corresponding portions of Nigritia.

Southern Guinea comprises five families, viz., 1st. The Pongo family, occupying all the seacoast region from the Kamerun mountain, 4° north latitude, to Mayumba, 3° south latitude, and comprehends the Kamerun people, Banâkâ, Corisco or Benga, Gabun or Mpongwe, Cape Lopez or Orunga, St. Catherine or Kama, and Mayumba. 2d. Loango, extending from Mayumba to the Kongo or Zaire river, and embracing the Loango people, the Kakongoes, and the Angoys. 3d. The Kongo people, occupying all the country between the Kongo and the Ambriz rivers. 4th. The Dongo, embracing all the aboriginal inhabitants of the Portuguese provinces of Angola and Benguela. 5th. The Azinko family, embracing the Jagas, the Azinko proper, and the Pangwe people. Of this last family, the Jagas are scattered along the eastern borders of the old kingdom of Kongo; the Azinkos, to the east of Loango; and the Pangwes along the westerly slopes of the mountains oppo-

site the Pongo country. These may be regarded as the mountain tribes of Southern Guinea. The Pangwes have recently descended in large numbers from the mountain regions, and have formed in the course of ten years more than twenty large villages on the head waters of the Gabun; and it is probable they will become dominant over this whole region of country before long. Our knowledge of the dialects of these mountain tribes is not sufficient to authorize the grouping of them into one family. But in physical character, in their habits, pursuits, amusements, modes of warfare, and implements of war, they are very much alike, and when their languages are better understood, it will probably be seen that they are closely related.

As to the maritime tribes, it must not be inferred that their family relationships always correspond to their geographical position, but they do sufficiently so for the purposes of general comparison. The Pongo and the Loango families are very nearly related to each other; and it is probable that the Kongo and the Dongo are equally so, but we are not sure that there is as much resemblance between these two families on the opposite sides of the Zaire, as there is between them and some of the families on the east coast—the Pongo and Loango being more like the Swahere and other dialects about Zanzibar, whilst the Kongo and Dongo seem more like those of Mozambique.

Pongo family.

On the Pongo coast, as in every other portion of Southern Guinea, we have a good deal of variety of physical type, not only among the different communities as such, but among individuals of the same community. This should be borne in mind as one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Ethiopian family.

Of the six principal communities of the Pongo coast which have already been mentioned, those of Kamerun and Corisco are the most alike, and have less variety of complexion. They are tall, slender, and not well formed, with black complexion and woolly hair, but with comparatively regular features. They are industrious, energetic, and exceedingly fond of being on the water in their canoes and boats.

The inhabitants of the Gabun, better known as the Mpongwe

people, and those of Cape Lopez and St. Catherine, are essentially the same people in every important ethnographic respect. Among each one of these there are at least five or six different types of character. In the Gabun there are at least five very marked types. 1st. There is the *Jewish type*, where the profile is strikingly Jewish, the complexion either a pale or reddish brown, the head well formed, figure slender, but well formed, and the hair nearly as woolly as that of the pure Negro. 2d. There is another that may be regarded as the *Fulah type*, where the stature is of middle size, complexion a dark brown, the face oval and features regular, the hair in some cases crisp or woolly, and in others soft and even silky. 3d. The *Kafir type*, where the frame is large and strong, the complexion a reddish brown, the lips thick, but not turned out, the nose somewhat dilated, but not flat like the Negro, the hands and feet well formed, but the hair is crisp or woolly. 4th. A type corresponding to the description given of the Kamerun and Corisco men, and in some cases showing a decided approximation to the features of the Somaulis represented in Prichard's work on the physical history of man. 5th. What may be regarded as an approximation to the true Negro type, the most striking instance of which we have ever seen, is that of a man by the name of Toko, whose likeness is to be found in the *Day Star* for 1847. But even this shows a much better formed head, and a more intelligent countenance than belongs to the pure Negro. The females of this region are the handsomest perhaps to be found on the coast of Africa. They exhibit the same variety of complexion, stature, and features that exist among the men; but their forms are delicate, their limbs are small and tapering, and their countenances are decidedly intelligent, mild, and pleasing.

But the Banâkâ people are the most remarkable family on this part of the coast. They are located, it will be remembered, intermediate between the Kamerun and Corisco people, and have settled on the sea-coast within the last twenty-five or thirty years. It is not known from what direction they came to this part of the coast, but no one could fail to be struck with the peculiarity of their looks. Their complexion is of a reddish brown, and in many cases very much freckled, the hair,

in some individuals, corresponds with the colour of the skin, and they have a peculiar expression of countenance, which cannot easily be described. If found in South Africa, they would be regarded as Kafirs, though they have not the athletic forms of the Amakosah Kafirs. Their women disfigure themselves by making large holes in their ears, and through the cartilaginous part of the nose, into which they frequently insert pieces of fat meat, a custom which is practised by the Gallas and other tribes along the confines of Abyssinia. But although so peculiar in their appearance, their language is closely allied to that of Corisco and the Bakĕli, unless they have borrowed largely from these dialects.

Loango family.

The inhabitants of Loango do not differ materially from those of the Gabun and Cape Lopez. It is probable that the Jewish type of character above mentioned forms a larger element of population here, than it does on the Pongo coast; and this, doubtless, was what led the Roman Catholic missionaries who laboured here during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to the conclusion that they had found *black Jews* in Loango. This type of character, combined with the practice of circumcision, naturally enough led to this opinion. But this rite is nearly universal throughout the country, whilst this particular cast of countenance is only one out of a good many varieties that cannot be accounted for.

Barbot states that in the reign of Don John II., and about the close of the fifteenth century, large numbers of Jews were expelled from Portugal, and taken to the coast of Southern Guinea; that the island of St. Thomas, which is not more than one hundred and fifty miles from the main land, was populated by mulattoes descended from these Jewish exiles and Angola women. It is possible that the Jewish type of character noticed at the Gabun and Loango, may have originated from this source; but if so, it is unknown to the present inhabitants of the country; and it would have been somewhat singular if the Roman Catholic missionaries at Loango had not detected this circumstance, instead of regarding them as a pure African family of Jews.

Kongo and Angola, or Dongo people.

There have been so many of the Kongos and Angolas brought to this country in former years, while still greater numbers have been imported into Brazil of late, that it scarcely seems necessary to give a very minute account of them in this place. It is important to remark, however, that these families in Africa cannot be fairly estimated by such specimens of the nation as have been brought to America; for the subjects of the slave trade have almost invariably been gathered, either from certain degraded clans that are interspersed among the more powerful tribes, or from the weaker and more debased individuals of these more powerful families. But of this we shall speak more fully in another place.

The Azinko family.

The Jagas, or Giaghi, as they are sometimes called, are well known as a wild and savage horde, who were at one time as great a scourge to the people of Kongo, as the Gallas in the East have been to the kingdom of Abyssinia. They overran the kingdom of Kongo several times during the sixteenth century, and would doubtless have subjugated the whole country had it not been for the interference of the Portuguese. They are represented as man-eaters, and were said to be exceedingly ferocious. The Azinkos proper, or Azinguese, live on the eastern borders of Loango, are much milder in character than the Jagas, and have never invaded or molested the maritime tribes.

The Pangwes are still further to the north, but never crossed over to the west side of the mountains until within the last fifteen years. They have emerged from the mountain fastnesses in the greatest numbers near the head waters of the Gabun, and have already formed between twenty and thirty large villages along the banks of its tributaries. It is difficult to form a correct idea of the size of the family which these represent. Those on the Gabun speak of themselves as but a handful compared with the immense number they have left behind. They are more pacific than the Jagas, but have enough of the war element, however, to cause the Bakĕlis, Shekanis, and other intermediate tribes a good deal of anxiety; these

latter are gradually getting nearer to the seaboard, in order to keep out of their reach.

In many respects the Pangwes are a very remarkable people. Their complexion is at least two shades lighter than the true Negro; their hair is softer, and braided so as to hang quite below their shoulders. They are square built, and in stature quite equal to the Krumen. Their features are intermediate between that of the Arab and Negro; their heads are round and large, and their gait and general mien is that of perfect independence. They wear no clothing except a narrow strip of bark cloth in front, and besmear their bodies with a kind of red paint. They are always armed with a bundle of long spears, such as are used by the Nubians, carry a singularly shaped tomahawk suspended from the left shoulder, a long knife or sabre in a case covered with snake or guana skin, and in times of war they carry a broad shield made of elephant hide. They use also crossbows, with which they shoot poisoned arrows with great precision, and to a very great distance. They smelt their own iron, and manufacture all their own implements of war. They show a good deal of mechanical skill in the manufacture of brass, iron, and ivory ornaments; and the iron which they manufacture is so much superior to that offered for sale along the sea-coast, that they would scarcely receive the latter as a present. They have a circulating iron medium, by which all their commerce is regulated. They cultivate the soil sufficiently for the means of subsistence, but spend much the greater part of their time in fishing and hunting; and especially in hunting the elephant, which is valued both for its flesh and its tusks. The only articles of foreign manufacture which they have heretofore cared for, are brass pans and white pound-beads; the former they manufacture into ornaments, particularly bracelets and anklets. The beads they work into broad belts to be worn around the arms, or work them into their hair, so as to form a complete bead-wig. They live in small huts, the sides of which are enclosed with bark, and the roofs are covered with leaves.

The first attempt that was made to acquire a knowledge of the Pangwe language, induced the belief that very nearly all of its words were monosyllabic, and had little or no affinity

with the surrounding dialects; but a more thorough examination has led to the conclusion, that its monosyllabic character arose from the hurried and energetic mode of enunciation, in which they clipped their words, or forced two syllables into one; and when expressed more slowly and fully, it showed a decided affinity to the other dialects of the country. It is probable that the Pangwes are more nearly related to the tribes south-west of Abyssinia, than to those along the western shores.

General remarks on the families of Southern Guinea.

If the families of Northern Guinea can be characterized by homogeneity of complexion, with very limited traces of linguistic affinity, those of Southern Guinea may be represented by just the reverse. Here we have homogeneity of language, with almost every variety of complexion and feature. The sameness of complexion in the former case, may be ascribed in part to a sameness of climate, but the variety in the latter case must be ascribed to a different cause; but what that cause is, we shall not undertake to decide. We would merely suggest, however, whether it may not be an intermixture of races, which, instead of manifesting itself by an intermediate type of character, has assumed that of a capricious variety. The cause may be the difference of altitude at which different communities have long lived.

Inferior tribes scattered among the more important families that have been described.

In the preceding sketches, we have seized upon only the more prominent tribes along the western shores of Africa. Interspersed among and around these dominant families, there are a large number of smaller and inferior clans, who, if it were not for the close relationship existing between their dialects and those of the more powerful communities by which they are overshadowed, might be regarded as the *Gypsies* of Western Africa. Among these may be mentioned the Felupes and Papels in Senegambia; the Bulloms, Bisagos, Deys, and others in Upper Guinea; and the Malimbas, Bakĕlis, Shebas, and various small tribes about the Kongo, in Southern Guinea.

These inferior tribes, wherever found, differ very materially from the more powerful families in physical character, in their social condition, in their intellectual habits, and are really the only inhabitants of the country who combine all the characteristics of the true Negro. At the same time they resemble each other, no matter in what division of the country found, not only in physical appearance, but equally in their moral, intellectual, and social condition. We do not look upon these clans as distinct, separate families, much less as being related to each other like the wide spread families of the Gypsies scattered over Europe, but as degenerate branches of the better and more powerful stocks in the immediate vicinity of which they exist. They are generally to be found in the alluvial districts and along the marshy banks of creeks and rivers, but to what cause their marked degeneracy is to be ascribed, we are not prepared to say. The fact itself has been noticed by Prichard and Latham. Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft, of Washington, who, it is well known, has for a long time been a close observer of Indian character, states that the same thing exists in connection with Indian tribes, both of North and South America.

This circumstance throws some light upon the African population of the United States. The blacks which have been brought to this country have been derived from four sources.

1st. Prisoners that have been taken in war, especially in Ashanti, Dahomy, and the more powerful kingdoms of Sudan. As these however have always passed through the hands of the maritime tribes, the factors in this traffic, the handsomer women have generally been culled out and kept as their own wives.

2d. Such individuals in the more powerful communities as have committed great crimes, or were too turbulent to be governed by themselves. The Fulah at Wilmington, North Carolina, was one of this class.

3d. Such individuals in the larger communities as are feeble or idiotic, of whom their families are willing to be rid. Against such the charge of witchcraft is generally preferred, and in this way, they become the victims of the trade.

4th. These inferior clans which have just been described.

They are either kidnapped by the more powerful tribes near them, or they are so debased as to sell themselves, and this has been particularly the case with the slaves exported from the Kongo. This last is the most fruitful source of all. We apprehend that three-fifths of the whole, if not more, have been drawn from these inferior clans, who are indeed the only true and fully developed Negroes to be found in the country. These facts account for the great variety of character that was noticed, especially in former years, among the native Africans who were brought to this country; and it accounts in part for the great diversity which is still noticeable in their descendants.

Comparison between the inhabitants of Northern and Southern Guinea.

In the preceding sketches we have pointed out all the important physical characteristics of the principal families of both North and South Guinea, and have no occasion to revert to the subject again, except for the purpose of a very few general remarks.

In Northern Guinea there is a nearer approximation to the Negro type; the complexion is blacker and more uniform; the people are more robust and have larger frames, and are a hardier and more laborious race than those of Southern Guinea. On the other hand, the Ethiopian family have smaller frames, are, as a general thing, of lighter complexion, and have much better and more regular features. They have much more pliancy of character, and in the management of trade they display an amount of adroitness and cunning that the other race could never rival.

The dialects of Southern Guinea differ from those of Upper Guinea; 1st. In deriving the plural of nouns from the singular, by changes in the initial syllable, or by prefixes, whereas those of the other stock, with the exception of the Fanti, make theirs by changes in the final syllable. 2d. By having a complete classification of their nouns, founded upon the manner in which the plural is derived from the singular, and upon the changes which the adjectives and pronouns undergo in order to accommodate themselves to these classes. The different dialects vary as to the number of the classes of nouns from four to twelve,

all of which is entirely unknown to the other family. 3d. In reversing the order in which two nouns stand when one of them is the genitive case. A Grebo, for example, would say, *Dwĕ-a-yu*, Dwĕ, his son, or Dwe's son; whilst an Mpongwe would say, Onwana-wi-Dwĕ, the son of Dwĕ: and also when they use compound words; thus a Grebo would say, *Kobo-tonh*, literally, white man's canoe, for a ship; a Mpongwe on the other hand would say, *Onwatanga*, the canoe of a white man. 4th. In comparing, declining and inflecting their adjectives, i. e., they are compared, inasmuch as they have all three degrees of comparison;* they are declined, inasmuch as they have a regular rule by which the plural is derived from the singular; and they are inflected, inasmuch as they undergo a change in their radical forms to accommodate themselves to the different classes of the nouns, whatever the number may be; all of which is entirely unknown to the Nigritian stock. 5th. In possessing what is called an *indefinite* pronoun; a particle which performs a variety of offices and constitutes a prominent feature in the entire structure of the language, but is entirely unknown to the other great family. 6th. In possessing not only a large number of abstract nouns in common use, but a singular capacity for developing almost any number of new ones, especially verbal nouns. 7th. In the almost interminable inflections of the verb, whilst the very opposite is characteristic of Nigritian. It would be almost impossible to develope more than ten or twelve forms from a single root in Grebo and Mandingo, but as many as three hundred may be deduced from a single Mpongwe root; and yet so systematic withal as to avoid all confusion in the arrangement of its parts. 8th. In the decided preference it gives to the use of passive verbs, whilst the other stock scarcely has a passive at all. A Mpongwe would invariably say of a murdered man, *ajono 'nloma*, "he was killed by some one;" whilst a Grebo would as invariably say that *nyâ la nâ*, "some one has killed him." For "he is drunk," the Mpongwe says, *abŏngo 'nlalugu*, "he is taken by

* When the Mpongwe Grammar was published in New York, in 1847, it was supposed that the adjectives had no degrees of comparison, subsequently it was found that kwĕ suffixed to the adjective gave it the force of the comparative degree, and mĕ that of the superlative. This is probably the case with most of the dialects of the great Southern family of languages.

rum;" the Grebo, *nâ ni nâ*, "rum works him." The Mpongwe says, *mi jâgâ nli njana*, "I am sick with hunger;" the Grebo says, *kanu ni mli*, "hunger works me." This free use of the passive verb however, is more prominent in the Mpongwe than in some other dialects of the same family. The Bakèli, for example, is more like the Grebo than the Mpongwe in this single particular.

Judaism in Northern and Southern Guinea.

We have already mentioned the existence of Jewish practices in Western Africa. Circumcision prevails in both North and South Guinea, but whether it is of Egyptian or Jewish origin, it is impossible to say. Some traces of the Jewish religion are more fully developed in the northern, and others in the southern region. The division of tribes into twelve families, as among the Grebos; the division of time into seven days, and the observance of lucky and unlucky days, as among the Fantis and Ashantis; the observance of new moons; the offering of bloody sacrifices, and the sprinkling of blood upon their doorposts and altars; in having a house of refuge to which an offender may fly, and the security of falling upon the altar, and in having a distinct priesthood, are practices that are more fully developed in Northern than in Southern Guinea. On the other hand, we have in Southern Guinea demoniacal possessions, prescribed forms and times for mourning for the dead, rules pertaining to cleanliness, purifications, and various other things of a similar character, more or less clearly developed. In both cases, these things are attended to without any clear idea of their import. If asked what they mean, or why they are observed, the answer generally is that "our fathers did it."

Religious notions.

The inhabitants of Western Africa, without exception, so far as is known, have a clear and decided conviction of the existence of one great Supreme Being, the Maker and Governor of all things. They have an equally distinct idea of their own future existence. They have not however, any suitable conceptions either of the majesty of the one, or the nature or condition of the other. A native African would as soon question

his own being as that of his Maker, or his present as his future existence.

Most of the tribes have two or more names for the Deity, indicative of his attributes or the offices he performs as Governor or Creator. Among the aborigines of Cape Palmas, there are indistinct traces of the Scripture account of the creation and the origin of the human race, the deluge, Noah's family, the wonderful feats of Sampson, and of the advent of the Son of God, for whom they have a name. It is very possible, however, that they received these things from the Roman Catholic missionaries who frequented the coast during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and this is rendered more probable, as they couple with the above traditions some idea of an intermediate or purgatorial state.

The natives of Upper Guinea practise Devil worship, but whether it is the *diabolos* or *demonia* of the Jews it is almost impossible to decide—probably both, though the *diabolos* is the more prominent object of worship here, whilst *demonolatry* is the more marked form of worship in Southern Guinea. Their sacred rocks, trees, caverns, mountains, and groves, which are much more common in the Northern than the Southern section, are the abodes of these spirits. *Fetiches* or charms are equally common to both. They are perhaps more distinctly the objects of worship with the Nigritian family; but are more used and more relied upon by the Ethiopian, to secure blessings and avert evils. Over the minds of both, however, they hold a powerful and dominant influence.

In Southern Guinea the people have clearer and more varied religious ideas than are to be found higher up the coast.

In the first place, there is *Anyambia*, the Supreme Being, which literally means "good spirits," who is regarded as the creator and the upholder of the universe. To him they ascribe all the works of creation, and whatever else they suppose to be beyond the power of any created agency. They recognize the hand of God in many things which affect their happiness and well-being, but never offer him any kind of formal or heartfelt worship.

Next to *Anyambia* in the government of the world, are two spirits, *Onyambe* and *Ombwiri*, the first of which, as the term

implies, is the author of all evil, and the other is the author of good. With the character of *Onyambe* they seem to have but little acquaintance, but seldom fail to manifest symptoms of uneasiness when the name is called in their presence. *Ombwiri* would seem to be a family of spirits, as the term is used in the plural as well as in the singular number. He seems to exercise a guardian care over the lives and the happiness of men, and he is also regarded as the author of everything that is mysterious and inexplicable.

Next to these are two other classes or families of spirits, called *Abambo* and *Inlâgâ*, the derivation of which is not known. These are supposed to be partly good and partly bad, and it is with one or the other of these the people are said to be possessed when they submit to the ordinary process of exorcism. The Abambo are the spirits of those who have died in the immediate vicinity of any particular place; and Inlâgâ are also the spirits of human beings, but they have come from some other region, and are therefore strangers. The worship and the exorcisms connected with these two classes of spirits, form a conspicuous element in the religious worship of all the families of Southern Guinea.

The worship of ancestors, and the preservation of their bones, which they suppose to possess extraordinary virtues, forms another prominent feature in their religious character, and belongs almost entirely to the southern branch of the African family. They use carved images in connection with this worship, and this is almost the only thing in Western Africa which may be strictly regarded as *idol worship*.

The inhabitants of this part of Africa have also a great deal to do with the inhabitants of the spirit-world. On this subject their imaginations know no bounds. Without logical training, and without any revealed word to mark the bounds of human knowledge, the fancy is allowed to form almost any possible conception, and every conception becomes a reality in their minds. Every dream is construed into a visit from the dead, and the hints and suggestions which come to them through this medium, are more implicitly followed than any deductions of reason or duty that could be presented. If a man wakes up in the morning with pains in his limbs or muscles, he immedi-

ately infers that his spirit has been wandering about in the night, and has received a castigation at the hands of some other spirit.

Intellectual characteristics of these two branches of the African race.

It might naturally be expected that there would be as much diversity in the intellectual as in the physical character of these branches of the African race, and this is undoubtedly the case. We can offer, however, only a few general remarks in elucidation of this subject. The glance we have already taken at their respective languages, indicates the general outline of their intellectual character. There can be no better exponent of the mind of any people than the language they speak; and without this it would have been almost impossible to find out anything satisfactory about the character of the African mind.

The natives of Northern Guinea are comparatively bold, energetic, abrupt, unceremonious, and are very effective where nothing more than a mere outlay of muscular power is required. They are kind and tractable when treated with kindness, but obstinate and almost immovably sullen when wronged or injured. They are sociable and somewhat inquisitive, and when vigorously assailed, are prompt and sharp at repartee. They are not very remarkable, however, either for a good memory or a very lively or fanciful imagination. Their stores of unwritten lore are summed up in a few pointed proverbial sayings, a few general maxims in relation to the duties of life, and a few simple fables and traditionary stories, not embellished, however, by any very remarkable touches of the fancy.

The inhabitants of Southern Guinea, on the other hand, are characterized by traits the very opposite of these. Softness, pliancy, and flexibility are not more distinctive features of their language than it is of their moral and mental character. While a Grebo is rough, abrupt, and unceremonious in his bearing, the Pongo is all smoothness and civility. What one aims to effect by dint of energy and physical force, the other means to achieve by cunning and management. In opposing

or injuring the one, you awaken his open and avowed resentment; the other, though he feels quite as keenly, either stifles his anger or determines upon secret revenge.

But the predominance of the imagination is one of the most striking characteristics of the Ethiopian mind. It exercises so much control over the judgment and the understanding, that it unsettles the moral balance of the man. He almost loses the power of discriminating between the actual occurrences of life and the conceptions of his own fancy, and becomes grossly addicted to falsehood, without intending it. The only way by which a stranger can get a correct insight into the true character of this people, is to become acquainted with their language and their fables. They are exceedingly close and reserved in relation to anything that would throw light upon their inner nature. But in their fables, wild animals are invested with all their secret feelings and propensities, and are permitted to act them out, without awakening the apprehension in their own minds that they are only personating themselves.

Relation of the modern Ethiopian and Nigritian families to the ancient Aboriginal races of Africa.

On this subject it is well known that we have as yet but the most scanty materials with which to work. We propose therefore only to throw out a few general hints and leave it for others to test their value.

Herodotus includes all the inhabitants of Africa beyond Egypt, in two families, the Libyans and Ethiopians, and this distinction has been adopted by the ancients generally. Both of these terms however are used with considerable latitude. Libya was generally applied to the aboriginal races living to the west of Egypt, between the Mediterranean and the Great Desert, among whom were the ancient Numidians, Mauritanians and other families, the only descendants of whom, it is believed, are the modern Berbers.

Mr. Hodgson thinks he finds mention of several of these Northern families in the book of Genesis. The Libyans he takes to be the *Lehabim* of Genesis, and the modern Sheluks of Western Barbary, he takes to be the *Casluhim* of Genesis

also.* But both Lehabim and Casluhim are the descendants of Mizraim, and this, if correct, would establish a relationship between the Libyans and the Egyptians, which is probably the case. There were two branches of the Libyan family, however, one of whom was known as Phutæi, and the other as Lehabim or Lubim. Gesenius defines *Phut* to mean the Libyans next to Egypt, and Lehabim or Lubim denoted Libya, in a wider sense. Knobel, on the contrary, defines Phut to be Libya generally, and Lehabim or Lubim as the Libya next to Egypt, and in support of this opinion he calls to mind the fact that the ancient versions, Vulgate and Septuagint, translate Phut by Libyans, and that Josephus renders it Mauritania; and that there was a river Phut in western Mauritania. The Fulah tribe, which was mentioned in the foregoing part of this paper, have a tradition that they are the descendants of Phut, the third son of Ham; and it is a remarkable fact that they have retained this word in connection with at least three of their principal settlements in Senegambia, viz: Futa-Torro, Futa-Jallon and Futa-Bondou. This fact possesses some importance. It shows either that the Fulahs are descended from the ancient Mauritanians, or that they belong to another stock, (the Nigritian family perhaps,) that may have descended as directly from Phut as the Mauritanians.

Ancient writers use the term Ethiopia in at least four different ways. In its most comprehensive use it was applied to all the dark races of men, irrespective of their places of residence, It was used again by Herodotus and others, with reference to two countries, one of which was in Arabia Felix and the other in Eastern Africa, the only difference in the inhabitants of which was that one had woolly, and the other straight hair. By others, and at later date, it was applied to ancient Ethiopia, of which Meroe was the capital, which was the rival of Egypt in the arts, sciences, &c. It was applied again to all the inhabitants of Eastern Africa, the various tribes or families of which were mentioned by Agatharchidas under the appellation of Ichthyophagi, (fish-eaters,) Hylophagi, (fruit-eaters,) Ele-

* Lehabim is considered by the best authorities to denote the Libyans, and *Casluhim* the Colchians, who are stated by Herodotus (2,104) to have been a colony of the Egyptians.

phantophagi, (elephant-eaters,) Struthophagi, (ostrich-eaters,) and other tribes who feed on locusts, most of whom are supposed to have occupied the country of the modern Shangalla. There were also *Troglodítae*, (cave-dwellers,) and a still more remarkable people mentioned by Herodotus, by the name of *Macrobii*, all of whom were included among the Ethiopians. At a still later period Ethiopia was used to designate all the districts or countries in East Africa, in distinction from those of Nigritia.

The term *Cush* in the Hebrew Scriptures, Dr. Robinson thinks, applies only to the Ethiopia of Arabia Felix and Ethiopia on the Nile. In the Septuagint it is interchangeably used with Ethiopia, which shows that the ancient Ethiopians were undoubtedly descendants of Ham. It is from this ancient stock that we suppose the modern Ethiopic family of Southern Africa are descended. The parent stock underwent so many intermixtures with Asiatic races, however, especially from Arabia, that it is difficult to say whether their descendants have more of the Shemitic or Hamitic element in their composition.

Dr. Prichard points out a relationship between the great Kafir family of languages and the Coptic, on the ground that they make their inflections on the initial instead of the final syllable. This is true of all the dialects of this family so far as we know, but to a certain extent only. The conjugations of the verb, the degrees of comparison, and certain forms of the indefinite pronoun are made on the final and not on the initial syllable. So that if any dependence is to be placed upon this single circumstance, it would seem to indicate that it was a Hamitic language with Shemitic inflections, or *vice versâ*.

In relation to the origin of the Nigritian family, we are not aware that there are any historical data upon which to build an opinion. It is possible that they may have descended from Phut, according to the tradition of the Fulahs to this effect, and the fact that they have retained this word in connection with at least three of their principal settlements in Senegambia, viz: Futa-Torro, Futa-Jallon, and Futa-Bondou. If it were possible to trace any affinity between their dialects and the Ethiopic family of Southern Africa, it might be supposed that they were a

branch of the genuine Ethiopian family without any admixture with Asiatic races, but there is not, so far as we have been able to see, any affinity whatever.

ART. II—*Schools and Systems of Interpretation.*

THE great work of the ministry is the exposition of the truth. The sole revelation of this truth is in the Scriptures. To be able to interpret the Scriptures is therefore a prime qualification for the office. All the parts of professional study are either varied forms of this work, or subsidiary to it. The practical duties of the pulpit, and the pastoral care, presuppose a thorough knowledge of theology. But theology itself is only a systematic exhibition of the results of correct interpretation. The idea that there can be theology without interpretation, is the source of many deadly errors. But before we can interpret for ourselves or others, we must have something to interpret. Before we can expound the word of God, we must determine what it is. We are not to waste our strength on everything that claims a divine origin. We are not to take the books confessed to be divine, just as they are, or as they happen to come into our hands, without examination. They may have been corrupted, either by mutilation or interpolation. A requisite preliminary step is therefore to determine what are the *ipsissima verba* of the sacred writers, or at least to ascertain the principles and means by which they are to be determined. This is the specific object of criticism in the strict sense. It is therefore something previous to actual interpretation. But even after this is attained, there is still a previous question to be settled. We are not to undertake interpretation blindly or at random. It is not to be regulated by caprice or chance. In other words, we must know how we are to do the work, at least in general, before we undertake it. This is the difference between exegesis and hermeneutics. Exegesis is actual interpretation; they are only Greek and Latin ways of saying the

same thing. Hermeneutics is the science of interpretation, exegesis may be called the art.

Upon this last subject there is no dearth of information, or at least of books, even in English. Both as separate compositions, and as parts of more extensive works, we have many treatises on the principles of interpretation, both translated and original. Much as they vary from each other in detail, there is a striking uniformity and sameness in essentials. After reading one or two of these discourses, the first impression on the student's mind is often, perhaps always, that they tell him very much the same thing; the second, that they tell him very little which he did not know before. It may even occur to him that this is the secret of their sameness, since abundance naturally breeds variety, and nothing is more uniform than nothing itself.

To one who scrupulously followed out the scientific order of these subjects, and who therefore studied hermeneutics before looking any further, this agreement in the principles might seem to hold out the promise of a similar agreement in results. How would he be astonished then to find the very writers who are so unanimous at the beginning, differing *toto cœlo* in the end! And this he certainly would find, the further he extended his inquiries. The agreement of the highest exegetical authorities as to the general laws of interpretation, is not more marked than their disagreement in the application of these laws, and the results which they derive from it. This fact is so curious in itself, and so important in its bearing on the study of the Scriptures, that it may be worth while to examine, and if possible account for it.

An obvious inference from the fact itself, is that the real difficulties of interpretation do not lie in that part of the subject where we find so much agreement. The reason of this is also obvious. The Scriptures are as really a human composition as the classics. What distinguishes them is not that the former are not human compositions like the latter, but that they are at the same time something more. They are human compositions written under an extraordinary influence, and rendered infallible by divine illumination and control. But still they are human compositions, and must therefore be inter-

preted as such. The laws which regulate the rules of language generally, regulate it here. If the Holy Spirit condescends to use a certain instrument or medium of communication, we are not to deny that it is what it is. We are to own it as being what it is, but at the same time to own the voice that speaks to us through it. Our reverence for revelation is not to be shown by denying its human character, but by admitting its divine. If this be so, it follows of course that all the dictates of experience and common sense which can apply to other compositions, must apply to these. To repeat these therefore, in specific application to this one case, is to teach men nothing, but to weary them with truisms; and yet it is this common law of exposition which all men understand without formal teaching, and which most men practise all their lives in one way or another, that is generally laid down in the books on hermeneutics. As to these familiar undisputed truths, it is no wonder that the books agree, and that the reader finds them but of little use. Instead of being furnished with directions suited to this case, considered as distinct from every other, he is gravely told that the sacred writers always mean what they say, that they never intentionally contradict themselves, that their language is sometimes metaphorical, that different expressions of the same thing must explain one another, &c. This disposition to rest in barren generalities arises from the very cause which ought to have forbidden it. This ground is undisputed, every other must be fought for, inch by inch. But for that very reason it would seem to be the true course to explain what needs explanation, or let the thing alone. The evil is not merely negative, for this specious uniformity in general, followed by endless discord in particular, has brought discredit on the Scriptures as incapable of exposition, in conformity with general principles and common sense. How then is this reproach to be wiped off, and the error which produces it to be corrected? We have long since ceased to look for this result to any subtle speculations on the nature or the laws of speech. The original principles are only too well settled; what we want to know is how to apply them. The appeal then, is not to metaphysics, but experience. If we would know how to apply the laws which all admit, we must first see how others have ap-

plied them, and with what success. In other words, the principles of interpretation must obtain light from the history of interpretation. This has never been entirely neglected by the best hermeneutical writers, but it has often been misplaced. A theory or system has been first constructed, and the question then propounded how far others have conformed to it or varied from it. The true course, as it seems to us, is, assuming nothing more than those universal laws which are common to all cases and admitted by all minds, to trace the course of actual interpretation from the earliest times; to mark the different extremes which have successively or simultaneously appeared, and the corrective views by which they have been reconciled or superseded; then from all this to frame general conclusions which will have the force of practical laws, founded both on general principles and actual experience. To do this fully would require a volume; to exhibit it in outline is our aim at present. In tracing the history of interpretation, we must go back to the interval between the Old and New Testaments. The suspension of divine communications for four centuries, allowed full scope for exegetical studies. The results of these are embodied partly in the Greek and Chaldee versions, which are older than the time of Christ, partly in the comments on them, which have been preserved in contemporary writings or traditions, recorded at a later date.

Without going into the details of actual interpretation, but confining our attention to the principles which governed it, we find distinctly marked in these authorities, two adverse schools or theories, the character of each being partly determined by its opposition to the other. The first adheres anxiously and scrupulously to the letter of the law and the prophets, as a national revelation, wholly different from anything possessed by others. The less its meaning coincides with the opinions of the rest of men the better. That is therefore the best method of interpretation which brings out this contrast in the boldest and most prominent relief. This hermeneutical theory and practice coincided with the doctrines of the Pharisees, considered as the genuine, thoroughgoing Jewish party. It was therefore chiefly recognized and acted on in Palestine itself. In other countries, and especially in Egypt, where the Jews were very

numerous, and in constant intercourse with educated Greeks, it was impossible, perhaps, to keep up this exclusive and consistent nationality, in life or doctrine. The natural wish of the more cultivated Jews was to convince the Gentiles that their sacred books were really entitled to respect on general principles. For this end they were anxious to conciliate the teachings of the Hebrew Scriptures with the Greek philosophy. They strove to show that both propounded many common truths in different forms. This it will be seen, is the direct antagonist of the native Jewish school before described. They do not merely differ as to methods; their actuating motives are directly opposite. The one wishes to make the Scriptures mean something altogether unlike the philosophy of heathen sages; the other wishes partly to identify them. So far as either was unduly biassed, it was in opposite directions. As in all like cases, the reciprocal action of these parties tended to drive both to an extreme. The more the philosophizing Jews attempted to find Plato's doctrines in the Hebrew Scriptures, the more their opponents tried to make out a complete contrariety between them. The two extreme forms of opinion which were thus produced, are these. On one hand the obvious sense was treated as a merely figurative dress for some ideal doctrine. On the other, it was so tenaciously adhered to, as to deny the larger applications of which the most specific terms may be susceptible. On both sides, sound interpretation was sacrificed to opposite, but equally unreasonable prejudices. When these extremes, according to a uniform law of intellectual progress, led on both sides to reaction, the result was an attempt on either side to secure the advantages possessed or claimed upon the other. Thus the more moderate Alexandrine writers, seeing that the extreme wing of their army had in fact explained away the true sense of the Scriptures, undertook to restore it by admitting the strict interpretation, but combining it with something else, so as to satisfy at once the claims of Judaism and of Greek Philosophy. In like manner, their more moderate opponents, while they held fast to the obvious sense, allowed a higher one. The only difference between them now, was in the relative position they assigned to the two senses, or two modes of explanation. The more ideal sense, which by the strict

Jews was regarded as entirely secondary, was made the chief thing by the Hellenistic writers. We have thus distinctly marked in ancient Jewish hermeneutics, three types which have often since been reproduced; the real, the ideal, and the intermediate, which attempts to blend them by the supposition of a double sense. All this has reference of course to the Old Testament exclusively. After the canon of the New was completed, the first Christian interpreters found themselves involved in the same difficulties as to the Old Testament, with others peculiar to the New, and others still in reference to their mutual connection. As to this last point, two distinctly marked opinions may be traced among the Fathers, corresponding to the two leading schools or parties of the Jews. Common to both, is the assumption of a certain incongruity between the Old and New Testaments, and the necessity of accounting for it, or explaining it away. One school attempted to effect this by adopting the most literal and confined interpretation of the Old Testament, and making this a reason for extenuating or denying its importance as a part of revelation. This was the tendency of what is called the Antiochian school, while some of the more decided heretics pushed it to an extreme, rejecting the Old Testament altogether.

In opposition to this whole method of interpretation, the Alexandrian school reconciled the Old and New Testaments by putting on the former what was called an allegorical sense, either exclusively or in addition to the primary or strict sense. Of this school, the great representative is Origen, but it includes many shades of doctrinal belief. Nor was it confined to the Oriental Church. Tertullian, the oldest of the Latin Fathers, lays it down as a principle that the whole of the New Testament is contained in the Old. In a certain sense this is held by all who believe both to be inspired. But the form and the connection of Tertullian's statement show that he believed it right and necessary to extract from the Old Testament all the specific doctrines of the New. This was in fact the theory and practice of the school of Origen. It could only be carried out, however, by resolving everything into single types or continued allegories. It is interesting to observe that the dividing line is here the same as in the older Jewish her-

meneutics, and that in either case, the more ideal mode of exposition had its home, if not its birth, in the schools of Alexandria. There can be no doubt indeed, that the Christian school of Origen was the offspring, or at least the legitimate successor of the Jewish school of Philo. The local habitation and the principle were the same in both cases. The essential difference was in the object aimed at. This, in one case, was to reconcile the Hebrew Scriptures with the Greek philosophy; in the other, to reconcile them with the New Testament. But even in the latter case, the influence of the Greek philosophy was evident. The same men who adopted this mode of conciliating the Jewish and Christian revelation, were always more or less disposed to bring the latter into harmony with Plato. Another similarity between the cases is, that in both there were extremes and moderates on either side. While some gave up the strict sense altogether, and some adhered to it exclusively, there were others who endeavoured to combine it with a higher or a deeper sense. These differed from each other, as before, only in giving the preference to one or the other of the senses thus admitted. Of this class Jerome is a representative. With all his learning and other advantages, his works show clearly the precarious and uncertain ground of such interpretation.

Out of these methods sprang one of a more eclectic character, the best existing specimen of which is Chrysostom, who sometimes puts a strict and sometimes a more ample sense upon the words. But the example of the Fathers generally was in favour of uniformly choosing one of these, or uniformly combining them.

In the following centuries the practice of original interpretation was exchanged for blind adherence to an exegetical tradition. The biblical scholars of the middle ages were employed in collecting the interpretations of the Fathers, and in reconciling them as far as possible. This is the origin of the *catenas* or chronological series of glosses on the books of Scripture. This stagnation was promoted by the loss of all thorough knowledge of the original languages, and the consequent dependence of interpreters on the ancient versions.

After the rise of scholastic theology, interpretation became little more than a collection of metaphysical dogmas, violently

maintained by texts of Scripture. At the Reformation, the original Scriptures were restored to their place as the standard of faith and practice. This involved the necessity of interpretation in the proper sense. But no sooner was it begun, than the same divergence as of old, began to show itself. Some inclined to deify the letter, others to annihilate it. Between these extremes, Calvin towers far above his predecessors, his contemporaries, and most of his successors. His strength does not lie in verbal criticism; not because he was ignorant of language, but because his mind was naturally turned to other things. His exegesis is distinguished by largeness and profoundness, freedom from extremes, and everything like eccentricity of mind. He had scarcely disappeared, when his successors fell again into the old divisive courses, some inclining to a fanciful, and some to an extremely literal construction. The history of interpretation in the seventeenth century, is a history of the conflict between those who could see nothing in the prophecies, and those who could see everything, between the schools of Grotius and Cocceius. Grotius was continually aiming at a minimum, and Cocceius at a maximum of meaning. The former made the plainest passages mean less, the other more than they would suggest to any ordinary reader, and this not occasionally, but on system, and with surprising uniformity.

In the eighteenth century a totally new method of interpretation was occasioned by its falling into the hands of those who strongly doubted, or entirely disbelieved the inspiration of the Scriptures. The English deists and French philosophers had contented themselves with rejecting the Bible. The German neologists, who now arose, continued to study and expound it. In order to justify this course, they were obliged to substitute a literary for the supposed religious value of these ancient books. They put them, therefore, on a level with the classics. They excluded everything implying inspiration. If a passage seemed to be prophetic, they alleged it to be spurious, or gave it an entirely different meaning. Where a miracle seemed to be recorded, they explained it away, or treated it as a fable. The neological interpretation of Germany has passed through three successive stages. In the first, whatever had a supernatural appearance was explained away. Thus, Paulus says that Christ

walked round the lake, not on it; and that Peter stabbed Ananias and Sapphira. This soon became ridiculous. The next step was to give the words their natural meaning, but to deny the truth of everything beyond the bounds of common experience. This was an improvement in so far as it enabled even infidels to take the words of Scripture in their natural and obvious sense, while they denied its inspiration. But this is so explicitly claimed by the sacred writers, and it seems so arbitrary to reject one passage as historically false, and yet receive the next as perfectly entitled to credit, that a third step was necessary. This consists in granting inspiration, but in a sense so vague and insufficient, that it only serves to bring the exposition into external harmony with the teachings of the Church. Some of the interpreters of this class speak of the Scriptures as inspired, and profess to interpret them as such; but in so doing they show clearly that the only inspiration they admit is such as the sacred writers share with orators and poets. A still more recent phase of German exegesis is the mythical, which resolves the Sacred History into conscious or unconscious fictions.

While the unbelieving interpreters have been thus divided, the Christian exegesis has exhibited divisions of its own. These are essentially the same with those of olden times. The form of the question now is that of literal and spiritual interpretation. It has special reference to the prophecies, but in principle extends to other parts of Scripture. Besides the two extremes of uniformly literal and uniformly figurative exposition, we have here again the old mode of uniting them by the assumption of a double sense.

From the facts included in this rapid sketch, we draw the following conclusions. 1. There never has been entire unanimity among the uninspired interpreters of Scripture, even in relation to the principles of interpretation. Difference of opinion as to this point, therefore, is not accidental, or the fruit of temporary causes, but of such as exist in all times and circumstances. 2. Not only has there always been a difference of theory and practice, but the difference itself has always been essentially the same. The Alexandrian and Jewish schools of ancient times; the Alexandrian and Antiochian schools in

early Christian times; the Scholastics and the Mystics of the middle ages; the Grotian and the Cocceian schools; the Literalists and Spiritualists, widely as they differ in detail, are all but varied forms of one and the same antithesis. 3. The worst errors of interpretation have arisen, not from any misconception of its general principles, but from pushing some of them to an extreme. The allegorical interpreters were not wrong in assuming certain senses, but in excluding all others. The Literalist of every age is right in contending for a literal interpretation; but wrong in contending for it always. Such exclusiveness is inconsistent with the laws of human speech, and with its universal usage. As all languages abound in figures, and are yet not always figurative, so is the language of the Scriptures. 4. The exaggerated character of both these methods, is apparent from the fact that wherever they have been pushed to an extreme, the common sense of men has sought relief in a conciliatory method, and first of all in an attempted combination of the opposites, by means of double senses. This is not a cure, but a palliative, if not an aggravation of the evil. For instead of an exclusive leaning always one way or the other, it substitutes a constant leaning both ways. 5. Hence the real reformation of hermeneutical abuses never has arisen from such attempts at compromise or comprehension. After these have been tried, and tried in vain, the end has always been accomplished, if at all, by a bold rejection of the opposite extremes, and the adopting of a natural method, founded in reason, and sanctioned by experience. It is this that gives to Calvin such pre-eminence. He neither puts a strict sense on everything, nor a loose sense on everything, nor a double sense on everything, but sometimes one, and sometimes the other; just as we all interpret what we hear in conversation or read in our familiar correspondence. If we write to a friend that we think a storm is brewing in the south, an extreme literalist would insist on understanding an external change of weather. If we say in the next sentence that our nerves are affected by the recent storm, an extreme spiritualist would insist on applying it to social changes. The admirers of double senses, for their own sake, would make both refer to both; in which case one might be dispensed with. A dozen

readers who had no hypothesis to bolster up, would be perfectly unanimous in understanding one expression literally, and the other figuratively, without the least suspicion of any inconsistency. When an interpreter of Scripture arises, far superior to others, it is commonly because he is so wise or lucky as to take this natural and simple course, instead of calling black white, and white black, for the sake of uniformity. Addiction to an artificial system on this subject, breeds a morbid dread of everything averse to it. The literalist and spiritualist are an abomination to each other. The typologist starves upon the richest Scripture, if it has but one sense, while his adversary stands aghast at the suggestion of more than one as possible. The length to which this has been carried by some writers in our own day, justifies the caustic observation of Warburton, that although he heard much complaint of writers who used words in a plurality of senses, he had been more annoyed by those who used them without any sense at all.

6. The theological, rationalistical, or infidel interpretation, does not differ from the others in its general principles, nor in external forms, but in what it presupposes as established anterior to interpretation. The Christian and the rationalist may have precisely the same general views of language and its use. They may appeal to grammar, usage, common sense, experience, in precisely the same manner. But the rationalist believes not only that the book before him is not inspired, but that it cannot be; not only that it does not contain prophecies or other inspired teachings, but that inspiration is impossible. What would necessarily lead to the admission of such things as possible, he manages to strike out as spurious, or to explain away. The degree of violence thus done to Scripture may vary with the precise ground taken by the interpreter. If he wishes to admit the truth of the contents, he must explain away more than if he is willing to regard it as a fable. For example, here are two men who sit down to interpret the Gospels. Neither believes in miracles, but ones denies that any are recorded, while the other admits it, but denies that the record is a true one. It is clear that the first would be obliged to resort to exegetical expedients, of which the other would have no need. When Christ is said to walk on the sea, one says it

means that he walked around it; the other says that it means what it says, but is fabulous. The latter, it is evident, will give a fairer view of the meaning of the text, although both agree exactly in their fundamental principle of unbelief.

From all this, we may now obtain some light upon the point from which we set out. It is clear that the difficulties of interpretation do not lie in the region of general abstract principles. It is also clear that the most serious exegetical errors have arisen from two causes. The first is an attempt at uniformity, forbidden by the nature of language, insisting exclusively on some one rule or method, which in fact is only sometimes applicable. The other is the tacit assumption of false principles not included in the interpretation, but presupposed. The last is the fatal error or defect of the rationalistic exegesis; the first, that of literalism, allegory, and double senses, pushed to an extreme.

Upon these considerations we shall found a few practical suggestions, which may serve to guide some readers in their own attempts at exposition, and enable them to estimate the exegetical labours of others. Keeping this last end specially in view, we would advise such, first not to attach much value to the general and abstract rules of interpretation which different writers may lay down, because in these there is a general agreement, and correctness here is no pledge of correctness in the actual process or result. 2. In the next place be suspicious of any book or school which is distinguished by some one unvarying maxim for all cases, whether it be always literal or always allegorical, or always both, or never both. Opposed as these ways are to one another, they are all alike in their exclusiveness and opposition to the laws and usages of human language. 3. In the third place, let not an exemption from these errors be regarded as a proof of soundness, if there is appearance of a false hypothesis assumed throughout, not false in hermeneutics merely, but in something more important. No matter how exact in lexicography and grammar, how attentive to the context and to usage, if a biblical interpreter assumes that inspiration is impossible, although the error is not in his hermeneutics, it is back of it, or under it, and must therefore

render it precarious. In the same class as objects of distrust, we may name those Christian writers who are so impressed with the authority of German names, that they will follow rationalistic guides without a scruple, till they positively contradict the reader's own creed, as if all the parts of a poisoned dish were safe, except those where the poison is exposed to view. This effect of German influence is clearly visible among the English dissenters, and is thought by some to forebode an alarming retrocession from the doctrines of the early non-conformists. Besides the danger of this practice, there is an absurdity about it which is often ludicrous. This is especially the case where English or American writers have embraced some form of German doctrine as the *ultimatum* of historico-grammatical improvement, which has since been exploded in its native land, and abandoned by its former advocates, perhaps its founders. The appearance of such imitators in their borrowed plumage, after the model birds have moulted and appeared in feathers altogether different, can only be likened to the figure cut by rustic coxcombs, who parade the cities in the fashions of last year, or the year before. And yet it is precisely from this class of writers that the cant of modern exegesis, philological improvements, and critical discoveries commonly proceeds, as well as the most marked expressions of contempt for old opinions, and for those gigantic scholars upon whose foundations some of the most vaunted modern fabrics have been cheaply built.

ART. III.—*Organic Christianity;* or the Church of God, with its officers and government, and its divisions and variations, both in ancient, medieval, and modern times; embracing a thorough Exposition and Defence of Church Democracy. By Leicester A. Sawyer. Boston: John P. Jewett and Co. 1854.

THAT there is one holy catholic Church, which Christ has purchased with his own blood, and will present faultless before the presence of his glory without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; that by this Church will be made known unto all heaven the manifold wisdom of God; that it comprises all and only the elect and sanctified in Christ Jesus, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; that he is the sole head thereof, and that it is his body and spouse, the fulness of him that filleth all in all, is a fundamental article of the Christian faith. Obliterate it, and Christianity goes with it, both foundation and superstructure. So the people of God have ever clung to it, because they hold fast that which is good. It stands out in the simplest and earliest Christian symbols as an integral part of the doctrine of God and salvation. It shines out with focal brightness in the creeds, the didactic and polemic treatises of the Reformers. They fought for it as for life, seeing it to be their only charter of deliverance from the ghostly tyranny of that hierarchy which assumed to be the true body of Christ, the one catholic Church, separate from which there is no salvation. It is the faith of Protestant Christendom, if we except here and there a fragment of it, whose watchword either is or should be, *Tendimus in Latium.*

In the nature of the case, it follows, and appears in all the foregoing ways to have been a part of the Christian faith, that this Church is so far invisible to us, that we cannot certainly know all the individuals who compose it, or distinguish them surely from those who do not compose it. "For man looketh on the outward appearance, but God looketh on the heart."

It is another consequence that the boundaries that separate this communion of saints from the rest of mankind, are not precisely conterminous with those which divide any one, or all

visible Christian organizations, and visible churches from the world. All are not Israel that are of Israel. And there are always believers who have not as yet been baptized.

Although this Church is invisible in the sense above indicated, yet it becomes visible in the Christian profession and fellowship, the holy lives and conversations of its members; in the ministries, sacraments, organizations for its own preservation, enlargement, edification; and thus in all its fruits of righteousness and peace, with which it blesses our fallen world.

More strictly and formally, the Church becomes visible in the persons of those who in virtue of a profession of faith in Christ, and manifest fruits of obedience to him, or if yet incapable of such manifestations, of the gracious covenant of God, which includes not only his people, but their children, are in the judgment of charity, to be accounted, treated, and dealt with, as members of the body of Christ, and of the communion of saints. When Paul speaks of persecuting the Church of God, he refers not to any particular ecclesiastical organization, but to those taken indiscriminately, who were to human view Christians. It can only be in rare and exceptional cases that any true Christians are not found within the sacred precincts thus marked out. And hence it is a part of our faith, that "the visible Church, which is also catholic or universal under the Gospel, not confined to one nation as under the law, consists of all those that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Church and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation."

It is to this catholic, visible Church, not to the invisible as such, and not to any particular sections or societies, exclusively of others in the visible Church, that the sacraments, ministry, polity, and all other outward ordinances and helps for the edification of the body of Christ, are given. Paul means by the Church, the Church invisible, not any particular congregations as such, but the universal Church visible, including all particular churches which are members thereof, when he says: "And God has set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues." 1 Cor. xii. 28.

We are thus brought not merely to Christianity, but to "Organic Christianity," the subject of Mr. Sawyer's book. For among a multitude of persons, "government" or anything like orderly administration, and united action, implies organization. And all organization implies government.

It should be noted, however, that the word church (ἐκκλησία), in its Christian application, signifies in its first and constitutive idea, the elect and saved; the body of Christ, neither more nor less. When used in a Christian sense, or to denote Christian companies and associations, it is only because, as the logicians say, it also "*con*notes" that those so denominated are composed of persons who visibly, and in the judgment of charity, are to be deemed and treated as Christians, *i. e.* as members of the Church invisible; because in these societies the true members of Christ are, with insignificant exceptions, to be found; because, by universal consent, they impair their title to be called and treated as churches, in so far as they fail to maintain that truth by profession and teaching, and that purity of life which must characterize real Christians, while it is conceded on all hands, and is abundantly asserted in the Protestant confessions, that if in words they profess Christ, yet, as a whole, in works deny him, or avow errors which subvert the foundations, they are no churches in fact, though they call themselves such, but synagogues of Satan.

From all this, it is indisputable, that the normal sense, the proper *connotation* of the word Church, as a Christian term, is the assembly of the faithful, the called, κλητοί. For any company which is destitute of those visible marks of abiding in fundamental Christian truth and practice, or in proportion as it becomes destitute of them, whatever else it may be, is not a church.

It might seem, at a first glance, to be a merely theoretical question of no practical moment, whether the Church has its essence in being the company of the faithful—the degree of its visibility, of its mixture with unbelievers in certain relations, of its purity and perfection in organization, profession, and practice, being *accidents*—or whether it has its essence primarily in being some visible society or corporation. It may be argued that on this latter theory, although by union to the Church,

and participation of her ordinances, we obtain the grace of life, yet this grace is forfeited if it be not duly improved, or if it lead not to holiness of life; and hence that, without such holiness, no one can be saved, or come into the Church invisible. Thus, it may be claimed, the two views practically flow together, and neither is worth contending for, as against the other.

It is however, hardly credible that the great masters of papal and evangelical polemics, did not know what they were about, or that the Bellarmines and Turrettines who exhausted their strength on this controversy, were fighting for a shadow. A little reflection will show that they were not mistaken. It is plainly the doctrine of Scripture, that all true Christians are members of the body of Christ, and that none can be in a state of salvation who are not members of that Church, which is his body. Now, if this be essentially and formally any visible society, then plainly union to such society, and subjection to its authority, becomes a condition of salvation. Saving grace is received, not directly from Christ, but through the mediation of a human priesthood. Union and subordination to them alone give union to Christ and his Church. Thus they are essentially the Church, antecedent and conditional to the existence of Christian people. Surely, no premises ever warranted a conclusion, if the ritual and sacramental system, and so far as there is any logical consistency, Popery itself, is not the legitimate and inevitable consequence.

While the Church, without visible organization, may have being in the persons of devout men who fear God, in the dens and caves of the earth, yet it is evident from Scripture and experience, that such organization is indispensable to its well-being—its preservation and increase in grace, knowledge and numbers. This is scarcely questioned by any, unless Quakers, whose officers and yearly meetings, however, prove that even they are obliged to conform to a principle so fundamental, and cannot live in defiance of it. But it is plain that such organizations fail of their end, and of all title to be regarded as churches, except as they exist for the edification of the invisible Church or body of Christ, through their own edification; as they use the scriptural and appointed means therefor; as they are of this Church and have communion with it; as they set up

for their own ideal, towards which they strive and tend, its great attributes of TRUTH, HOLINESS AND UNITY.

As High Churchism unchurches other communions, it is not only based on that false theory of the nature of the Church of which we have spoken, but it is void of one momentous characteristic of a true visible Church, *i. e.* seeking and maintaining fellowship among the members of Christ's body. That of which it most loudly boasts, is precisely that in which it most fails, viz. catholicity and unity. More than any other ecclesiastical system, it isolates itself from the communion of saints, and makes a "schism in the body." To the Low Church Episcopalians, though we differ from them in important points of polity and order, we extend the right hand of fellowship, because they so hold fast the Head, as to see and rejoice in their union to all the members.

Passing these as not specially implicated in our present discussion, the principal remaining forms of church government are the Presbyterian, and the Congregational or Independent. These systems especially confront each other in this country, as it is here that the latter has its strongest foothold, as in times past they both have had essentially the same doctrines, modes of worship, forms of religious life and activity, together with mutual fraternal correspondence, and the freest possible interchange of ministers and members. They seemed like branches of the same denomination, rather than different sects, separated only by a geographical line, and some differences of polity. In New England, it was common to call Congregationalists Presbyterians. Of late years, however, a series of events, which it is needless here to detail, farther than to notice the progressive changes in doctrine in the Congregational body, and the upspring of an extraordinary zeal for propagating the Congregational polity as against the Presbyterian, (both which facts Mr. Sawyer asserts and glories in,) have somewhat weakened their mutual affinities. A large and increasing body appear to deem it a chief mission to propagate what they variously style Congregationalism, Independency, or with Mr. Sawyer, "Church Democracy," and this especially as against Presbyterianism. Thus the two systems are made to confront each other as never before in this country. It is the object of Mr. Sawyer's book

chiefly to forward this effort to disparage Presbyterianism, and build up, we will not say, historical Congregationalism, but what he calls "church democracy." The book, indeed, has other purposes and uses. It gives a condensed account of the principal Christian churches and of some anti-Christian sects, which will be interesting and valuable to many readers. It denounces Popery and Episcopacy with exemplary vehemence. It labours to make Abolition an essential article of Christianity, and a test of church-standing. Indeed, we sometimes are led to think that his zeal for Congregationalism is subsidiary to this end. But whether so or not, no one can mistake that his principal direct object is to assail Presbyterianism, and advance Independency in opposition to it. The work is evidently the fruit of study, and shows a clear and vigorous mind. Mr. Sawyer also has the merit of being in earnest, and his short, blunt, honest sentences leave us hardly ever in doubt of his meaning.

Before coming directly to the main issue before us, a few words are in place, with respect to the *jure divino* character of church government. And here it is obvious that all depends on the meaning of this potential phrase, which seems often to be used in reference to this subject, without any very fixed and intelligible sense. That which exists *jure divino* exists by divine warrant or authority. But then this may be various in kind and degree. The warrant may be express and indubitable declarations of God's word, or by implication and inference from it. Then, again, this inference may be immediate, palpable and indisputable, or it may be more remote and questionable. Or this warrant may be a dictate of reason, and this again either intuitive and unquestioned, or obtained by deduction and inference more or less debatable. In this aspect, we, of course, have evidence that any given system of church government is *jure divino*, in proportion as we have evidence that it is according to the will of God. And this evidence is sure, in proportion as it is given clearly and immediately in the Bible; or, next to this, in the primary intuitions of reason. In point of fact, if we take any concrete system of church government, it will be found that its advocates can claim the highest sort of *jus divinum* above mentioned only for its leading and fundamental principles, while they can plead only the lowest for

many of the details of its administration. This is only saying that these details are not expressly laid down in Scripture, but left to be developed and regulated by a sound Christian discretion.

But there is also a traditionary sense of this *jus divinum*, which has arisen from its ancient use by popes and kings, to denote not only that they held their thrones by a divine warrant, but that by virtue of this warrant all other governments, civil and ecclesiastical, were illegitimate, and their acts null and void. He who holds that any form of church polity is *jure divino* in this sense, of course, like Papists and High-Churchmen, unchurches all communions who do not adopt it. It is needless to argue the fallacy of such a view here, or as between Presbyterians and any school of Congregationalists. For both alike, together with all Low-Churchmen, believe that, however any church organization may be defective, and whatever loss the people under it may suffer from its defects, yet if they be a congregation of faithful men, maintaining the word and sacraments, they are to be accounted and treated as a true Church. They may proceed unwisely in some respects; their methods may be deemed unsafe for testing the qualifications of ministers; it may be deemed inexpedient by other Churches to receive these ministers without re-examination, or to be bound by many of their acts; such circumstances may diminish the closeness of intercommunion; yet they warrant not a denial that it is a true Church, to be treated as such, and that its ministrations and sacraments are valid.

It is further to be observed, before we proceed to canvass the points of difference between the two systems under consideration, that Congregationalism appears to have been devised as a refuge from tyranny, when Church and State were united, and the sword was wielded to coerce submission on the part of individuals and particular churches, to the edicts of national, ecclesiastical and civil rulers, both being then essentially one. Hence, the strong impulse to find some local church authority, which being free from all ecclesiastical power beyond itself, would also escape the thong of civil persecution with which that authority was armed. Thus they sought to preserve conscience and Christian liberty inviolate. The true remedy for

this, by separating Church and State, appears not to have dawned upon them, as it had not upon their age. Hence, long after their settlement in this country, they kept up the union. The Cambridge Platform expressly assigns to the civil magistrate the power of convoking synods, and punishing heresy—a power which was exercised in the primitive era of New England Puritanism. But then they were careful to maintain that no decisions of such synods were binding, *propriis viribus*, or until they were formally adopted by the churches as their own acts. The recollection of the fact here adverted to, with regard to the origin of the system, will aid us in comprehending other circumstances which come into consideration in seeking for the *status quæstionis*.

Mr. Sawyer says, "The essential elements of Congregationalism are two: 1. The democratic government of the Church by its membership, or by persons holding their appointment from the membership, and accountable to them; 2. The supreme government of every church by itself, to the exclusion of Synods, Presbyteries, conventions, and all general bodies whatever. This allows advisory councils, associations of ministers, conferences of ministers and delegates; but it does not allow the establishment of any court superior to the Church, either of legislation or judicature." (p. 414.) How far this agrees in all parts with the highest authorities, or with all that is said by Mr. Sawyer himself, remains to be seen. That, however, it is essentially a correct description of the practical and theoretical system now in vogue with leading Congregational propagandists, is past all question.

He thus defines Presbyterianism: "The fundamental principles of Presbyterianism are those which relate to the eldership as church rulers, holding their offices for life; to the ministry as of a single order; to sessions as a court of church elders, and to presbyteries as a court of ministers and elders." (p. 245.) "The elders are considered as representatives of the churches, * * but this is an entire mistake." (p. 247.) "By the single circumstance of having their appointments for life, they are placed above the people, and become their masters instead of being their representatives and servants." The session is "a court of monarchs, or aristocrats, who hold office for life."

"The principles of the Presbyterial and Episcopal systems are the same." (pp. 248–9.) "Presbyterianism is a modified Episcopacy, and both are modified despotisms of the sacred order kind. Enlightened Congregationalism abhors these principles, as having been the source of incalculable evils to mankind, and as liable to reproduce them in all times and in all countries." (p. 414.) "It (Congregationalism) is, therefore, the uncompromising enemy of all hierarchical and aristocratical church despotisms whatever, and denounces them all as unscriptural and inexpedient, and as leading to indefinite corruption and unlimited abuse." (p. 348.)

Such blind and intemperate denunciation as this can hardly need serious refutation among Presbyterians, or those who know them; nor would it, with much more in the book, be of account any way, if found only there. But the truth is, this volume so far as its tone in such matters is concerned, is but the echo and the summation of the utterances of the popular orators and organs of radical Independency, reiterated till multitudes of worthy people take it for some approximation to the truth, because they are not in a situation to hear it questioned, or to examine for themselves. For, according to our author, it is an essential characteristic of Congregationalism, *i. e.* this type of it, thus to denounce Presbyterianism, as one with Episcopacy, as a despotism, as "leading to indefinite corruption and unlimited abuse."

The points of difference between the two systems, as set forth by our author, and in point of fact, are two: 1. With respect to the government of particular churches or congregations of believers. 2. With respect to the relations of these churches to each other; the subordination of each to all; the degree, basis, method of their visible union; whether there is any such thing as a visible organized Church beyond a single congregation, and whether there is any ecclesiastical authority above such a congregation, or any appeal from its acts. We will consider these two topics in their order, not so much for the purpose of convincing Presbyterians, as of showing those assailants, who glory in what they call church-democracy, the futile and suicidal character of their own assaults. They are compelled by the intuitive dictates of reason, by the undeniable teachings

of the Bible, by the irrepressible instincts of a gracious nature, by inevitable necessity, to do homage to the principles they thus "denounce" as despotic. For the most part, Mr. Sawyer does this himself; where he comes short, the whole history of Congregationalism, the testimony of its most renowned symbols and expositors, does it *ex abundanti.*

I. The internal government of single churches. The only question here is, whether this should, in an orderly and settled state of the Church, be administered by the whole body of adult male communicants, or by a select few chosen by them, and from among them, on account of their superior fitness for the work. It is not a question whether the pastor constitutes a part of the ruling body, and presides over it. This is admitted in either case. On this subject we have to say:

1. It is no question between us and the most eminent founders and champions of Congregationalism in England and New England. Says Mr. Sawyer, "The great champion of Congregationalism in England, in this (the seventeenth) century, was John Owen." For ourselves, we were first convinced that the office of ruling elder has a scriptural warrant, by his masterly plea for it in his great treatise on church government. The Cambridge platform undeniably expresses the principles of the early New England Congregationalists. But it declares, "Of elders, who are also in Scripture called bishops, some attend chiefly to the ministry of the word, as the pastors and teachers; others attend especially unto rule, who are therefore called ruling elders." (Chap. vi. 4.) Again: "Church government or rule is placed by Christ in the officers of the Church, who are therefore called rulers, while they rule with God; yet in case of maladministration, they are subject to the power of the Church, as hath been said before. The Holy Ghost frequently, yea, always, where it mentioneth church rule, and church government, ascribeth it to the elders; whereas the work and duty of the people is expressed in obeying their elders, and submitting unto them in the Lord. So that it is manifest that an organic or complete church is a body politic, consisting of some that are governors, and some that are governed in the Lord." (Chap. x. 7.) It is true, the people and the elders had a mutual veto power upon each other. But

inasmuch as this theory assigned to the elders the function of government as such, of preparing and digesting all matters for the action of the church; as they were formally invested with this pre-eminence by the people, on account of their superior qualifications; as the office of the people was simply that of "consenting" or not consenting to the acts of the elders; the prerogative of the elders in all ordinary circumstances was as great as in any form of Presbyterianism. As Hooker, one of the most renowned of the Congregational fathers, said, "They are a speaking aristocracy in the face of a silent democracy." This is further evident from the fact that the eldership in form quickly fell into general disuse. It wielded a power which could not stand before the jealousy of all power over themselves, that had been so largely imbibed by the people. Dr. Dwight, whom Mr. Sawyer so justly honours as one of the most illustrious of Congregational divines, says that he can see no good reason why the office was suffered to die out; that he deems it scriptural, and that its restoration would be of great advantage to the churches. As to the "power of the church" over the elders, in case of "maladministration," this was substantially that which exists wherever the office exists. In those extreme cases of incorrigible maladministration, which admit of no remedy but revolution, it has been the common doctrine of the Reformed Churches that the power vests in the body of the church to right itself by extreme remedies. *Salus populi suprema lex* under Christ, was their justification for repudiating the Papal hierarchy, and placing over themselves a scriptural and evangelical church rule. As to any ordinary difference between the people and elders of a Congregational church, it was always an undisputed principle, that it was to be referred to a council: i. e., from this single church to a body representing the Church more at large. This, in principle, is Presbyterianism. The comparative merits of Congregational councils and Presbyteries for such exigencies, is another matter, aside of the point in hand, on which we may yet have something to say. Withal, the Cambridge platform styles the eldership an *aristocracy*. Here, alas! we have that fearful "aristocracy" which Mr. Sawyer counts it his own mission and that of Con-

gregationalism to "denounce as leading to indefinite corruption and unlimited abuse."

Mr. Sawyer lays great stress on the life-tenure of their office by Presbyterian elders. This makes it a despotism, or vastly aggravates its despotic severity. But the Congregational eldership were on the same basis. Besides, this has nothing to do with the principle, the scriptural authority, and utility of the office itself. It is not essential to the being of Presbyterianism. The Dutch Reformed Churches elect their elders either for a year or term of years. Some New-school churches have agitated, and, we believe, actually do the same thing. It is purely a matter of expediency, left to be determined by the wisdom and prudence of the church, as exigencies may require. The idea that a tenure of office for a period limited only by good behaviour, makes it despotic, is a simple hallucination. It would turn the Supreme Court of the United States, of many, and until of late, of nearly all of the particular States, into despotisms. Above all, the office of Congregational pastor, on this supposition, becomes a despotism, because, according to the boast of Mr. Sawyer, "it differs from all others in this, that it is *supreme*." * * * "Presbyterian pastors are subject to their Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, and can do nothing against them. But the Congregational minister is subject only to Christ." (p. 350.) We trust our Congregational brethren will bear with us, if we prefer Presbyterianism to such "church democracy" as this.

2. In all well ordered communities, government is in fact administered, not by the people in person, but by their chosen representatives. A pure democracy, in which the people govern permanently, otherwise than through their chosen rulers, is a pure fiction. We know it to be so in this country, which is far more democratic than any stable government the world ever knew. We know it to be so in all churches, except the Congregational. Nor are these able to maintain discipline, order, and peace, without committing the oversight of their affairs to their best and wisest men, who in conjunction with the pastor, take the lead, exercise a preponderating influence, and are in short ruling elders in fact, if not in form, and in name. That pastor who has no such coadjutors, is deplorably

weak. That church that has them not, or having them, hearkens not to them, will quickly be rent with intestine feuds, or wither away under the decay of discipline. This is so palpable, that large numbers of those churches have attempted to restore what was vital in the lost eldership, in the form of committees, often holding office for life, who are expressly charged with the oversight of the interests and the discipline of the church. They usually consist of precisely the same men who would be chosen to constitute a board of elders, if the office existed in form. With or without such a committee, there are always deacons, who are chosen, always, with the understanding that they take the place of leaders in the church, and in view of their fitness for such a position. In the absence of elders, Mr. Sawyer truly says, "the deaconship in the Congregational Church approximates to the dignity and importance of the eldership in Presbyterianism." This is so clearly the fact, that it is almost an axiom, that a church in conflict with its deacons is in jeopardy, while it is well understood that a pastor may just as safely incur the hostility of a bench of Presbyterian elders, as of Congregational deacons. In the nature of things then, the question is not, whether a well ordered church shall have elders in fact, but whether it shall have them in form; on a constitutional basis; with powers and duties clearly defined; and with a regular privilege and available mode of appeal from their exceptionable acts. And surely this is hardly a question. The highest Congregational authorities have well said: "It is a usual thing with a prudent and faithful pastor himself to single out some of the more grave, solid, aged brethren in his congregation, to assist him in many parts of his work, on many occasions in the year; nor will such a pastor ordinarily do any important thing in his government, without having first heard the counsel of such brethren. In short, there are few discreet pastors but what make many occasional ruling elders every year. I say, then, suppose the church by a vote recommend some such brethren, the fittest they have, and always more than one, unto the more stated assistance of their pastor in the church rule, wherein they may be helps unto him; * * * yea, and what if they should, by solemn fasting and prayer, be commended unto the benediction of God in what service they

have to do? What objection can be made against the lawfulness? I think none can be made against the usefulness of such a thing." Still further—"unless a church have divers elders, the church government must be either *prelatic* or *popular;* and that a church's needing but one elder, is an opinion contrary not only to the sense of the faithful in all ages, but also to the law of the Scriptures, where there can be nothing plainer than, "elders who rule well, and are worthy of double honour, though they do not labour in word and doctrine;" whereas, if there were any *teaching* elders, who do not "labour in word and doctrine," they would be so far from "worthy of double honour," that they would not be worthy of any honour at all. Such is Cotton Mather's account of the arguments by which the defenders of the Cambridge platform, vindicated its articles relative to ruling elders, against their opponents. They have an inherent and irresistible cogency, which it is impossible to gainsay or resist.* Cases sometimes occur in which a popular pastor carries majorities with him in inflicting grievances upon minorities or individuals, for which they have no means of redress, however just their cause. And they as often occur, especially when congregations are anxious to rid themselves of pastors, when all his counsel and influence, his expositions of ecclesiastical law and order, are just about as potential as an insect in a whirlwind.

3. These arguments, derived mainly from Congregational sources, are clinched by the decisive authority of Scripture, which in various ways sets forth governments, ruling, and rulers, in the house of God; not a single elder, but a plurality of elders in particular churches; not exclusively those who both teach and rule; but those who rule, as distinguished from those who both rule and labour in word and doctrine, as we have already seen. Moreover, they with equal emphasis, enjoin obedience to these rulers. All the efforts to explain away this *catena* of scriptural teachings that have come in our way, class rather with special pleading than with exegesis.

Finally, Mr. Sawyer himself gives up the ancient point, when he says that the government of the church may be either by its "membership, or by persons holding their appointment

* See Mather's Magnalia, Hartford edition, Vol. ii. pp. 239—241.

from the membership." If so, then it may lawfully be by elders so appointed, as in the Presbyterian Church. This is the great principle in issue. All else concerns matters of detail and expediency.

II. We have come now to consider the relation of particular churches to each other, and to the whole Church or community of churches; whether all the dogmatic, diatactic, and diacritical power of the Church is lodged in its separate congregations; and whether if there be any warrant for large church organizations, their decisions have an authority superior, equal, or inferior to those of single churches. And here a little preliminary ventilation of two or three points may help to blow away some of the fog which too often mystifies this whole subject.

First: what is meant by ecclesiastical authority? This is often spoken of, as if it were a very harmless and salutary thing, when wielded by a majority of a single congregation over individuals or minorities, but as if it were a very despotic, monstrous, and detestable thing, when exercised by an ecclesiastical body representing many churches, over a single church; in short, as if it must necessarily be specifically different in the two cases. Now the truth is, that be it more or less conceded or disputed, it is the same in kind in either case. It is not supreme and lordly authority, either according to the Congregational or Presbyterian scheme, since God alone is Lord of the conscience. It is declarative and ministerial only. As dogmatic, it extends only to the declaration of the doctrine of Scripture, not to the invention or imposition of any other; as diatactic, it extends not to the legislating into existence any commands or ordinances which in principle and substance Christ hath not enjoined, but only to the making of rules and regulations for doing decently and in order, what in general is already ordained in the Bible; as diacritical, it extends only to the power of trying and judging those charged with scandals and heresies, subversive of Christianity, and of visiting upon offenders the censures of the church, even to the excommunication of the incorrigible. But excommunication is the ultimate penalty. The church can inflict no civil penalties or disabilities. It can only eject from its own communion. Now the

champions of Independency are much in the habit of reasoning, as if the admission of any ecclesiastical authority beyond or above a single church, would interpose a power between that church and the authority of Christ. But they seem to have no fear that the authority of that church over its members, will interpose any such authority between them and Christ. The manifest truth is, that there is just as much, and no more interference with the direct authority of Christ, and proper Christian liberty in the one case, as in the other. That is, all but the exceptional cases which prove the rule, none at all. Where either of these authorities, or any human authority, ecclesiastical, civil, or parental, require disobedience to God, there is no alternative. We must obey God rather than man. In all other cases, though we suffer, we must endure rather than rebel, and commit our way to Him that judgeth righteously. In case any cannot without sin, acquiesce in any ecclesiastical judgment, the worst penalty that can befall a church or individual, is to be separated from the visible fellowship of that church, or communion of churches. But this separates not from the body of Christ, and the Church of the first-born, those who are really members of it. It is vain for man to call common what God hath cleansed. This being so, it follows that there is nothing more terrible in the authority of the whole Church over single churches, than in the authority of single churches over their own members. But it also follows, that any injustice done by such churches to their own members, or the cause of Christ, becomes thrice oppressive, immitigable, and intolerable, if there be no appeal to the Church at large. And if such ecclesiastical authority is despotic, then all conceivable human authority, in the Church, state and family, is despotic.

Next, it is to be observed, that each particular congregation of believers, with its organization and ministries, exists not exclusively or mainly for itself, but in order to the edification of the body of Christ, in and through its own growth in numbers and graces. And this increase again, can only be by union to the entire body, as it is all permeated and bound together by the common life flowing through it from Christ the Head, "from whom the whole body fitly joined together and com-

pacted by that which every joint supplieth, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in love." Eph. iii. 16. The very figure itself imports not only the subordination of the whole body to Christ, but the subserviency of its parts and members to itself as a whole. This is explicitly taught in the passage just quoted, and is constantly implied in all the scriptural representations. The members of his Church are members of his body, his flesh, and his bones; so they are members one of another, and so are all "subject one to another," not as we have already explained, in derogation, but in fulfilment of their subjection to their adorable Head. That these are characteristics of the invisible Church; that all visible societies fail of the attributes of a church, in so far as they do not aim to shadow forth these characteristics; that for the same reason, and to the same extent to which individual members of churches are subject to those churches or their chosen representatives, churches in turn are subject to the whole fraternity of churches or their representatives in the Lord; these are cardinal truths implicated in the one body, the one faith, the one baptism, the one hope, the one Lord of Christianity, and have commanded the assent of all Christendom, except a few champions of Independency. "Now there are many members, but one body. And the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you. * * * That there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care, one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it." 1 Cor. xii. 12. *et seq.* In accordance with these views, Owen, the great champion of Congregationalism, insists in his great treatise on the "communion of Churches," that a Church which deifies or sets itself aloof from other Churches, is a society to which no man can safely commit his soul; and that if any member feel aggrieved by the judgments of a particular church, he ought to have the right of appeal to the Church at large, in some representation of it, since he is a member of this also, and it has the highest interest in the welfare of its members. Now there are two principal cases for which the Church needs organizations beyond single congregations. 1. For the pur-

pose of accomplishing all the great ends of maintaining the truth, propagating the gospel among the unevangelized, sustaining weak churches, making organized resistance to heresy and scandal, and in general, of vivifying, energizing, and purifying the whole body, for which separate local churches alone do not suffice. 2. For the purpose of revising and correcting by the collective wisdom and fidelity of larger bodies, the doings of local churches, sessions, or other bodies, in which error has been committed, or truth and righteousness wounded, through ignorance, prejudice, or other infirmity. For if one member suffer, all suffer. All have an interest, and it is an axiom too plain to need argument, laid down by the framers of the Connecticut Platform, as the basis of their Constitution, that what affects all, should be managed by all—*Quod tangit omnes, debet ab omnibus tractari.* But it will not be disputed, that to whatever extent churches ought to be organized together for their mutual welfare, the majority must prevail over minorities, and individuals for the same reason, and within the same limits already defined, as in the case of single churches, or their representative eldership; *i. e.* always saving intact the paramount duty of obedience to God. Another principle too self-evident to need stating, were it not so often lost sight of in these discussions, is this: All ecclesiastical power, authority, and obligation, as to the essence and vitality of it, is primarily derived from Christ, not from the Church, or from any ordinance or consent of man. Nor can any man or set of men in his kingdom, exercise powers which he hath not conferred without trenching on his prerogative. Nor can they fail to discharge the offices which he has laid upon them, without breach of fealty to him. Many persons write and speak as if ministers and church officers were ministers of the people exclusively, forgetting that in a still higher sense, they are ministers of Christ; as if church officers and courts might lawfully do whatever the people consent that they shall do, and as if they must forbear to do what the people do not authorize. Thus, Mr. Sawyer says, (p. 174)

"The consent of the membership is the source of authority to the Church, as a body, and to the ministry; and this is equally true with all systems of church polity—Episcopal, Presbyterian and Congregational. This, and not tradition, is the

true source of all the valid authority of the Papacy itself. The Papal power is, in a sense, traditionary, but is in effect by consent of the membership. *The authority of the ministry, thus constituted, is a valid authority.*"

The Pope, then, and all hierarchies that usurp the prophetic, priestly, and kingly offices of Christ, have a valid authority to "sit as God in the temple of God!" This conclusion is inevitable, if we grant the premise that the consent of the people is the source and measure of all ministerial authority. Extremes meet. The basis of Independency becomes the corner-stone of Papacy. But we deny, and would deny with ten thousand tongues if we had them, that the "consent" of all the people under the whole heaven, can give any "valid authority" to the Pope to enact his abominations; to the minister of a Universalist society to preach Universalism; to Brigham Young, to perpetrate his heathenish impostures.

All the truth which gives the slightest plausibility to so pernicious a principle, is that no man has evidence of a divine call to the pastorate or eldership of any office in a church, without the election of that church; that he, therefore, cannot be lawfully imposed upon them, without their choice—a truth precious enough to warrant all the sacrifices of the Free Scotch Church to witness it. But this gives not the minister the charter of his duties or functions. That he receives from Christ in his word; and whatever the people may choose or permit, woe is him if he preach not the gospel, whether they will hear or forbear! It is at his peril, that he fails to be an example to believers, and to discharge his proper part in maintaining the discipline of the house of God. If the people will not endure sound doctrine, or faithful ministrations, that does not justify him in being unfaithful. In such a case, God plainly calls him elsewhere. But, wherever he may go, though he or an angel from Heaven preach any other gospel, he is accursed!

Now, with respect to the right of appeal by aggrieved parties, from the decisions of particular churches, to an ecclesiastical body, composed of other churches and their representatives, it s so obvious that it is sanctioned by all Congregational practice. Such parties may refer the case to a council, consisting of the delegates of other churches and their pastors. If the church

consent to such reference, the council is called mutual, and is selected, half by the church and half by the appellant. If the church refuse, as sometimes happens, to grant so reasonable a request, the aggrieved party has a right to an *ex parte* council, chosen wholly by himself—so Mr. Sawyer says, and says truly. (p. 364.) The principle is thus conceded that the acts of particular churches are justly liable to revision before, and that those aggrieved by these acts have a right to the verdict of, the Church at large, in the persons of the ministers and representatives of various congregations. The points of divergence from Presbyterianism respect the authority of these councils with regard to the churches whose decisions they revise. It is moral, and not juridical. This simply raises the question, whether in a controverted case the judgment of one church, and that an interested party, or that of a number of churches, ought to preponderate, not so far as opinion, but so far as action, practical acquiesence, are concerned. The light of nature, the first principles of all order, sufficiently answer this question. "If one church be to be heard, much more are many churches to be so, in things that properly fall under the cognizance thereof," said the ancient Cambridge meeting of Congregational ministers.*

It only remains here to inquire, whether, if such ecclesiastical courts beyond particular churches are necessary, it is best that they should exist only *pro re nata*, called into being by one or both the parties, and expiring with the occasion; or whether they should be permanent, composed of the ministers and representatives of the churches within a given district. So far as the advantages of independence of the parties, judicial experience, known character, definite constitutions and rules of procedure, or the practice, not only of nearly all Christendom, but of the whole civilized world go, the answer to this question is too obvious to need argument. The state of things generated by the former class of tribunals became so intolerable in Connecticut, as to induce the early adoption of the Saybrook Platform, which provides for permanent instead of occasional councils, called Consociations.† Dr. Dwight, expressing his

* Mather's Magnalia, Vol. ii., p. 248.

† Trumbull's History of Connecticut, Vol. i., p. 507, ennumerating the causes which led to the adoption of the Saybrook Platform, says: "Besides, it was gene-

high approbation of this system, says that it only wants a General State Consociation, to which appeals from the district Consociations could be carried, to render it complete. Consociations, Mr. Sawyer however, *et id genus omne*, denounces as a "corruption of Congregationalism."

Says Mr. Sawyer, very justly, "the right to ordain, on the part of the ministry, implies a right to withhold ordination from improper candidates. Such a right involves a limitation of the power of the brethren, so as to require the concurrence of the pre-existing ministry in the appointment of ministers; but it does not imply ministerial absolutism." Of course not. But it does imply a power beyond a particular church, in the church at large, which may lawfully overrule its wishes in regard to its most momentous interest; and this, not only because its own safety requires such a defence against ignorant or unworthy intruders into the sacred office; but because the welfare of the whole Church is implicated in the character of its ministers, and what concerns all, should be transacted by all. Here again we have the principle. Whether it can best be carried out by occasional councils or permanent ecclesiastical bodies, is quite another and incidental matter, on which enough has already been said.

With respect to general organizations of the Church for the purpose of transacting those matters not judicial, but vital to her welfare, to which single churches are inadequate, there is no room for controversy. Whether authorized in form by the

rally conceded, that the state of the churches was lamentable, with respect to their general order, government and discipline. * * * As there was no general rule for the calling of councils, council was called against council, and opposite results were given upon the same cases, to the reproach of councils and the wounding of religion. Aggrieved churches and brethren were discouraged, as in this way their case seemed to be without a remedy. There was no such thing in this way as bringing their difficultics to a final issue."

This state of things has been witnessed of late years in Massachusetts, in reference to several momentous cases. The first stealthy inroads of Unitarianism in Connecticut were arrested by the action of the Consociation of Tolland county, in the case of Rev. Mr. Abbot, of Coventry. They tried, and deposed him. He then with the Society called a select council from Eastern Massachusetts. This council acquitted him, and pronounced the judgment of Consociation unlawful and null. The General Association of the State investigated the affair, and under the lead of such men as Dr. Dwight and Dr. Beecher, fully vindicated the Consociation, and utterly condemned the picked council as lawless intruders. The Connecticut churches are deeply indebted to Consociations for their preservation from the Massachusetts apostacy.

churches or not, they have everywhere, among all Congregationalists, sprung up spontaneously, in the form of General Conferences, Associations, Unions. If founded on no other warrant, they are the instinctive outworkings of Christian fellowship, of that unity which joins and actuates the head, the body, and the members. In some cases, being composed exclusively of ministers, they look a little too hierarchical and anti-republican to suit Presbyterians. However, we will not here make a point of this. The principle is what we are after. This is that of ecclesiastical organization, coextensive with the entire communion of churches, so far as local contiguity and other means of intercourse and mutual helpfulness render it feasible and desirable. Least of all, have we anything to contend for on this subject as against Mr. Sawyer. He deems the existing Congregational organizations wholly insufficient. They need, he says, to be "completed by the addition of a stated national convention, to meet annually, or at regular intervals of three or four years, in which state associations, conferences, conventions, &c., can be represented; and to have established by this national court a set of church boards to conduct the various charitable enterprises of the Church, by its authority, and to serve in various ways as a bond of union and agreement between the widely separated branches of this body." (pp. 398–9.) Again, he says, such an organization "might constitute a general agency of the whole Congregational Church to conduct the benevolent operations of the entire body." (p. 372.) He also says, (p. 23,) "a Church without a government is a contradiction in terms. It takes organization to make a Church, and organization is a provision for associated action." This argument is futile, unless he means what is true, *vice versa*, that organization implies government. To which we will add, government implies judicial power, and must exercise it, in fact, if not in name. Looking back over these quotations, what do we find? The whole Congregational Church! A church, then, may mean not only a congregation of believers, but a whole communion of them; organized, too, and so having a government, without which the idea of a Church is a "contradiction in terms;" nay, organized into a "national court," which shall serve as a "bond of union," and establish church-

boards for benevolent operations "by its authority!" Yet all this, with the name Presbyterian substituted for Congregational, has a thousand times been denounced as "leading to indefinite corruption and unlimited abuse." Old-school Presbyterians can well afford to bear this, for adopting principles which are so fast taking root among adversaries.

Mr. Sawyer says, "Strictly speaking, Congregational churches are not subject to discipline. If they do wrong, they may be remonstrated with and admonished by sister churches; and if the wrong is of such an aggravated character as to prove a bar to communion, sister churches may withdraw from their communion, and have no fellowship with them." (p. 362.) And what higher penalty, pray, can Presbyterianism inflict? It only differs in having a known constitution, in providing known and practicable ways of bringing the accused to trial; in guarding them against injustice by securing all the privileges of a fair trial, in affording all needful right of appeal. Argument would be wasted upon those who doubt whether this is or is not an advantage.

Moreover, as organization implies government, it implies *a priori*, the right and the necessity of determining the membership of the organized body, and of excluding those who violate its acknowledged conditions. This cannot be done with Christian fairness, without a fair trial; therefore, not without judicial process. Here again is judicial power. To say otherwise, is to say that no qualifications are requisite for membership in these bodies; or which comes to the same thing, none but that of being ministers or members of churches of the Congregational polity, for American Unitarians and Universalists, including Theodore Parker, adopt this polity. To say this, therefore, is to say that they have no power to insist on such qualifications as will insure their being entitled to be deemed, in the judgment of charity, a Christian body. But this they will not say. Accordingly, the Connecticut Association, in refusing to issue the charges against Dr. Bushnell's Association, voted, nevertheless, that a constituent Association that had "fatally subverted the principles of faith and order" of the communion, was regularly liable to accusation and trial. The consistency of this, with their refusal to entertain charges duly brought by

fifty ministers, as had been done in that case, it is not for us to show. But the principle is none the less affirmed by this high Congregational authority, notwithstanding. The only question remaining is, whether, if this be warrantable, it is better to have or not have known, definite, fair, practicable modes of procedure? Again we say, we do not wish to argue such a question.

According to Mr. Sawyer, however, and the growing school which he represents, the occasion can scarcely arise for exercising such discipline against heresy. From the general tone of his book, we should scarcely conceive that heresy had any existence, except in the imaginations of antiquated bigots. The following quotations will show his views on this subject:

"The Bible is the Congregationalist confession of faith and constitution. It is the highest and sole supreme organic church-law of Congregationalism;" (it surely is of Presbyterianism;) "and has no other enforcement than arises from the counsel and advice of sister Churches and the providence of God. It wants no other. This is enough and far better than more. Congregationalism, in this respect, bases itself on the assumption that the Bible is an intelligible book, adapted to the human understanding; that its essential doctrines are matters of certainty, not of opinion merely; and that honest inquirers, being fully competent, by the grace of God, to understand them, must understand them alike." (p. 404.) He further argues against confessions and creeds, because we are commanded to receive to fellowship the weak in faith. "Christ received all that came. We hear of no applicants for church being rejected by the Apostles." "The correctness of this (insisting on the supreme Divinity of Christ as a term of church fellowship) admits of being seriously questioned. * * The safety of truth depends on the clearness of its evidences. It asks no aid from authority. It asks only liberty of argument and free discussion. * * It is invulnerable and immortal, and can afford to be generous." (pp. 408, 409.) "Why do we not establish organizations to preserve the Newtonian philosophy? to preserve the science of chemistry, of natural philosophy, of astronomy; and establish our superintendencies to keep men everlastingly to the truth of these sciences?" (p. 34.)

Arguments like these, whose force is merely *ad captandum*, would need no attention, were they not constantly iterated from high and influential quarters. We say therefore,

1. They are in utter conflict with the whole usage and historic life of Congregationalism itself, Mr. Sawyer himself being witness. He says, "in Congregationalism, every church association, convention and conference, makes its own laws and adopts its own confessions of faith." (p. 409.) We know that the whole Congregational body of New England, assembled in Synod, early adopted the Westminster Confession, with a few confessedly immaterial variations, and that they have never revoked these proceedings. We know further, that every church as yet owned among the orthodox Congregationalists, has its confession of faith, assent to which is required of all "applicants for admission," as a condition of such admission. If these confessions are unduly extended, doubtless they may prove an unscriptural yoke upon the consciences of weak believers. But this is not for us to defend. The point is this: If confessions of faith other than the Scripture may be imposed as a term of church communion, much more may they lawfully be imposed, in much greater extension and minuteness, upon the teachers and guides of the church, in her congregations and representative assemblies. At all events, the principle of creeds is thus sanctioned.

Here we are brought to notice a strange want of discrimination in many writers, which lies at the bottom of most of the sophisms on this subject. They reason as if the amount of doctrinal knowledge which may lawfully be exacted of a weak believer, in order to communion, were the measure of what may lawfully be demanded of the teachers and official guides of the Church, who are "set for the defence of the gospel;" required to be apt to teach, to feed the flock with knowledge and understanding; to declare the whole counsel of God; rightly to divide the word of truth; to rebuke, reprove and exhort with all long suffering and doctrine; and as if those who insist on certain doctrinal qualifications in the ministers and office-bearers in the Church, and on excluding from the sacred office such as are destitute of them, therefore insist on their exclusion from Christian fellowship. The statement of this fallacy sufficiently

exposes it. It underlies most of the plausible things that Mr. Sawyer and his school advance on this subject. It is just as if the same qualifications were required in a pupil as in a teacher; of a babe in Christ, a mere disciple, as in his spiritual guide.

It is the constant boast of this class, while they berate all general confessions of faith, that Congregationalism, so far from being destitute of such confessions, has them by the thousand in her thousand churches. If this be all, it results: 1. Either that these confessions are so extended as to exclude many weak believers from communion, or so brief and vague as to be no test of the doctrinal insight and soundness of the ministry. 2. If there be no general standard of faith, on what principle can any church, Unitarian or Universalist, if only it be Congregational, be excluded from the communion of churches and the general ecclesiastical bodies in which they are represented and so indicate their mutual endorsement and substantial unity? Mr. Sawyer not obscurely intimates that he would not exclude those who deny the Divinity of Christ. If he would not exclude such, whom would he? He does not tell us. Here he observes a reticency as prudent as it is unusual with him. And in all this, we are sorry to add, he is but the echo of others of higher note and influence; yet we are glad to read (p. 419) "that there are limits beyond which diversities of opinion cannot be tolerated, without proving a bar to communion." This, after all, concedes the principle for which Presbyterians contend. The difference respects its application. But in the case of one who so largely specifies what ought not to be a bar to communion even to Socinianism, while he specifies nothing that is such a bar, such concessions can scarcely be construed as more than mere salvos.

Ah! but the Scriptures are the only authoritative guide; and they are our creed. A resolution drawn by Dr. Dwight, and adopted by the General Association of Connecticut, is a sufficient answer to this plea of Unitarians, Universalists, and in general, all varieties of liberal Christians. It was to this effect—we have not the words at hand—that a confession of faith in the words of Scripture, amounts to no confession at all, because those holding the most opposite views on fundamental doctrines, profess to believe the Scriptures. A creed or con-

fession is simply a declaration of what we understand and believe the Scriptures to teach on certain subjects; not a standard set up above them, or as equal, or otherwise than as subordinate to them. To deny the right of imposing such a test, is to open wide the door to receive Socinians, Universalists, everything that calls itself Christian, to fellowship. It is a significant fact, that the arguments of the deniers of the faith in all ages have sooner or later culminated in this assault on creeds and confessions. Down with creeds and confessions, was the battle cry of Massachusetts Unitarians. They appear not to want for followers and coadjutors. But this whole theory is contradicted by the practice, history and professions of orthodox Congregationalism. No book is a more standard authority among them than *Upham's Ratio Disciplinæ.* This enumerates (p. 37) as among "the early and fundamental principles of the Congregationalists," that "every church in the first instance, and subsequently, *every agreeing community, or brotherhood of churches*, (that is to say, every religious sect,) has a right to declare what it considers to be the will of Christ in regard to the terms of communion, and the general principles of church order; *and also to insist on the fulfilment of this will as thus understood by them;* and this cannot justly be considered, and is not, an infringement on the rights of others."

The Massachusetts Congregationalists acted on this principle with regard to the Unitarians, and were sustained in it not only by all the orthodox Congregationalists, but by all Christian bodies in our land.

The only question left is, whether, if these things are to be done, justice to all parties does not require that a known and definite judicial process be provided for doing them. This we again willingly leave to the unbiassed judgment of mankind.

As to all that our author says of the sufficiency of free discussion to preserve the truth, the absurdity of employing discipline to preserve the truth in the various sciences, he proves too much, if he proves anything, in his somewhat smart reproduction of this stale argument. If it is good for anything, it is good for all, and will overthrow his admission that there are diversities of opinion which may be a "bar to Christian communion." The merest tyro in Christian knowledge understands

full well that, in spiritual things, blindness constitutes a part of human depravity: that therefore, while the Bible is a plain book, and, as Mr. Sawyer well says, "its essential doctrines are matters of certainty, not of opinion merely; that honest inquirers being fully competent, by the grace of God fully to understand them, must understand them alike;" this condition of honesty, candour, and freedom from prejudice, is wanting, except so far as it is given by the grace of God. Therefore, though the evidences of divine truth shine with a convincing light to the seeing eye, too often man's sinful blindness is such that this eye is wanting, and so "the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not." This puts a difference between this and all other sciences, so far as the preservation of the truth in them is concerned. While, then, it is true that all real Christians understand essential doctrines alike, it is not true, as all facts too abundantly show, that all who call themselves Christians "understand them alike." Would to God that they did!

But if they "are matters of certainty, not of opinion merely," to real Christians, why should they not declare what they are? and how can they be the light of the world unless they do so declare them? And if, when so declared, they are denied by those calling themselves Christians, and claiming countenance and fellowship as such, can they do less than disown and disfellowship such deniers of the truth as it is in Jesus? To shrink from this is treason to God and truth. There is no point in reference to which the language of Scripture is more decisive and peremptory. "If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God-speed; for he that biddeth him God-speed is a partaker of his evil deeds." We are constantly warned to beware of false prophets, and those who bring in damnable heresies, and to reject heretics after due admonition. This class of scriptural teachings seems to be ignored in the writings of Mr. Sawyer and his school on these subjects.

As might be expected, this book repeats *usque ad nauseam*, the vulgar declamation about Congregationalism being the exclusive source and pattern of the republican institutions of this country, while it denounces Presbyterianism as a system

of despotism. It is enough to say in reply, without detracting from others, that the Presbyterians rallied as one man on the side of American independence; that they were more widely diffused over the country than the Congregationalists, and that our political institutions, in which government is exclusively by the chosen representatives of the people, and is by towns and counties, in respect to matters affecting them merely; by States, in matters which concern wider sections of territory; and by the representatives of the whole country, in things which affect the whole country; also by known and definite judicial process through a series of courts provided for every exigency; present twenty points of analogy to Presbyterianism, for one to Mr. Sawyer's "church democracy." This is so plain, that he who runs may read.

Much is said by our author and his school about Presbyterians not trusting the people. This is aside of the point. We have all confidence in the people of God—but we have all the more confidence in them, and we have no doubt our author and his school have too, when they commit the management of their public affairs to their worthiest and wisest men, whom God has specially endowed therefor. However this may be, Mr. Sawyer is not the man to hurl this sort of reproaches at his Presbyterian brethren. He complains, as if he were uttering the wailings of his own heart's bitterness, of the sad state to which ministers are reduced, by being dependent on their people for support, and strongly urges that they insure themselves relief from such annoyances, by combining secular employments with the ministry. He says, (p. 357,) "Pledged charities fail, and stipulated salaries are withheld for the very purpose of crippling the minister's efforts and palsying his arm. If he is not subservient, he must be starved into submission. This is no exaggerated picture, drawn from imagination. The victims are numerous who are suffering at this moment, not only the evils here described, but more than language can express; and the great principles of religious democracy are more obstructed, in their progress through the world, by the wholesale degradation of democratic church ministries than by any other cause." Comment is needless. If we have failed to show that reasonable confidence in the membership of

particular churches does not attribute to them an infallibility, which precludes the necessity of occasional appeal from their decisions, Mr. Sawyer has supplemented our lack of service, and made out our case. But, says he, appellate bodies may err too. What then? If Mr. Sawyer were unjustly deprived of liberty or estate by the ignorance or prejudice of one court, would he not deem the privilege of appeal to a higher, among his dearest rights?

Doubtless all things transacted by men are liable to be vitiated by error and imperfection. It is therefore requisite, as far as possible, that we provide such counterpoises, correctives, and checks, as the experience of mankind has proved efficacious. Even thus, we see an end of all perfection.

Our object has been gained, if we have succeeded in showing those who denounce our system as despotic, that they are, after all, obliged in practice or theory, directly or indirectly to concede its essential principles; while we have the advantage of avowedly building our system upon them, and of so perfecting its details in consistence therewith, that they become operative, in ways whose excellence is proved by the experience of Christendom and the race. Says President Edwards, *facile princeps* among Congregational worthies—"As to the Presbyterian Government, I have long been perfectly out of conceit of our unsettled, independent, confused way of church government in this land (New England;) and the Presbyterian way has ever appeared to me most agreeable to the word of God, and the reason and nature of things.*

* Edwards's Works, New York edition, Vol. i. pp. 412.

ART. IV.—*The Many Mansions in the House of the Father*, scripturally discussed and practically considered. By G. S. Faber, B. D., Master of Sherburn Hospital, and Prebendary of Salisbury. With a Prefatory Memoir of the Author, by Francis A. Faber, B. D., Rector of Saunderton, etc. London, 1854. 8vo., pp. 423.

IN his dedication of this work to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the author styles it "the dying performance of a very old man." He was in his seventy-eighth year. In the concluding paragraph of the volume, he says: "As I approach the confines of another state of existence; as the blossoms of the grave have now long whitened my head; I sensibly feel my footsteps strengthened, my hopes elevated, and my consolations increased, by that definiteness which God has so graciously imparted in his holy word." He died in January, 1854, in the eighty-first year of his age. His publications, exclusive of pamphlets, amount to about thirty; his first having been published more than a half century before the last. His name has been made long familiar to American readers by his work on the "Difficulties of Infidelity," but particularly by his dissertations on prophetical portions of the Scriptures.

We open a book by so aged a minister of Christ, so long a reverent student of the Bible, and a practised author, with profound respect. The frequency with which he uses the expression "the alone merits of Jesus Christ," when speaking of the foundation of his hope of heaven, awakens heartfelt esteem for him, as the humble follower of a common Saviour. Just before his death, he dictated the following words, addressed to a female relative: "Tell Mrs. Reade, with my love, that not being able to read, I have been so much thrown back upon myself, that it has led me to examine more closely, and to sift, upon what foundation I rest my hopes of salvation; and the result has been a more sure and firm reliance upon my Redeemer's righteousness, and consequently a more perfect peace of mind than I have ever felt before. I think that I was converted to the knowledge of God, and regenerated by his Spirit, more than sixty years ago; and I thank and bless God that amidst all my

many and various sins, I have by his grace been kept from falling away from him and his service. But never, till this illness, have I felt the kind of assurance that I now feel in my own mind of my salvation through Christ."

His biographer states that the germs of the publication, whose title stands above, "had long lain ripening in the author's mind, and the subject at last became so familiar, that it was spread before him as a map." Mr. Faber himself appears to have placed a higher value upon it than upon any other of his books. He even suspected himself of a special affection for it, as the child of his old age. On learning that a second edition was called for, he wrote as follows to his publishers: "I am much inclined to rate it higher than any of my former writings. In it, except occasionally in new editions, I take my leave of the public; for a man who is rapidly approaching to eighty, may well think it time to bring his labours to an end." The object of the work is to discover, from the Bible, the precise locality of Heaven. The whole discussion he bases on an interpretation of the passage from which its title is derived: "In my Father's house are many mansions. If it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you." John xiv. 2. He would be far, he professes, from invading the retiring sanctity of the declaration, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." He distinctly avows that this work is intended as a supplement to his "Sacred Calendar of Prophecy;" that in respect to matters future, it takes up the subject where that work left it; "and thus ventures, though severely under the guidance of Scripture, to carry on the predicted future state, whether of the holy or the unholy, beyond the bounded limits of the present world."

In his interpretation of John xiv. 2, he says that the house of the Father is "the real temple of the Omnipresent," "the immense mundane house of God;" the many mansions are the many spheres, planetary and stellar, which astronomy reveals to us; and the place which our Lord promised to prepare for his disciples, is this planet of ours, in a restored and perfected condition, as one of the many mansions. But he reverently

adds, "if the proof from Scripture breaks down, let the whole be rejected as the baseless fabric of a vision; or should this be deemed too summary and severe, let it be estimated as nothing more than a decent probability, unproved by Scripture." He thinks that we have a full scriptural warrant for the belief that the Hades, where he contends that the disembodied spirits of men, both the good and the bad, are detained, entering neither heaven nor hell till the resurrection, is a receptacle beneath the surface of the very earth on which we now dwell, and that the compartment of it allotted to the righteous, as well as the one allotted to the wicked, will, by the fires of the last day, melt into and become a part and parcel of the Gehenna of the day of judgment. He thinks that the righteous, after beholding the destruction of this planet from some lofty height, in the clouds, to which they are to be caught up, immediately after the resurrection, will descend again to its surface, renovated and restored to the paradisaical state; and that this is the place which the Saviour promised to prepare for his faithful followers. We give his own words:

"But when the day of judgment, at the second advent of our Lord, shall arrive, then will take place the general resurrection, both of the holy and of the unholy. At that season the present earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up; and the atmospheric heaven will pass away with a great noise; and the elements shall melt with fervent heat. Then the pious dead, reunited to their bodies, and with them those holy ones that shall be alive at the Lord's coming; both these classes of God's people shall be caught up together to meet the Lord in the air; and shall thus be securely conveyed out of the reach of the general conflagration. Meanwhile, the wicked dead, also reunited to their bodies, and with them, no doubt, those unholy ones who shall then be still alive; both these classes of God's enemies will be caught and enveloped in the flames which burn up and dissolve a world. As this process goes on, the better particles of more pure matter will be sublimated or volatilized, and thence will mount upward from the centre in all directions; while at the same time, as the lighter particles fly off and ascend, the vast burning mass of gross and solid matter, associating to itself the kindred region

of the intermediate Tartarus, will settle spherically to the centre, and produce the substratum of that molten lake of everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels, and which with them will be jointly tenanted by the wretched victims of their seduction, the finally lost apostates of the human race." pp. 412, 413.

"To define the precise mode of this gigantic process may justly be deemed an impossibility to us, circumstanced as we are. Beyond what Scripture hath revealed, we know nothing. Yet so far as Scripture doth, as it were, take us by the hand, we may venture to describe the process generally. Apparently, it will bear some resemblance to the following account of it, which exhibits the reversal of the process of fiery destruction. The sublimated particles of dissipated matter descend, by the special will of God indeed, but instrumentally, by the mechanical action of gravitation, and as they descend, they combine. A vast spherical arch is formed round the central globe, or flaming nucleus of Gehenna, itself wrapped in a shoreless ocean of liquid fire, the lake of the Apocalypse, burning with brimstone. This arch constitutes the thick massy shell of the renovated earth. Its external surface, beautiful and glorious beyond our present mortal conceptions, becomes the heaven or mansions of the regenerated and redeemed human race, where Christ himself, perfect man as well as perfect God, disdains not to fix his peculiar residence with his brethren according to the flesh, and thus to make their heaven the special local sovereignty of the universal archangel. But, within this unbroken shell, through which there are no spiracles, inasmuch as it is said to have no sea—within this unbroken shell, in fearful vicinity, securely enclosed on every side, so as to prevent all possibility of evasion, is the appointed prison-house of Gehenna." pp. 415, 416, etc.

We cannot doubt the perfect sincerity of our author, in the reverence with which he professes to refer all to the word of God; but whence could he have derived his rules of interpretation, to elicit such meanings from the word of God, on topics in relation to which its reticence is so remarkable and undoubtedly so wise? We seriously question, whether anything has ever been gained by what Mr. Faber terms "definiteness" as the

result of any such theory as he advances. More is lost by the impertinent familiarity with the most sacred mysteries, which is encouraged by the low, earthly level to which the subject is almost sure to be brought down, than can possibly be gained by any definiteness of conception as to the precise locality of heaven. The Bible would have given the fullest information upon this subject, if this knowledge had been important, or even desirable to men.

The question whether heaven has locality, that is to say, is a defined place of residence and action, is entirely distinct from the question whether the Scriptures clearly reveal where that place is to be found. That heaven is a place, in distinction from a mere state, is proved from the translation of Enoch, whose body did not "see death and was not found, because God had translated him." Heb. xi. 5. The history says "God took him." Gen. v. 24. He was removed, in body and soul, to another dwelling-place, to be with God. We have a similar proof in the translation of Elijah, who was carried bodily "by a whirlwind into heaven." 2 Kings ii. 11. The prophet Elisha saw him ascend. Nearly a thousand years after his translation he was seen again in this world on the mount of Transfiguration, in the same body in which he went up. There must be some place where the bodies of these translated saints have long been, and are still residing. That place is heaven. The ascension into heaven of Christ, in our nature, proves the same thing. He had shown himself to his disciples, after his resurrection, and given them ample opportunity to examine his body and satisfy themselves that it was the very same which hung upon the cross. He had told them that he should ascend to the Father who sent him; that he should return to the heaven from which he came down. And in their presence, while they were beholding, he returned to heaven. He did not leave his human body, but bore it with him. In his glorified human nature, he departed for a place which is beyond the ken of mortals. That place is heaven. But the great doctrine of the gospel that the self same bodies of men which are committed to the grave, shall be raised up by the power of Christ, does not leave us to doubt as to whether heaven has locality. The heaven into which Christ entered with his glorified body, into which Enoch

and Elijah were translated, in their original bodies, changed and glorified, but still substantially the same, and into which, at the last day, all the saints shall be admitted, clothed with a body like unto Christ's, must be an external, tangible abode, as tangible, to say the least, as the bodies which are to inhabit it.

Our Lord endeavoured to comfort his disciples with the assurance that he was going away to prepare this place for their reception; and that he would come again and receive them to himself. But did he tell them where, or in what part of the universe, heaven is located? Did he, on any occasion in his own words, or by the mouth of his apostles, make this a subject of communication to men? Dr. Chalmers, in a well-known discourse on the words, "Nevertheless, we according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness," (2 Peter iii. 13,) suggests that by the convulsions of the last day this world may be shaken and broken down from its present arrangements, and the whole of its existing frame-work fall to pieces, and by a heat so fervent as to melt its most solid elements; and that, out of the ruin of this second chaos, other heavens and another earth may be made to arise; and a new materialism, with other aspects of magnificence and beauty, emerge from the wreck of this mighty transformation; that, in the place of eternal blessedness, there will be ground to walk upon, scenes of luxuriance to delight the corporeal senses, and the kindly intercourse of friends, talking familiarly, and by articulate converse together. But he very carefully avoids expressing the belief, or intimation, that the limits of the new earth will be coextensive with the boundaries of heaven.

Heaven, or the "Father's house," with its "many mansions," in which redeemed sinners from this earth are to find their eternal "place," may be as extensive as the sidereal heavens, or—excluding the "outer darkness" of reprobate angels and men—as the entire created universe. The *μοναὶ πολλαί* may be designed to describe space sufficient to accommodate innumerable companies. "It is no obscure hint," says John Howe,* "that is given of the spaciousness of the heavenly regions, when purposely to represent the divine immensity, it

* Redeemer's Dominion, etc.

is said of the unconfined presence of the great God, that even heaven, and the heaven of heavens, cannot contain him. 1 Kings viii. 27; 2 Chron. vi. 18. How vast scope is given to our thinking minds, to conceive heavens above heavens, encircling one another, till we have quite tired our faculty, and yet we know not how far short we are of the utmost verge! And when our Lord is said to have ascended far above all heavens, (Eph. iv. 10,) whose arithmetic will suffice to tell how many they are? whose uranography to describe how far that is?" Christ says, "I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I am to come back and receive you to myself; that where I am there ye may be also:" meaning, if language can mean anything, that the place was to be prepared before his return; so that even admitting that *πάλιν ἔρχομαι* refers to Christ's coming to judgment, Mr. Faber's theory is still without foundation. He did not say that he must return to prepare it, or before it could be prepared, but that he was going away to prepare it, and then was coming to receive them to it. But according to Mr. Faber, the earth is not to be burned up, and therefore could not be reorganized until Christ returns to raise the dead, and judge the world. He says that heaven is not to be prepared till *after;* Christ himself teaches that it is to be prepared *before* his second coming. It is too much for us to believe that the place which Jesus went to prepare remains still unprepared.

It is not necessary to suppose that he had reference to this or any other particular planet or star, which was to be beautified, or otherwise prepared for the reception of his followers, and to which they were to be confined. That place was prepared when he went into heaven, in a glorified human nature, as the great High Priest of the Church, to present as it were his own blood, and take possession, as their Forerunner, of the promised inheritance. Having by his death, made all his people priests so that they may always have access to the mercy-seat, this entrance abolishes the distinction between the holy places, and the holiest of all; it removes the veil which hides the inner sanctuary, and causes the holy of holies to encircle the whole camp of God's sacramental host. All that we are authorized in asserting that the words of Christ teach is,

that eternal felicity would be prepared for all his followers, by his return, in his mediatorial character, into the presence of his Father, on which felicity they would be permitted to enter at death, their bliss to have its perfect consummation at the resurrection of their bodies. Indeed, that place was prepared when Christ's atoning work, as the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, was accepted in behalf of his believing people in all ages, and he began to fulfil to patriarchs and prophets, his offices of Prophet, Priest and King. Christ prayed the Father that he would glorify him with the glory which he had before the foundation of the world, and immediately after prays that those who had been given him might be with him, where he was, that they might behold the glory which the Father had given him. John xviii. 5, 24. This earth cannot be the place where the Father glorified the Son, and where Christ will reveal the glory which he had with the Father before its creation. It is his interceding work, in the presence of God, which has already prepared heaven for his people. When they die, he comes again and receives them to himself. Absent from the body, they are present with the Lord, in his Father's house. Into the very heaven where Christ is gone, they are admitted. They have "a place" in its many mansions. Can we believe that the promise to Peter and James, and John, "I am to come back and receive you to myself" has not yet been fulfilled? That heaven has not yet been prepared for them; nor for the translated Enoch and Elijah; nor for David and Isaiah; that the dying Stephen saw the gates of "heaven" open only to delude his faith, and that the Lord Jesus has not yet received his spirit into that blessed world? Or that Paul after an absence of eighteen hundred years from his body, is still absent from the Lord? Impossible. Christ is present at the death of every believer, and may therefore be said to come back to receive his departing spirit. The soul goes forth to him into the many mansions of his Father's house. Science, to adopt with some modification the language of Sir David Brewster,* teaches us the history of our earth, its form, and size, and motions; it surveys the solar system, measures its planets, and pronounces the earth to be but a tiny

* More Worlds than One. Am. ed. p. 17.

sphere, and to have no place of distinction among its gigantic compeers. The telescope establishes new systems of worlds, far beyond the boundaries of our own, and inspires the Christian with an interest in worlds and systems of worlds—in life without limits, as well as in life without end. On eagles' wings he soars to the zenith, and speeds his way to the horizon of space, without reaching its ever-retiring bourn; and in the infinity of worlds, and amid the infinity of life, he descries the home and the companions of the future.

To establish his doctrine, our venerable and pious author appears also to rely much upon a well-known passage in one of the epistles of Peter: "But the heavens and earth which are now," &c., 2 Pet. iii. 7, 10, 13. Admitting that these words are to be understood as literal throughout, does it follow that this earth is to be the seat, the exclusive seat of heaven? We feel much inclined to the literal interpretation of the passage, that it teaches that the present earth, after its predicted destruction, will come forth renewed; and yet we cannot hold that any such pre-eminence is to be assigned to it, as that it shall become the exclusive seat, or fixed bounded limit of heaven. It appears to be clearly the teaching of Scripture, in this place, that our material globe is to be at length overwhelmed with a fiery deluge—that the watery deluge in the days of Noah was a type of that which awaits it by fire in "the day of the Lord." The apostle expressly says that as the former world was overflowed with water, and perished, so the present heavens and earth are kept in store, reserved unto fire, against the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men; that in the day of God the heaven being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat. 2 Pet. iii. 6, 7, 12. And in accordance with this teaching that this destruction by fire is the doom that awaits the earth, God has already given us some signs from above. "We see in the heavens some traces of destructive elements, and some indications of their power. The fragments of broken planets—the descent of meteoric stones upon our globe—the wheeling comets welding their loose materials to the solar surface—the volcanic eruptions on our own satellite—the disappearance of stars, are all foreshadows of that impending convulsion to

which the system of the world is doomed." The awful text, "the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up," is written visibly upon the heavens over our heads.

It is an extraordinary fact, which astronomy reveals, that, within a comparatively brief period several stars in different constellations, seem to have totally disappeared. The sudden brilliancy which has been noticed in particular instances, causing them to surpass the splendour of the brightest planets, and to be visible even at noonday, followed by their gradually growing dim, until lost to sight, seems to point to fire as the agent in these changes. And geology reveals the fact that fire, as well as water, has already effected the mightiest transformations in our planet. On the face of every precipice and broken crag, in every excavation and quarry, may be seen records of periods of wild disorder, and the effects of mighty changes and convulsions. The skeptic may reject the idea of the burning of the world; but, how easy for the Creator to make the elements melt with fervent heat! There is a substance diffused throughout nature, one of the component parts of the air we breathe, the basis of the water we drink, the principle of vegetation, which contains the very principle of combustion. In its decomposed state, it will cause iron or steel to take fire. It is true that rocks, sand, and water will not burn; but when decomposed, they are found to be made up of elements that are either combustible or the supporters of combustion. Let the invisible fluid referred to be set loose, and it would at once decompose the water of the rivers, lakes, and oceans, and form a mixture with one of its elements, which, if brought in contact with the fires on its surface, or in the bowels of the earth, or with so much as a burning taper, would produce an explosion, which would shake our globe to its centre. Were the whole atmosphere at once dissolved, fearful concussions and detonations, of which it is impossible to form any conception, would ensue, and both sea and land be enwrapped in sudden fire. Thus do the lessons of science in respect to other parts of the material creation, and the history and changes of our earth, harmonize with those of revelation, and teach us how easy it would be for the Most High to bring to pass his word, that the earth shall be burned up, and the

heavens, or its surrounding atmosphere, pass away with a great noise.

But we are not to conclude that this destruction of the earth by fire will be its annihilation, any more than that the disappearance of stars, which once shone with superior brightness, proves that they have been blotted out of existence. The igneous changes, the inundations, and the transformations through which our planet passed before it was habitable by the human race, and which changes may have been as great as that which will be wrought by the fires of the last day, did not prove its annihilation. The earth having been subjected to the curse, on account of man's sins, and purified by the last conflagration, may afterwards be renewed, surrounded with new ærial heavens, and beautified beyond what eye hath seen, or ear heard, or the heart of man conceived, and then become one of the many mansions in the house of the Father, an apartment or portion of heaven, which the Redeemer shall visit and occupy, from time to time, as they do other parts of that blessed abode; nay, may perhaps regard with peculiar interest as having been the place of their rebellion and career of wickedness, their Saviour's atoning sufferings, their reconciliation, their discipline, and training for heaven. While the Scriptures teach that heaven is a place already existing, there is nothing contradictory to their teachings in supposing that new "mansions" may, from time to time, be added thereto. The words, "wherein dwelleth righteousness," express the grand feature of the new heavens and the new earth, which distinguishes them from the present. It seems to be the object of the apostle, in this whole passage, to declare that the scene of the present sins and sufferings of believers is to be reclaimed from the curse, become the dwelling-place of righteousness, and then be included within those blessed regions which will constitute the saints' future everlasting home.

The word of God clearly teaches us that man, in his future state, will consist of a soul residing in a corporeal frame. He will not be spirit alone, nor a merely corporeal substance. He must therefore have a home on which he may reside, suited to the nature of his body; not "an abode of dimness and mystery, so remote from human experience as to be beyond all compre-

hension," "a lofty ærial region, where the inmates float in ether, or are mysteriously suspended upon nothing,"* but a home suited to the nature of the resurrection-body. "Scripture has not spoken with an articulate voice of the future locality of the blest, but reason has combined the scattered utterances of inspiration, and, with a voice almost oracular, has declared that HE who made the worlds will, in the worlds which he has made, place the beings of his choice." "In what regions of space these mansions are built—on what sphere the mouldering dust is to be gathered and revived, and by what process it is to reach its destination, reason does not enable us to determine; but it is impossible for immortal man, with the light of revelation as his guide, to doubt for a moment, that on the celestial spheres his future home is to be spent; spent, doubtless, in lofty inquiries; in social intercourse; in the renewal of domestic ties; and in the service of his Almighty Benefactor. With such a vista before us, so wide in its expanse and so remote in its termination, what scenes of beauty—what forms of the sublime—what enjoyments, physical and intellectual, may we not anticipate: wisdom to the sage—rest to the pilgrim—and gladness to the broken in heart."†

But here we must stop. Heaven is a subject on which the Bible sets limits to its disclosures; and we should not seek to break through the wholesome reserve which, like the bounds Moses set about the holy mount, (Ex. xix. 12,) surround and guard it. It is here the extreme of folly to attempt to be "wise above that which is written." As the subject is one of the most attractive that can engage the serious mind, and the temptation to speculation is great, there is need of double caution. The believer knows that he shall remain in this world but a very short time; he is looking for a better country, even a heavenly. When his pious friends die, he tries to follow them in his thoughts to that better land to which he believes they have been taken. But there are some subjects which set all speculation and all rhetoric at defiance; and this is one. Our imagery must be borrowed from sensible things; from a world, which, however it may present to us many objects of beauty and sublimity, is marked with imperfection everywhere. Our

* Dr. Chalmers. † More Worlds than One. pp. 24 and 262.

mental faculties are as yet feeble. Heaven, moreover, is a spiritual world; this is material, and we, the inhabitants of it, are creatures of sense. These considerations should make us cautious, lest we detract from the glory of heaven by our very methods or attempts to arrive at some adequate conception of it. The chief danger lies in so employing and interpreting sensible images as to bring down to the level of a material standard, and to our feeble capacities, the spiritual glories of a world, the highest and most characteristic element of which will be its spotless holiness. To form right views of heaven, we need to have our minds thoroughly imbued with the truths of Scripture, and to be guided by the Holy Spirit. The theme is too lofty, too holy, for our unassisted thought. With the word and Spirit of God for our guide, we may be saved from falling into the transports of a crude fancy, or from being charmed with the beautiful frost-work of an unchastened imagination.

Evidently guided thus, Augustine exclaims:* "O heavenly Jerusalem! * * how happy will my soul perceive itself, when it shall be admitted to see thy glory, thy beauty; to view the gates, the walls, the streets, the stately buildings, the splendour of thy inhabitants, and the triumphant pomp of thy King, enthroned in the midst of thee! For thy walls are of precious stones, and thy gates of pearl, and thy streets of pure gold, continually resounding with loud hallelujahs. * * * * There are the melodious choirs of angels; there the sweet fellowship and company of the heavenly inhabitants; there the joyful pomp of all those triumphant souls, who, from their sore trials and travels through this vale of tears, at last return to their native country. There the goodly fellowship of the prophets. * * * * * There the twelve leaders of the Christian armies, the blessed apostles; there the noble armies of the martyrs; there the convention of the confessors; there the holy men and women who, in the days of the flesh, were mortified to the pleasures of sin and the world."†

* Meditations, c. XXV. Vid. Pious Breathings, &c., made English by George Stanhope, D. D. 1720.

† Have we not here the original of that favourite and much used hymn, "Jerusalem, my happy home!" unmarred by allusions to the Virgin, the Magdalene, the *magnificat*, and the *te deum*, foisted upon it by popish versifiers?

"Suppose thyself," says Richard Baxter, "a companion with John, in his survey of the New Jerusalem, and viewing the thrones, the majesty, the heavenly hosts, the shining splendour which he saw. Suppose thyself his fellow-traveller into the celestial kingdom, and that thou hadst seen all the saints in their white robes, with palms in their hands, and that thou hadst heard those songs of Moses and the Lamb. If thou hadst really seen and heard these things, in what a rapture wouldst thou have been! Do not, like the papists, draw them in pictures; but get the liveliest picture of them in thy mind that thou possibly canst, by contemplating the Scripture account of them, till thou canst say, 'Methinks I see a glimpse of glory! Methinks I hear the shouts of joy and praise, and even stand by Abraham, and David, and Paul, and other triumphant souls!'"*

But it is doubtless infinitely more important for us to be able to read, in the divine charter, our "title to a mansion in the skies," than to be able to determine the exact locality of heaven, and describe all its peculiar scenery, companions and employments. Holy souls, when dismissed from the body, will find their way to it in safety. Angels, who know the way, will conduct them thither. The general assembly and church of the first-born—an innumerable company—will welcome their arrival. And they shall see Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant, as he is.

"We speak of the realms of the blest,
Of that country so bright and so fair,
And oft are its glories confessed;
But what must it be, *to be there?*

We speak of its pathways of gold,
Of its walks decked with jewels so rare,
Of its wonders and pleasures untold;
But what must it be, *to be there?*"

* Saints' Rest, chap. xv.

ART. V.—*The Results of Missionary Labour in India.* London: W. H. Dalton. 1853.

IT is not the Christian and philanthropist alone that ought to take, and would find too, much interest in the history of missions: the historian, the philosopher, the speculator on the philosophy of history, would here find a field for investigation, and a clue through the labyrinthine paths which man's destiny travels, that have been overlooked a hundred times by the most pains-taking, as well as by the merely pretentious *littérateurs* in historics.

Why some missions succeed, and others fail; why one type or phase of Christianity seems more adapted to one nationality than another; why and how Christianity has been planted in one region, although successive attempts previously seemed to have demonstrated the futility of every effort, whilst another region was abandoned by the messenger of peace after a single trial; why some people show spiritual capacities which excite the highest hopes merely to disappoint them after a short period, whilst others have retained their hold on Christianity from the earliest times; and among these latter again, some with a conscious determined firmness, others with a convulsive grasp, and still others barely through the *rigor mortis;* why, for instance, some regions of Northern Germany remained heathen for centuries after the rest of Europe had bowed to the cross, and yet those same regions passed from the trammels of the medieval Church over to the Protestant camp without a struggle, as if by magic; whilst Spain, so early electrified by a spark of the Reformation, extinguished it so easily, so speedily, and so utterly, as to defy history for a similar instance—these are questions that will hardly be satisfactorily answered, if taken singly. We must find a solution for the problem, not such as will answer for the nonce, but one involving a principle, exhibiting a law; or else we shall never get rid of that incubus which weighs us down, and perplexes our senses, and prevents our understanding the history of the Church, of the world, of nations, and of men.

There is a way, to be sure, we were almost going to say, an indolent way, of answering such questions, by referring to the sovereignty of the divine agency in all spiritual operations; and it is a good answer in as far as it manifests the direction of the mind giving it, towards the great centre and fountain of all truth and light. But does it not also betray in many instances an apathy to inquiry and action, bordering on fatalism? Should we not rather keep alive a vivid remembrance of the fact that we are co-workers with God; that the Lord has deigned to appoint human means for his divine ends; that men are responsible for the use of those means, and missionaries, and missionary societies, as well as others, and that there is a philosophy of conversion to be studied, as well as a general philosophy of religion and of Christianity?

It is not for the purpose of supplying this philosophy, or of answering these questions, that we start them. We are firm believers in the legitimate uses of the inductive process, and for this, sufficient data are as yet wanting, perhaps. The primitive missionary efforts are so remote in time, and detailed accounts of them are so scant, as not to permit a venture of sinking a shaft in that direction; whilst the era of modern missions is as yet so recent, that correct inferences might not readily be drawn from facts otherwise sufficiently numerous, and sufficiently within our reach.

There is one heathen country alone, which might possibly reward a diligent search after material for this purpose; and that is India. Of no other country but India could we affirm, with an equal degree of certainty, that it has seen, in every age, attempts at propagating Christianity within its borders. That such attempts were made in India at a very early period, there can hardly be any doubt. We are too prone to reject the historical testimonies extant, on the plea that the term "India" was used in a very indefinite sense. But what was the reason of this indefinite usage? The name was applied to Ethiopia, to Arabia, and to some neighbouring islands, as well as to India proper, on account of the lively intercourse subsisting between those countries and India; there were colonies in them for commercial purposes; they possessed depots for Indian productions, and their coast-towns formed the few direct intermediate

stations for the ships that navigated those seas. But is it correct to suppose that regions maintaining such a lively intercourse for commercial or any other objects, would remain uninfluenced by the rise of such a religion as the Christian in any one of them?

Indeed, there were two modes of communication between India and the West, and both were duly appreciated; the one by caravans, and the other nearly the same as the "overland" route of the present day. By the latter route, from the port of Eziongeber on the Red Sea, Solomon sent his fleet to Ophir, (1 Kings ix. 26,) and it is to the former that the building of Tadmor by the same king, (2 Chron. viii. 4,) as a "store-city," points. It lay on the great commercial road between Palestine and Thapsacus on the Euphrates, and was doubtless designed as a depot for provisions to be given in exchange for goods brought by the merchants from India. Tyre and Sidon received all their lustre and glory from the gold brought from India, and Arabia received the appellation of *Felix*, not on its own account, but from its neighbourhood to India, and its commercial connections with it. The genius of Alexander the Great had a full appreciation of the value of such connections. He founded Alexandria with a view that it should become the centre of commerce between the eastern and western worlds, and within a short time its marts were crowded by Greeks and Persians, Hindus and Goths, the children of Shem and the children of Ham. Standing on the banks of the Indus, he sent Nearchus with his fleet down the river *to reach Egypt;* and when he heard that they had anchored in the Persian Gulf, he swore by the Libyan Ammon and by the Greek Zeus, that he was more rejoiced at this than at the conquest of Asia.

His successors, Seleucus in Persia, and Ptolemy in Egypt, were the inheritors of his grand commercial plans. Seleucus penetrated still further into India, and sent Megasthenes as far as Palibothra, in the vicinity of what is now Allahabad; his great work was the regulation of commercial intercourse in the whole region from the Indus to the Oxus and the Caspian Sea. Under Ptolemy the city of Alexandria became the commercial metropolis of the world; and he sent his caravans by Koptos to Berenice, and his ships thence to India. About the year

50, A. D., an Egyptian navigator, Hippalos,* was bold enough to abandon the practice of coasting along the shores of Arabia and Persia, and to attempt the open sea from the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, with the regular Monsoon, and he reached a city Musitis (probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of what is now Vingorla;) his success gave the name of Hippalos to the South-west Monsoon.

Nor did the Hindus play a passive part in this intercourse; on the contrary, after the conquests of Alexander, and for many centuries after, there seems to have been an eager desire in India for foreign arts and sciences, curiosities, instruments of music, and other things. According to Ælian and Dio Chrysostom, the Hindus had the works of Homer translated into their native language; and Philostratus says that they were well acquainted with the ancient heroes of Greece, and that they had statues made by Grecian artists. The kings of Magadha repeatedly wrote to the successors of Alexander for sophists from Greece. Hindus, attracted by the libraries of Alexandria, its museum, and the encouragement of its rulers, often visited that famous city; and one of the Ptolemies, in the third century, conversed with several, who appear to have been well-informed men. Some Hindu travellers had long conferences at Seleucia, with Bardesanes, a Syrian theologian and writer of much repute, about the close of the second century.

There was an embassy sent by Porus, a king of India, to Augustus; the ambassadors went to Spain, where he was at that time, (24 B. C.) acccording to Orosius. Some years after, another embassy was sent, who found the emperor at Samos. With them were also ambassadors from Pandion, a king of the Deccan; and they had in their train a Brahmin, who remained with Augustus in the capacity of an augur. Claudius also received an embassy from a king of Ceylon. There were ambassadors from India sent to Antoninus Pius, to Diocletian, and Maximian; to Theodosius, Heraclius, and Justinian.

Damascius, who was contemporary with Justinian, in his life of Isidorus, relates several curious anecdotes of Severus, a

* This name is entirely wanting in Smith's Dictionary.

Roman, but by birth an African, who lived in the time of the Emperor Anthemius. Severus was a philosopher of great learning, and fond of the society of the learned. After the death of that emperor, in 473, he retired to Alexandria, where he received at his house several Brahmins from India, whom he treated with the greatest hospitality and respect. Their food, it is added, consisted only of dates, rice, and water.*

That these travels and embassies of Hindus appear to have ceased after the seventh century, is easily accounted for by the rise and ascendency of the Mahometans, and the notable revolutions which they effected all over South-eastern Asia. But the unmistakable traces of a brisk and lively intercourse of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, with India, will prevent our meeting with skepticism the few positive testimonies which we have of an early introduction of Christianity into India, however much we may be inclined, and perhaps authorized, to modify the statements of the early writers.

Eusebius of Cæsarea mentions† a report, according to which the apostle Bartholomew preached the gospel in India, and left there the gospel of Matthew in Hebrew. Socrates‡ repeats this statement. Still, we are told in the same connection, by Eusebius, that Pantænus, the master of the catechetical school in Alexandria, the favourite teacher of Clemens Alexandrinus, the "philosopher," as he was called anciently, visited India as a missionary, about the year 189. As it appears, he found no apostolical church there, only some who had come to a knowledge of Christ, (*τισὶν αὐτόθι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεγνωκόσιν.*) Nor does he himself appear to have met with much success, for he returned to Alexandria; and the writings of his great pupil betoken some acquaintance with Brahmins and Yogis, but they afford not the smallest evidence that Christianity was introduced into India by Pantaenus.

Philostorgius narrates that Theophilus, a native of Diu, (an island at the southern extremity of the Red Sea,) was sent as a hostage to Constantinople, in the time of Constantine the Great, and was there educated for the ministry. Under Con-

* Photii Bibliotheca, p. 1040. Suidas, s. v. Severus. As. Researches, Vol. x. p 111.

† Hist. Eccl. v. 10. ‡ Hist. i. 19.

stantius he returned to his native island to preach the gospel, and from here he went to India proper, (ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν ἄλλην ἀφίκετο Ἰνδικήν,) where he found Christian churches in existence. To this notice we must add the fact that one of the signers of the decrees passed at the Council of Nice, (325,) was "John, Metropolitan of Persia and Great India." These facts would lead to the inference that Christian merchants from Persia had settled in India, formed churches, and John the Metropolitan represented them, as well as his proper diocese. This will at the same time explain how the apostle Thomas came to be regarded for a time as the founder of the churches in India, inasmuch as there is a great probability that he did preach in Persia.

The St. Thomas Christians, however, who are found on the Malabar Coast, derive their name from another person, or perhaps from two different persons. Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Egyptian monk, who flourished in the reign of Justinian, and who had followed, in early life, the employment of a merchant, came also to India, where he did find Christians, but he does not call them "Thomas Christians." The first trace of this name appears, and that not very clearly, in a letter of the Persian Metropolitan Jesujab, in the seventh century. It has been conjectured, not without good grounds, however, that a Manichee, by the name of Thomas, made converts in India, in the fourth or fifth century, and that his adherents called themselves after him, or were called after him, to distinguish them from the other Christians. It is still more certain that another Thomas—Thomas Kana—a rich Armenian merchant, became the benefactor of the Christians in Southern India, in the eighth century, and that he made a lasting impression on them.

Their number must have been very considerable in the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese became first acquainted with them, as they had more than a hundred churches. They are indiscriminitely called St. Thomé Christians, Nestorians, Syrians, and sometimes the Malabar Christians of the Mountains, by the Portuguese writers of that time, and by the subsequent missionaries from Rome. The most common name given to them by the Hindus, is that of *Nazarani Mapila*, or

Suriani Mapilá, (Nazarenes or Syrians.) The name of St. Thomas Christians has never been very common amongst themselves. The Syrian version of the Scriptures is the only one which they regard as authentic. All traditions and Malabar records agree, that the Syrian Christians were known, and had been settled on the Malabar coast, long before either the Arabs or the Jews. There is still a common tradition amongst them, that they descend (at least those that are of Syrian origin) from four principal Syrian families, who had successively settled on the coast. It is not unlikely to assume the violent persecution of the Nestorians, under Theodosius I., (435,) to be connected with this ancient church in India, if we take into consideration the general use of the Aramaic idiom in all their religious functions, even in those churches which have since embraced the Romish rite, and that to this day they take their Christian names from the same language.

When the Portuguese first came among them, these Syrian Christians obeyed their own archbishop, as the Portuguese writers affirm, both in ecclesiastical and civil matters, paying a very moderate tribute to the different rajahs in whose territories they lived, who very little interfered in their concerns. They paid no tithes to their clergy, but at their weddings they used to offer the tenth of their marriage-gift to their churches. The girls were precluded from all inheritance, even if no sons were in the family. This singular law, which is so contrary to all Malabar customs, has unquestionably been imported from Syria. As to their religious tenets, they followed generally the doctrines of Nestorius. They called the Virgin Mary only the Mother of Christ, not of God. They also maintained that the Holy Ghost proceeded only from the Father, and not from the Father and the Son. They rejected images; they had three sacraments, including orders; they rejected the doctrines of transubstantiation, of purgatory, of celibacy, the supremacy of the pope, the Romish traditions, auricular confession, the mass, the mediatorship of saints; they dispensed the sacrament in both forms, and ascribed its efficacy to the Spirit, not to the priest; they regarded the sacrifice of Christ as the only ground of forgiveness, and the Scriptures as the only rule of faith. The following extract is from one of their prayer-books:

"Jesus Christ, my Lord, thou hast suffered for us sinners, who have been worthy of condemnation on account of our sins, and thou hast freely saved us without our merits, thanks be to thee. Oh Jesus, thou art sweet indeed, and the light of my eyes. Thy sufferings have been very bitter, and grievous indeed, which thou sufferedst with thy condescension, and this for our sake. Oh how deeply do I feel that we have so heavily sinned, that thou hadst to suffer for it," etc.

We must not suppose that the Hindus, whether they followed Brahma or Buddha, were indifferent altogether to the progress of foreign creeds. On the contrary, conferences were often held, where the principles of these religions were inquired into, and the history of their founders investigated. This was practised in Ceylon in the ninth century, according to Renaudot's "Two Mussulman Travellers." These conferences were called *Charcha* (Search, Investigation), and towns appointed for this purpose were called *Charchita-nagari.* One of these places is mentioned in one of their sacred books. "In the year 3291 of the Kali-yug (or 191 A. D.) King Sudraca will reign in the town of Charchita-nagari, and destroy the workers of iniquity." This points to a religious persecution; and although this particular passage may refer to the Buddhist heresy, yet there is no doubt that the Christians were occasionally involved in these persecutions, as they were considered as Buddhists; and either their divine legislator, or the founder of the church in India, is asserted to be a form of Buddha.*

Before we examine the result of the contact, or rather collision of these Christians with the Portuguese, we would advert for a moment to the remarkable embassy King Alfred is stated by several of the English chroniclers to have sent to India. They simply mention that Suithelm, or Sighelm, the Bishop of Shireburn, carried the benevolence of Alfred to India to St. Thomas, and returned in safety. The words of Florence of Worcester, are: *Assero Scireburnensi episcopo defuncto succedit Suithelmus, qui regis Alfredi eleemosynam ad S. Thomam, Indiam detulit, indeque prospere retulit.* Malmsbury, who gives the fullest account of the incident, says that the king sent

* As. Res., Vol. x. p. 91.

many presents over sea to Rome, and to St. Thomas, in India; that Sighelm, the Bishop of Shireburn, was his ambassador, who penetrated with great success to India, to the admiration of the age; and that he brought with him on his return many foreign gems and aromatic liquors, the produce of the country.* Sharon Turner, by a careful investigation, has attempted to prove that it was long before believed that Thomas the Apostle had been in India; that in the age of Alfred he was presumed to have died there; and that at that time there were Christians living there, and that such journeys were in those days attempted. His inference seems to be correct, that the assertions of so many chroniclers are not counteracted by any improbability in this remarkable embassy. A vast number of authorities, Greek and Latin, Oriental and Occidental, have been collected by him in the Appendix to Book V., Chap. VI., of his History of the Anglo-Saxons.

Although, therefore, the existence of these Christians was not unknown in Europe, yet there was no connection between them and Europeans until the arrival of the Portuguese in India. Within 33 years after their first landing in Calicut, they had conquered nearly the entire Western Coast, and established settlements on the Eastern. The Syrian Christians had confided themselves to their protection, but had reaped no advantage, nor sustained any injury from them. The Franciscans who had come with them, had done nothing; they had made neither proselytes among the Christians, nor converts among the heathen; but they had built convents, and accumulated property. The Jesuits, who soon followed them, were more active; they instituted seminaries, in which Syriac was taught to the young clergy; they translated the Missal and their own Catechism into the same language, and distributed them amongst the Christians. These measures, however, did not shake them in their faith.

But now, the worthy fathers proceeded to more effectual means to accomplish their end, viz. the recognition of the Papal authority. The Viceroy and the Romish Archbishop of Goa arrested Mar Joseph, the then Bishop of the Syrians, and sent

* De Gestis, p. 44.

him prisoner to Lisbon; but he ingratiated himself with the Queen Donna Catharina, and the Court, so that in the year 1564 he was permitted to return, with orders to the Viceroy Noronha, to restore, protect, and assist him, and to afford him every aid he should need in his endeavours to "reclaim" his flock from their "errors."

In the mean time the Thomas Christians had applied to the Patriarch of Babylon for a new bishop, whom they obtained in the person of Mar Abraham. Hence, on the return of Joseph, there were two bishops to the same diocese. The consequence was a schism involving the whole Malabar Christians. But Mar Joseph, being supported by the Portuguese government, had his opponent seized and delivered to the commandant of Cochin, to be sent to Europe. On his way thither he made his escape, probably during a storm, on account of which the vessel touched at Mozambique, and reached Babylon or Mosul over land. But instead of returning to Malabar, he resolved to go of his own accord to Rome, where he recanted the Nestorian heresy, was newly ordained and consecrated by Pius IV., and loaded with the highest ecclesiastical dignities; though amongst his papers were found afterwards a protestation of his steadfast adherence to his former doctrine, which he abjured only to save his life.

Mar Joseph, indeed, had acted precisely in the same way; for once again established, he continued his opposition to Rome; he was, therefore, transported a second time, first to Portugal, and afterwards to Rome, where he died, probably a violent death. Abraham, having with difficulty regained his episcopal seat, continued to profess his previous belief, in which he died, about the year 1597. The archbishop of Goa, Don Alexio de Menezes, a man of great cunning and dogged perseverance, immediately appointed a Jesuit to fill the vacant seat of Angamalee, but to no effect; he was not acknowledged.

Menezes now, well guarded and with a splendid retinue, travelled among the Malabar Christians; he went from place to place, used fair means and foul, was most lavish of his wealth, displayed an astonishing energy, simulated the greatest devotion, zeal, and humility, employing at the same time the most unworthy stratagems, the meanest frauds, the boldest de-

ception, together with the haughtiest violence, and the most heartless cruelty. He appointed, at last, a mock Synod, at Udiampur, in the year 1599, where he assembled most of the Syrian priests; and after some show of disputation, he prevailed on them to renounce their faith and to adopt the Romish creed. All their books and records, which he could obtain, he destroyed or corrupted; and, to appearance, the Nestorians of Malabar were united to the Romish Church.*

Menezes thereupon passed through the country in a showy procession, and with an imposing ceremonial; deluding the people by juggling miracles so as to excite the suspicions of the heathen even; overawing the timid by the voice of authority, and punishing the contumacious with death. There are awful mysteries resting on the sudden death of some priests who would not thrust their neck into the Roman yoke. The proud Archbishop soon made his entrance into Goa as Viceroy, and finally into Lisbon as the Apostle of the Indies, thinking his victory secure. But the Portuguese power waned, and the Syrian Christians were merged among the heathen, and whatever of light there had been shining in that dark place for thirteen centuries, was almost extinguished, and whatever there remained, in name, of Romanism or Nestorianism, was but white-washed sepulchral Hinduism.

Don Menezes' measures had begotten a sad period; and the ecclesiastical history of India during the seventeenth century can be told in a few words. Nestorianism, more than half effete, and Romanism of the corruptest type, were engaged in a contest, in which victory on either side could be but the precursor of a speedy dissolution; the Jesuits became more and more odious to all; they quarrelled with the other orders which the Popes favoured; the unity produced by the sword of the Viceroy and the fagots of the Inquisition was of short duration, and the Bishops from the different quarters, Nestorian from Mosul, Jacobite from Antioch, and Romish from Italy, goaded their people, not to emulation in well-doing, but to hatred and strife and fanaticism.

Such was the work done by Romanism among an ancient,

* For an account of the still existing remains of the Nestorians in India, see As. Res., Vol. vii. p. 373.

though perhaps lifeless, Christian Church. A picture by no means more pleasing is presented by their labours among the heathen. We shall quote from an excellent authority, Sir J. Emerson Tennent:*

"When Christianity was first preached by Xavier to the natives of India, it was proclaimed by him with much of the simplicity and apostolical zeal, which have since characterized the ministrations of his Protestant successors. But notwithstanding the multitude of his converts, St. Francis has recorded in his letters to St. Ignatius Loyola, his own disappointment at discovering the inward unsoundness of all he had outwardly achieved; and the open apostasy which afterwards manifested itself among his converts, suggested to those who succeeded him in his task, the necessity of adopting a more effectual machinery for arousing the attention of the Hindus, and overcoming their repugnance to the reception of Christianity. The Jesuits who resorted in prodigious numbers to Hindustan during the period which followed the death of Xavier, persuaded themselves, by the partial failure of his system, that no access was to be gained, and no footing established in the confidence of the natives, without an external conformity to their customs and habits, and a careful avoidance of any shock to their prejudices, religious and social. Under cover of such a policy, it was conceived that a silent approach might be effected, and the edifice of their ancient superstition undermined, almost before its defenders could discover that its assailants were opponents. In pursuance of this plan of assault, Christianity, in the hands of those by whom it was next offered to the heathen, assumed an aspect so extraordinary, that the detail would exceed belief, were it not attested by the evidence of those actually engaged in the execution of the scheme. The Jesuits, who now addressed themselves to the conversion of the Hindus, adopted the determination to become all things to all men for the accomplishment of their object; withholding, till some more favourable time, the inculcation of Christian simplicity, and adopting in the interim, almost without qualification, the practices of heathenism. To such an extent did they carry their policy, that, in the charges which were eventually lodged against them be-

* History of Christianity in Ceylon, p. 17.

fore the Holy See by the other religious orders in India, it was alleged to be doubtful, whether the Jesuits by affecting idolatry and tolerating it amongst their proselytes, had not themselves become converts to Hinduism, rather than made the Hindus converts to the Christian religion.

"They assumed the character of Brahmins of a superior caste from the Western world; they took the Hindu names, and conformed to the heathen customs of this haughty and exclusive race, producing in support of their pretension, a deed forged in ancient characters, to show that the Brahmins of Rome were of much older date than the Brahmins of India, and descended in an equally direct line from Brahma himself. They wore the *cavy* or orange robe, peculiar to Saniassis, the fourth, and one of the most venerated sections of the Brahminical caste. They hung a tiger's skin from their shoulders, in imitation of Shiva; they abstained from animal food, from wine, and certain prohibited vegetables; they performed the ablutions required by the Shasters; they carried on their foreheads the sacred spot of sandal-wood powder, which is the distinctive emblem of the Hindus; and in order to sustain their assumed character to the utmost, they affected to spurn the Pariahs and lower castes, who lay no claim to the same divine origin with the Brahmins."

In unison with their whole system of advancing the kingdom of truth with lies, they composed a pretended Veda, in which they sought to insinuate the doctrines of Christianity in the language and phrases of the Shasters.*

This subject has been often treated. It is painful, and we will not enlarge upon it. The Jesuits were not the only order thus active in India. Whole swarms of monks of all names and colours, Black, White, and Grey, were sent over from Europe. But what fruit could be expected from these rude, ignorant, immoral, debased, sensual priests, but such as their

* This forged Veda is full of every kind of error or ignorance in regard of the Indian religions. Its subsequent history is curious and instructive. After lying a long time in the college at Pondicherry, it found its way to Europe, and a translation of it came into the hands of Voltaire, who in his ignorance became its dupe far more than the most ignorant Hindus; for he used it eagerly to show that the Christian doctrines had been anticipated by the wisdom of the East. *Habent sua fata libelli!*

mission in Bengal exhibited, where there were about 20,000 "converts," but all, the shepherds and the sheep, sunk in the lowest depths of vice, and crime, and iniquity, of avarice and sensuality? The Jesuits themselves finally gave them up, as hopeless. The same had been done with the Madura mission, by the Franciscans.

The Abbé Dubois, himself a Romish missionary, could consider all those converts merely as heathens under a Christian name. For they had changed the names of the heathen festivals, and continued to celebrate them with great splendour; they had introduced the heathen dances into the Christian worship; they kept up the distinctions of caste, with all their heathen rites and customs, pretending to regard them not as religious demarcations, but as designations of civil rank; they held processions, in which images of the Virgin Mary were carried about on cars, just like the idols of the land; they employed even the music of the heathen temples at those processions; and the consecrated wafer, and the coat of St. Xavier were worshipped by the side of the Buddha's tooth, and Vishnu's foot. There is no exaggeration in this; to the present day the Roman Catholics in India continue to celebrate their worship with fireworks and drums, and encompass their chapels with processions, conducting decorated cars, bearing idols and garlands, which differ only in name from similar observances and processions of the Hindus.

Thanks, however, to the rivalry and jealousy existing between the different orders in the Church of Rome, attempts were made to mend this awful prostitution of the Christian name; for a long time they were in vain. The Cardinal of Tournon was sent to them to remonstrate and reform: the Jesuits poisoned him. The papal chair sent letters, and briefs, and bulls; all to no purpose. Finally a more energetic pope enforced obedience, and the consequence was a rapid diminution of "converts." For the Hindus with the greatest readiness apostatized, and returned openly to heathenism, rather than that they should submit to the practices of that stark idolatry by which Indian Romanism was characterized, without at the same time adhering to their paternal usages. They had on no occasion shown even the faintest spirit of Christian endurance, or the

remotest desire of martyrdom for a religion which they had adopted for a great variety of worldly considerations. There is extant a copy of instructions of John, king of Portugal, to the Viceroy of India, John de Castro, in which the king enjoins upon him to bestow offices in the custom-house, etc., only upon Christians. These new converts were to be exempted from impressment in the navy; nine hundred quarters of rice were to be distributed among them yearly from the royal revenue; Christian fishermen were to be allowed to dispose of their pearls at their own price; heathens and Mahometans were even to be excluded from the pearl fishery; in short, such as embraced Christianity should be encouraged in every way.

When, therefore, a tumult arose in Tanjore, caused by the Christians, which eventuated in a persecution, thousands at once returned to heathenism. When Tippu Sahib forced 60,000 of these Christians to embrace Islam, not a single one had the courage to refuse circumcision. The Madura mission, counting 245,000 one year, could not show a register of 40,000 the next; and, in modern times, it is only the return to the Jesuits' method of conversion, which has retarded the utter disappearance of every trace of Romanism from India.

Ceylon, like the continent of India, had early witnessed the establishment of Manicheeism and Nestorianism on its soil, but neither extensively, nor lastingly. The Portuguese, on their arrival, found them extinct. At this period, Xavier laboured here also, and baptized between six and seven hundred *paravars* or fishermen, but the Rajah of Jaffnapatam put them all to death. The Portuguese, as is well-known, took possession of a large part of the island, and divided the territory under their jurisdiction into dioceses and parishes. The priests made no great demands, the Singhalese were docile, and in a short time the population of entire provinces had received baptism, of whom, however, it needs no demonstration, probably not a single family changed their faith. Baptism was the means to gain offices, distinctions, and emoluments; the ceremony was easily put up with, and a high-sounding Portuguese name was all that adhered to the recipient of the ordinance.

In 1638 the Dutch occupied Ceylon, and one of their first steps was to proclaim the Reformed faith as the established

religion. Perhaps the only points in which they were superior, as to their moral effects, to their predecessors, were the absence of all outward force and violence to induce the natives to become Christians, and the establishment of numerous schools. Nevertheless, the propagation of Christianity, which was undertaken, proceeded from a government, a State, and not from the Church, the pillar and ground of the truth, and the results were accordingly.

The Dutch maltreated and expelled the Romish priests, prohibited the administration of baptism by them, and obliged hundreds of the Romanist families to take refuge in the interior of the island; subsequently no one was taken into the employ of the government, or permitted to farm land, who had not signed the Helvetic Confession; and pecuniary mulcts obliged the children to receive catechetical instruction, although the government were averse to their obtaining any higher intellectual culture. In five years Jaffna alone contained 180,000 of these converts. But, as in all like cases,

> "They melted from the field, as snow,
> When streams are swollen and south winds blow,
> Dissolves in silent dew."

In 1796 the English took the island, and the pay for conversion ceased. The consequence was that in the whole province of Jaffna, in 1806, there was but a single catechist to be found, and not a single church member; Christianity was "extinct." Of 340,000 Singhalese Christians in 1801, more that half had relapsed into Buddhism by 1810, and others were fast going. And where is the wonder? Of 97 ministers who had come from Holland during 80 years, only eight learned the language of the country.

In the meantime, a new sun had arisen over the continent of India, where the first Protestant mission was founded by Barthold Ziegenbalg, a man of erudition and piety, educated at the University of Halle. He sailed for India in 1705, in his twenty-third year. In the second year of his ministry he founded a Christian church among the Hindus. This was in Tranquebar. The mission was begun by the king of Denmark, and supplied almost entirely in men, and subsequently in

money also, from the church and University of Halle, sustained by A. H. Francke and his successors. The precious revival of evangelical religion which that place experienced, with the outer circle of its undulations, touched even Southern India.

Ziegenbalg, with his companions and successors—(during last century more than fifty missionaries arrived in India, in connection with the Tranquebar Mission)—employed the same agencies in their work as others do at the present day. They preached in the native languages; they undertook extensive journeys; they gathered Christian congregations, taught numerous schools, translated the Bible, and laid the foundation of a Christian literature. Several of their native converts were ordained to the ministry, while others aided them in their schools. In addition to this, the Europeans claimed a large share of their attention, and a thorough study of the literature, religions, and history of India, became more and more indispensable to the missionaries.

The result of these labours, however, did not appear in the sudden or rapid conversion of large numbers: 678 was the number of converted heathen after the mission had existed for twenty years; ten more years passed, and the number of those gathered in, dead and living, amounted to 3300. Altogether, the number of their baptized members may be estimated to have been over fifty thousand; and, had the labours of these missionaries been properly sustained, and the places of those who died been filled up, they would have done much towards bringing the whole of Southern India under Christian instruction and influence. But the springs whence their waters came began to dry up. The drought of neology was blighting the fair fields of Germany. The missionaries that came towards the end of the century were gradually diminishing in number, and at last ceased altogether. In 1806 only six missionaries, and in 1816 only three remained, supported, too, with one exception, entirely by English funds. Under these circumstances, many of the native churches, as was natural, fell away and were scattered; the schools were closed; the missions lost their distinctive character; and at length their remnants became totally absorbed in the proceedings of other and more active agencies. Doubtless one cause of their rapid decline

arose from the mighty error, which had been committed from the first, of allowing native converts to retain their caste usages; an error which long existed in subsequent missions, and is retained by the successors of the Tranquebar missionaries at the present hour.

We must not leave out of view, however, the consideration that the eighteenth century was a period, humanly speaking, very unsuited to the progress of Christianity in India. The anarchy occasioned by constant and destructive wars, the confusion and distress which rolled over the land, wherever the Mahrattas on their swift horses hastened to plunder, the oft-recurring famines, the diseases, the strong tie of superstition, the power and influence of heathenism almost unchecked, and therefore in its largest force, all tended to raise mighty difficulties in the way of the spread of the gospel. Add to this the tremendous stumbling-block reared by the conduct of Europeans. The English in India were sunk in an absolute slough of profligacy, and the most disgraceful corruption; knavery and extortion were dominant in all their offices, and rioting and drunkenness in their houses; almost no honesty, no sobriety, no Christianity was to be found among them. Even as to outward ordinances few were the altars erected to the true God, few the ministers of the true religion. Living in a heathen land, they were contented to live as heathens. Here and there a solitary chaplain, if he chanced to be off the bed of sickness, and at his post, and not out on a hunting expedition, ministered to an unwilling congregation, in some riding-school or court-house; married and buried the few who were within his reach, and left the rest to the good offices of laymen. Persons leaving England at an early age, and residing in India, perhaps for twenty or thirty years, would never hear divine service until their return.

In those days the existence of the Sabbath was hardly recognized. All the daily concerns of life went on as usual, with the exception, perhaps, that there was somewhat more than the ordinary abandonment to pleasure. At the military stations the flag was hoisted, and they who saw it knew that it was Sunday; but the work-table and the card-table were resorted to as on week days. The presence of a chaplain even at a military station was in those days no guaranty for the perform-

ance of divine service. Often the commanding officer set his face steadfastly against it. Claudius Buchanan was for some years chaplain at Barrackpore, without once enjoying the privilege of summoning the people to public worship. The first Governor of Calcutta, Job Charnock, cared so little for religion, that it was said the only sign of any regard for Christianity he ever exhibited was that when his Hindu wife died, instead of burning, he buried her.

Shall we not admire, then, the Christian missionaries who bore the burden of that day? Shall we not say that, as a whole, they were giant men, fit to bear the weight of the duties and the cares which fell to their lot?—giants, not in intellect, though many among them were learned and most able; but giants in that moral excellence which constitutes the peculiar charm of the Christian life, in those graces which only the servants of Christ can display; in depth of faith, and love, and zeal, and Christian courage, and diligence, and patience, and forbearance, and steadfast resolution to do only good.

Many of them, even the most devoted, are all but unknown to fame; still they have their reward. But Schwartz, who, besides his spiritual-mindedness and patient zeal, peculiarly exhibited the character of which it is said, "Let your conversation be without covetousness;" the meek, and gentle, and liberal Guerike, the judicious, prudent Schubre, faithful Jänicke, brave Fabricius, and Pohle, and Kohlhoff, and Breithaupt, and many others, are men whose praise is in all the churches.

A spectator of the scene of their labour writes: "The story of their toil is full of the most interesting and instructive lessons, and he who reads it must be cold indeed, if he cannot thank God for the wondrous grace vouchsafed to that church, in furnishing it with the noble men whose deeds it records. It is a story that is so fraught with interest, that we question whether the history of any mission in any country can furnish anything superior to it. All honour be to the men who thus marched in the van of the great army, to whom the conquest of India, and its subjection to the King of kings, is entrusted. Their weapons were not the sword that hews down, the cannon that destroys; their sword was the word of God. No martial

music roused them to the conflict; no shouts speeded their footsteps, or urged them onward with a false courage, to their heavy toil. They were soldiers of the kingdom which cometh not with observation; and they were content to pursue their career, unhonoured, unobserved, and oft despised. They sought not glory in fields, whence arises the wail of widows and orphans; theirs were bloodless victories; for they came not to wound, but to heal; not to enslave but to set free; not to destroy men's lives, but to save them. All honour be to the men who thus bore the brunt of the conflict; but highest honours be given to the great Captain of their salvation, who so wondrously endowed, and led, and blessed them; and who in their example, and in their tale of labour, has left such lessons of profit for the ages that have followed them!"

A few incidents in the lives of these missionaries may illustrate their position at that time. On the capitulation of Cuddalore, in 1782, Mr. Guerike, the missionary in that town, dissuaded the French general from delivering up the place to the troops of Hyder Ali, and thus preserved it from the most cruel devastation. He concealed in his own house seven English officers whom Admiral Suffrein had promised to surrender to the usurper, and thus saved them from the most aggravated tortures and miseries. Shortly after the commencement of the war, the fort of Tanjore, numerously peopled, and scantily provisioned, was reduced to such extremity by famine, that the Sepoys dropped down dead with hunger at their posts, and the streets were every morning strewed with lifeless bodies. There was grain enough in the country; but the countrymen, having formerly been denied full payment for the supplies which they furnished, would bring none, notwithstanding the orders, entreaties, and promises of the Rajah. As the enemy was at hand, and the exigencies of the fort were every moment increasing, Mr. Schwartz was at length empowered to treat with the people; and such was their confidence in that venerable missionary, that he had no sooner circulated letters through the surrounding district, promising to pay with his own hands all persons who should come to the relief of the fort, than he obtained upwards of one thousand bullocks, and so considerable a quantity of corn, that the place was saved, and the inhabitants relieved.

Such, indeed, was the high and universal esteem in which this missionary was held, that a military officer of the time affirms that the integrity of this irreproachable man retrieved the character of the Europeans from the imputation of general depravity. And even Hyder himself, whilst refusing to negotiate in a certain treaty with other persons, was heard to say, "Send me Schwartz; send me the Christian missionary. I will treat with him, for him only can I trust." *

These men have left their record behind them; 70,000 native Christians in Southern India there are who are either the offspring or the successors of those who heard the simple story of the cross from their mouths. Even Calcutta, the metropolis of British India, received its first missionary from the same glorious group; for Kiernander, a Swede by birth, had come to India under continental auspices. In 1758 he left the coast and began a mission in the capital of Bengal. An English society afterwards took this mission up, and the names of David Brown, Thomason, Claudius Buchanan, and Henry Martyn, are still remembered with grateful recollections in India. But this brings us to the modern era of missions in India, which may be dated from the Serampore Baptist missionaries entering upon their field in 1799. This last period is much better known than the previous history of Christianity in India; and we shall be brief, availing ourselves freely of the statements contained in the production of an English missionary in India, which we have named at the head of this article. It is the title of a pamphlet reprinted in England, from the *Calcutta Review* of 1851.

The continental Christians had retired from the work; but the churches of England and America had awoke to their duty, and were seeking to fulfil it. Within a few years stations were established in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, the respective capitals of the three presidencies, and began to push outward into the accessible parts of the country. The beginnings were slow but sure. One society, then another—one missionary and then another, landed on the coast, and took up their posts on the great battlefield of idolatry. North, South, East and West, the Church of Christ was pushing forth its men and

* Choules and Smith, History of Missions.

means into the land with vigour and earnestness of purpose. The Bible Society aided the missionaries in translating the Bible, and within a few years it was circulated among the various nations of India, in several languages for the first time. At first, from want of experience, the missionaries fell into numerous errors and mistakes; mistakes to which all new colonists are liable in all lands. They had to create facilities for acquiring the languages of India, for learning the superstitions, notions and habits of its people. They had to create their various agencies, and to begin the very simplest plans for applying gospel truth to the ignorant objects of their care. But in spite of inexperience, in spite of discouragements and difficulties arising from the language, the people, and the irreligious Europeans, they laid a broad and solid foundation for future sure success.

At the close of 1850, the stations at which the gospel was preached in India and Ceylon, were 260 in number; and engaged the services of 403 missionaries belonging to 22 missionary societies. Of these missionaries 22 were ordained natives. They had founded 309 native churches, "containing 17,356 members or communicants, of whom five thousand were admitted on the evidence of their being converted." The number of schools taught by the missionaries is quite large; but we abstain from giving any more figures; in most cases, they are too bare to convey a correct impression.

Of translations of the Bible, the Tamil Bible of Fabricius, and the Telugu Bible of Schultze, belong to the last century. To the present century belong Dr. Carey's Bengali Bible, his Marathi Bible, and his Uriya Bible; Hunter's Hindustani, and Colebrooke's Persian Gospels; Henry Martyn's Hindustani, and Persian New Testament; the other versions from Serampore, including the Sanscrit Bible; the labours of Dr. Buchanan and Professor Lee with the Syriac Scriptures; Mr. Thomason's commencement of the Hindustani Bible; Mr. Bowley's Hindui Bible; Archdeacon Robinson's Persian Pentateuch; the Malayalim Bible; the Telugu Scriptures prepared at Vizagapatam; the labours of Rhenius with the Tamil version; the Bombay translations of the Bible into Marathi and Guzerathi; the Canarese Bible completed at Bellary; the publication of the

entire Hindustani Old Testament by Mr. Schurman and Mr. Hawkins; the labours of Dr. Yates and Mr. Wenger in a new version of the Sanscrit and of the Bengali Bible; Dr. Glen's Persian Bible; the Punjabee and Urdu Scriptures, prepared by the missionaries of the Presbyterian Board in America; Dr. Sutton's Uriya Bible; and all the various labours of other missionaries in preparing new editions of some of these works; and the translations of separate portions for minor tribes or nations, as the Nepalee, Lepcha, Khasia, Scindee and Cutchee.

In some of these languages a considerable Christian literature has been produced, especially tracts. Missionaries have also established and now maintain twenty-five printing establishments. The total cost of this missionary agency during the year 1850, amounted to £187,000, of which £33,500 were contributed by Europeans in India.

The various missionary societies, from whom these efforts spring, are twenty-two in number; besides the great missionary societies of England, the Established, and Free Church of Scotland's missions, and the American Board, they include the American Presbyterian Board; the American Baptist missions; six societies from Germany, of which the Society of Basle ranks first in its amount of agency; the General Baptist Society; the Wesleyan Society; the Irish Presbyterian Church, and others. The practical and efficient Christian union existing among these different missionaries, is one of the most gratifying phenomena evolved in the Church of these latter days. While occupying stations apart from each other, and thus avoiding occasion of mutual interference with each other's plans, in numberless instances the labourers of different societies cultivate each other's acquaintance, and preach together to the heathen. Almost all use the same versions of the Bible; and the tracts and books written by one missionary become the common property of all others. At Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, the missionaries of all societies are accustomed to meet monthly, for mutual conference and united prayer.

During the year 1850 four missionaries died. And here we would mention a fact, to which the pamphleteer alludes, which may go to correct a widely prevalent misapprehension in relation to the length of missionary service. It is stated by Dr.

Duff, in his work on India Missions, and generally believed, that, owing to the deadly climate of India, the average duration of missionary life is seven years. But this is a great mistake. From a careful induction of the lives or services of two hundred and fifty missionaries, it has been found, that hitherto the average duration of missionary labour in India has been sixteen years and nine months each. It was, doubtless, much less at first, and numerous cases can be adduced in which young missionaries were cut off after a very short term of labour. But a better knowledge of the climate, and the precautions to be used against it, has tended very much to reduce the influence of the climate and preserve health, so that the average duration of life and labour is improving every year. Several living missionaries have been in India more than thirty years. "We must, however, mention here, that some societies sustain their missionaries on a starvation allowance. Numerous missionaries in India receive less than a hundred and fifty rupees a month; and some, little more than one hundred. This is economy at the wrong end."

That the labours of these missionaries, as to the morals and spirituals of the people of India, are not in vain, our missionary journals and reports faithfully tell us, from month to month, and from year to year. Their literary labours, aside from the translation of the Bible, have been by no means insignificant. Coming to a foreign land, and to nations speaking a variety of polished languages, it has been their duty to adapt their instructions to the capacities of their hearers, to address them in their own way, and construct, *ab initio*, a system of agency that shall directly apply Christian truth to the native mind. This object they have kept steadily in view. To missionaries the languages of India owe very much. They found the higher range of terms appropriated by the learned, and they have given them to the common people. They found many of the languages stiff; they have made them flexible. They have brought down the high language of the Brahmin; they have elevated the *patois* of the Sudra, and thus formed a middle tongue, capable of being used with ease and elegance by the best educated classes. Missionaries have compiled more dictionaries and grammars of the tongues of India than any

other class of men. Nor is this without its significance. The first gift poured out upon the newly constituted church was the gift of tongues; and it is the business of the missionary to carry to distant nations, by means of intelligible and intelligent speech, through the word of knowledge, the knowledge of the word.

On a general review of the whole subject we see, then, that the connection of India with the history of the Church catholic has been much closer than would appear at first sight. India shared in the missionary zeal of the post-apostolic age through Pantænus; it was brought into connection with Arianism through Theophilus of Diu; it received the seeds of Manicheeism; it harboured Nestorianism for a very long period; it listened to the prayers offered by Jacobite priests; it bore the yoke of the Papal supremacy; it had its limbs stretched by the ropes and pulleys of the Inquisition; it was beguiled by the wiles of the Jesuits, engaged in disputes with the Franciscans, and felt the scourges of the Dominicans; it was forced to sign the Dutch Reformed symbols; it enjoyed the enlightening and warming rays proceeding from pietistic Halle; it was saddened by the decline of religion during the reign of Rationalism, and has again been opened to the genial influences of the reviving Church, having now within its borders representatives from every part and section of the whole Church. Truly, India must be reserved for great things!

The Brahmins, like the classical nations of antiquity, assume four periods in the world's history; we have endeavoured, in another place, to sketch the outlines of a quadripartite periodology of the civil history of India; its ecclesiastical history, also, easily falls into four periods: the first being that of the Ancient Church as represented by the Syrian churches in Malabar; the second is occupied by the stereotyped corruptions of Romanism; the eighteenth century with its orthodox Lutheranism in Tranquebar, and its preparations for the next period might form the third; and the fourth period would begin at the new era, the commencement of what may emphatically be styled *The Age of Missionary Effort.*

This effort has now extended over half a century; and it has often been observed that a large proportion of the labour,

hitherto has been prospective: but its effects are already in incipient operation; and, on all ordinary principles, a power once in motion is calculated to gather velocity and momentum by its own career. When the time shall have arrived for the mighty masses of India to move with a more simultaneous impulse, it is impossible to calculate the effect; but looking to the magnitude of the operations which have been so long in process, and the vastness of the agencies which have been organized, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the last conquests of Christianity may be achieved with incomparably greater rapidity, than has marked its earlier progress and signalized its first success; and that, as Tennent has observed, in the instance of India, "the ploughman may overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth the seed," and the type of the prophet be realized, "that a nation shall be born in a day."

ART. VI.—*Jewish Expositions of Malachi.*

WE hope that we shall not be suspected of Judaizing tendencies if we present our readers with a specimen of Rabbinical exposition, selecting for this purpose the book of Malachi. The most ancient authorities consulted are the Septuagint version (LXX.), the Targum of Jonathan (T), and the Commentary of Jerome (J), who, as is well known, was instructed both in the language and the interpretation of the Old Testament by a Jew of Palestine. From a later period the commentaries most carefully examined are those of the distinguished Rabbins of the twelfth century, Aben Ezra (A), Solomon ben Isaac, frequently called from his Hebrew initials Rashi (R), and David Kimchi (K); also the Commentary of Solomon ben Melech (M), entitled the "Perfection of Beauty." To avoid unpleasant repetition these will be referred to by their initials as given above. In the execution of our task we shall not single out merely what is frivolous and fanciful, with the view of reducing the labours of the Rabbins to contempt, nor, on the other hand, shall we conceal their weaknesses in

order unduly to exalt their merits, but shall aim rather to present them precisely as they are to the judgment of our readers, retaining that incongruous mixture of puerility and good sense for which they are so remarkable.

No modern critic has thus far ventured, it is believed, to maintain that the book of Malachi was written before the exile, although it might be hazardous to assert that this opinion may not yet be forthcoming, and that they who insist upon placing the books of Moses among the last of the Old Testament may not at some time carry their principle consistently through of reading the Bible wrong end foremost. If this is ever done, and the assertion made that Malachi is the first instead of the last book of the Hebrew Scriptures, one prominent argument will no doubt be (in fact this very argument is actually employed by those who have sought to unsettle the genuineness of a part of Zechariah) that as the prophecy is directed against Israel, it must have been written before the deportation of the ten tribes. A. supplies us with a solution of this difficulty, which may be reserved against this possible time of need. The name *Israel* is applied repeatedly elsewhere to the returned captives, Ezra ii. 70; vi. 17; Neh. xii. 47: and those to whom Malachi speaks he expressly calls Judah, ii. 11. The desolation of Edom, i. 3, took place after the destruction of Jerusalem. And what is said about the marriage of foreign wives, the neglect of tithes, and the contemptuous disregard of the ritual service, (implying that the temple was already rebuilt,) corresponds precisely with the state of things under Nehemiah; to which Mal. i. 8 seems to present no serious objection, for the temper of the existing governor is not there referred to, but the criminality of offering unto God what would be acceptable to no earthly ruler. It appears most probable, therefore, and is now generally assumed, that Malachi was the coadjutor of Nehemiah in his work of reformation, as Haggai and Zechariah were of Joshua and Zerubbabel. The constant testimony of the Rabbins is that Malachi was "the seal," "the last," "the end of the prophets." K. says, "Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi were those who prophesied during the period of the second temple. In Haggai and Zechariah the dates of their prophecies are given; but this is

not the case in Malachi, the explanation of which is that he was the last; wherefore also he is not mentioned in the building of the temple like Haggai and Zechariah. Ezra v. 1; vi. 14." A. alludes to the appropriateness of the last of the prophets, "at whose death prophecy ceased from Israel," closing his message with the emphatic admonition, Remember ye the law of Moses my servant; and if his Jewish prejudices had not forbidden, he would no doubt have called attention to the equally remarkable circumstance of his coupling with this admonition a reference to the Elias who was to be sent, bridging thus the precise interval during which prophecy was to be suspended, and terminating the canon of the Old Testament by an annunciation of the very fact, with the record of whose accomplishment both Mark and Luke begin the gospel history.

The significance of the name Malachi, together with the absence of any statement as to his residence, parentage, or history, has given occasion to numberless speculations touching his person. The name means the angel or messenger of Jehovah. The LXX. prefixes the name Malachias to the book, but in the first verse translates it as though it were an appellative, "the word of the Lord to Israel by his angel," (or messenger, the Greek word, like the Hebrew, signifying either), adding on their own authority, "lay it now to heart." On this was based an opinion held by some allegorizers in the days of Jerome, that Malachi, Haggai, and John the Baptist (the two last named on the ground of Hag. i. 13 and Mal. iii. 1) were not men, but angels drest in human form: to which he replies, that if names are to be thus interpreted and the history constructed from them, Hosea (the Saviour), Joel (the Lord God), and other prophets, must likewise, from the complexion of their names, be admitted to have been not men but angels, or even the Lord and Saviour. Cyril, of Alexandria, also refers to and repels this absurd conceit: "No countenance is to be given to the words which some have vainly uttered respecting him, thinking that he was by nature an angel, but by the will of God he became incarnate, and acted as a prophet to Israel." A much more prevalent opinion was that Malachi was not the real but an assumed name of the prophet, perhaps an official designation drawn from this very prophecy; a view which has found favour

even in modern times, and with such men as Vitringa and Hengstenberg. T. led the way in this field of conjecture, by adding to the first verse, "Malachi, whose name is called Ezra the scribe." J. adopts this view. R. mentions it, see on ii. 11. A. and K. expressly reject it; and so, it may be added, do Abarbenel and Maimonides. In the tract of the Talmud, called Megillah, the conjecture is offered that he was the same with Mordecai, and that he was called Malachi, because he was the first after the king, (מלאכי being composed of מלך *king* and the first letter of the alphabet א!) Others have identified him with Nehemiah, and others still with Zerubbabel: the very variety of these conjectures and the readiness with which any number more could be started of the same sort, showing the precariousness of the ground on which they all rest. There is no more reason for disputing the reality of the name Malachi than there is in the case of any other significant name in sacred or profane history, *e. g.* Moses, Xenophon, Demosthenes, or Winfield Scott. The absence of farther statement regarding him in this book does not imply that it is possible to supplement it from other parts of Scripture. An equally total silence is preserved respecting others of the minor Prophets, viz. Obadiah and Habakkuk. And as to the unusual termination of the name on which Hengstenberg lays so much stress, it being not Malachiah, but Malachi, there are analogies in Uri, Ex. xxxi. 2, Ezra x. 24, and Abi, 2 Kings xviii. 2, which is identical with Abijah 2 Chron. xxix. 1.

The Pseudo-Epiphanius, and after him Dorotheus and Isidore of Seville, undertake to supply the lack of authentic information regarding this prophet, by traditional statements, drawn probably from Jewish sources, and manifestly unreliable. They say that he was of the tribe of Zebulon, born after the return of the people from Babylon, in the town of Sopha, and from his youth he led an excellent life. From the estimation in which he was popularly held on account of his holiness and meekness, as well as from the beauty of his form, he was called Malachi, or an angel. And an angel always appeared immediately after he had prophesied, confirming what he had said. He died while yet young, and was gathered to his fathers in his own field.

The opening word of the title of this book was subjected to the same diversity of explanation in ancient as in modern times. T. followed by J., and as it would appear by K. also, renders it *burden*, thereby implying its threatening, afflictive character. R. translates it simply *prophecy;* the LXX., with its λῆμμα, *assumptio*, differs from both. The expression "by the hand of Malachi" affords R. an opportunity of introducing the Rabbinical figment, that at the giving of the law all the prophets stood on Mount Sinai, and the prophecies were then committed to them, which they were subsequently to deliver to the people. J. finds in it an intimation of the purity of conduct becoming in a prophet, since the word of God is carried by his hands; which, even if tolerable as homiletic application, is as remote from the genuine sense of the expression, as the opinion of those who extort from it a proof of the prophet's inspiration, not only in speaking but in writing.

The heavy charges of sin which the prophet had to bring against the people, are preceded by an exhibition of the free, sovereign and unmerited character of God's love to Israel, as contrasted particularly with his treatment of Jacob's twin brother Esau, i. 2–5, who, if any difference were made, was as the first-born, entitled by the custom of the world to the larger portion, R. K. obscures the freeness of the divine love to Jacob, which is the thing especially prominent, by making the hatred of Esau to depend wholly upon his misdeeds and those of his seed, particularly their ill-treatment of Israel, and rejoicing at their downfall. The comment of the apostle Paul on this passage, Rom. ix., had he accepted it, might have set him right. The waste mountains and heritage of Edom mean not simply that the land assigned him was naturally less fair and productive than that of Israel, R., but that it had experienced a positive desolation, A. K. M. And if Edom should venture, not enriched by the spoils of Jerusalem, R., but encouraged by the fact of the Jews' return, A. K. M., to build up their wastes, the attempt would be divinely frustrated. A. K. understand ver. 5 to mean, Ye from the border, *i. e.*, dwelling within the border of Israel, shall say, The Lord be magnified. M. Ye shall say, The Lord be magnified beyond the border of Israel, *i. e.*, in the last days, over all the earth. T.

departs from the form of the original, and renders, Ye shall say, Great be the glory of the Lord, he has enlarged the bounds of Israel.

The principal Jewish authorities agree in the translation "dragons," or wild beasts of some sort, tenants of the desert, ver. 3, and impoverished, ver. 4; although the LXX. departs from this rendering in both instances, and has been followed in it by many modern scholars. The first word differs from that universally so understood only in having the fem. and not the masc. plural termination. The Masora remarks upon it that precisely the same form occurs in a totally different sense, Judg. xi. 40. The rendering "dwellings" as given by the LXX. and old Syriac, is justified by Gesenius and others on the ground of an Arabic analogy; and instead of "impoverished" he prefers to read "demolished" or "broken down."

This exhibition of God's undeserved and covenant love to Israel is followed by charges of their ingratitude and infidelity to him; and in the first place the contemptuous neglect of the ceremonial service, i. 6—ii. 9, with which especially the priests were chargeable. The "polluted bread" of ver. 7, includes offerings in general, as Lev. iii. 11, 16; xxi. 8; Num. xxviii. 2. The "table of the Lord" is the altar, as Ezek. xli. 22. When they bring to you a blind sheep to sacrifice, ye say it is not evil, though you ought to say that it is unfit for sacrifice as prohibited by the law, Lev. xxii. 22, K. Perform now the proper duty of priests by supplicating his favour, and he will be gracious to us, (the prophet including himself as one of the covenant people, as Ex. xxxiv. 9,) and remove this curse which has been induced by your misdeeds. Do you suppose that He who never respects persons, Deut. x. 17, will respect yours, so as not to reprove your evil conduct? K. A. According to R., the first clause of ver. 9 is ironical, as though it were, How can you, who act thus sinfully, undertake to be mediators for Israel? You are yourselves the guilty cause of this evil; will he hear your prayer, so as to be gracious to them for whom you mediate? Who will close, *i. e.*, O that some one would close, the doors of the court; it were better that no offerings should be brought than such as these; better that you should burn nothing on the altar, than that it should be done thus unacceptably

and to no purpose, K. A. T. J. adopts the view of ver. 10, presented in the English version, considering it a censure of their mercenary motives. There is no one among you down to him who performs the meanest service, I say not the high priest, or the priest, Levite or singer, but the very janitor, and he who puts fire on the altar to burn the sacrifices, must receive pay for his labour from me. R. mentions this opinion as held by others, though himself preferring that given above. The LXX. converts this verse into a threatening of the closing of the temple and the cessation of the service.

Ver. 11 has been strangely misinterpreted. The people, who seemed, in their self-righteous pride, to have felt as though God were dependent on them for homage, and were laid under obligations to them even by the miserable and heartless services which they were performing, were first told, ver. 10, that their worship was utterly offensive, and then, ver. 11, that notwithstanding their defection, there should be no lack of worshippers. J., to whom the diffusion of the gospel had furnished the key, understood it thus. He says, "It is a most manifest prophecy regarding the future. The language of the Lord is addressed to the priests of the Jews, who offer the blind, lame, and sick for sacrifice, to teach them that spiritual victims are to succeed carnal victims. Not the blood of bulls and goats, but incense, that is the prayers of the saints, is to be offered to the Lord, and that not in the single province of Judea, nor in the single city of Jerusalem; but in every place an oblation shall be offered, not impure as by the people of Israel, but pure as in the ceremonies of the Christians."* A., on the authority of his teacher, propounds a view which appears to be similar: In all the world my name is great and honourable among the nations; and their honouring and magnifying my name, shall be imputed to them as though they burned incense before me, and offered a pure oblation. K. (followed by Hitzig in modern times) understands it of the idolatrous heathen. Although they serve the host of heaven, they praise me, since I am the

* Romish commentators, following in the wake of the decision of the Council of Trent, in its 22d session, understand by the "oblation" of this verse, the sacrifice of the mass; and some of them even claim that Jerome meant the same thing by the word "ceremonies," cited above.

First Cause; and they serve them under the impression that they are mediators between me and them. If I had given them the law as I have to you, they would have burned incense and offered sacrifices to my name. What they offer to idols is given with the intention of serving me. Rabbi Azariah is quoted as holding the opinion that this verse refers to the kings of the Gentiles, who brought their gifts to Jerusalem, and with their presents honoured and beautified the sanctuary of Jehovah. (Somewhat similarly, Maurer.) R. and T. apply it to the Jews scattered in all parts of the earth: Wherever ye pray to me, even in captivity, a pure oblation is offered to my name. The prophet says, From the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, because the earth is all habitable from east to west, but not from north to south, K. A. remarks that the word rendered "incense" may be either a verb or a noun.

Ver. 12. In contrast with the heathen who would one day honour God's great name, they profaned it by the mean estimate they put upon his service. J. thinks they spoke of the table of the Lord as polluted, because of the poverty and inferiority of the second temple compared with that of Solomon. In the last clause A. expresses the sense given by the English version: "The fruit of it, even its meat is contemptible." K. and R. take fruit to mean the same as "fruit of the lips." Isa. lvii. 19. His language (viz. that of the officiating priest) is that the meat of the altar is contemptible.

Ver. 13. And ye say, What a weariness is it! *i. e.*, how weary and tired I am of this sheep which I have carried upon my shoulder, implying that it is large and fat; whereas it is so lean and thin, that you could, by a puff of your breath, bring it to the ground: Joseph Kimchi, father of David. See Eng. ver. marg. The clause which our version renders correctly, "Ye have snuffed at or contemptuously treated it," is again by others of the Rabbins understood to mean, "ye have made him sigh;" *i. e.*, offering to me animals taken by unrighteous violence, (Eng. ver. torn,) you have distressed their proper owners. R., conformably to a reading to be mentioned presently: Ye have distressed me and him who sent me. K. follows T. in rendering, Ye have thrown it (the animal for sacrifice) down contemptuously.

A. R. J. explain the weariness of the inability which the people profess in consequence of the poverty and the curse under which they are labouring, to bring the required offerings. "Ye have snuffed at it" is one of the eighteen passages which in the Masora go by the name of Tikkun Sopherim or correction of the Scribes. According to the idea of those who noted it, the thought as it lay in the mind of the sacred writer when he commenced his sentence, was, "ye have snuffed at me;" but in penning it, he so far modified it as to write "ye snuffed at it." The Tikkun Sopherim is in this case as in the others a mere rabbinical conceit, possessing neither critical nor exegetical value.

Ver. 14. The male is by implication a perfect male, as the wool, Isa. i. 18, is white wool. A vow is spoken of because things were admissible in free-will offerings which were not allowed in fulfilment of vows. Lev. xxii. 23, K. J. presents us with an allegorical interpretation of this verse, for which certainly his Jewish teacher is not responsible: the deceiver is the Jewish people, Christ the male of the flock, and the corrupt thing which they chose in preference to him was Barabbas, a type of the devil.

Ch. ii. ver. 2. A. adduces as parallel to "I will curse your blessings," the phrase "enlighten my darkness." Ps. xviii. 28. R. explains "blessings" to mean those things of yours which needed to be blessed, corn, wine and oil.

Ver. 3. By "feasts" here as in Ps. cxviii. 27, Isa. xxix. 1, Ex. xxiii. 18, are to be understood the cattle of their offerings, such multitudes of which were sacrificed at every feast, K. He goes on to say: The meaning is, as you have despised me in your offerings, I will despise you in them; the thing which is vilest about your cattle I will spread upon your faces, *i. e.*, I will bring you into contempt by means of a famine, (comp. Joel ii. 19,) for I will destroy the seed which you sow and you shall be in want of bread and shall be disgraced among the nations. And it (iniquity) shall take you away unto it, (this shameful degradation.) Measure for measure; ye despised me and ye shall be despised. A. explains the last clause, He (the enemy) shall take you away unto himself. T. I will reveal the shame of your sins upon your faces, and will put a stop to the

multitude of your feasts, and your portion shall be removed from it.

The best rendering of ver. 5, seems to be, "my covenant was with him life and peace and I gave them to him: it was fear and he feared me and was afraid before my name." Such were the stipulations pledged and actually given on either side. K. and R. render as in the English version. T. J. and LXX., And I gave him fear and he feared me. The pledge of "life," K. thinks to have been at least partially fulfilled in the longevity of Phinehas, grandson of Aaron; even if he were not to be identified with Elijah, thus escaping death altogether, he must have attained the age of three hundred years, as is shown by the mention made of him in the affair of the concubine at Gibeah, Judg. xx. 28. K. assumes in this computation that this event, because recorded at the close of the book of Judges, was subsequent to all that had been previously related: whereas it together with the narrative of Micah forms a supplement to the body of the book, containing facts which the writer did not choose wholly to omit, but which it did not comport with his plan to introduce, in their strictly chronological sequence.

In the next section of his prophecy Malachi reproves the people for their sin in marrying foreign wives, ii. 10–16, as a gross transgression against the common unity of Israel and their covenant relation to God.

Ver. 10. Have we not all (your Israelitish wives as well as yourselves) one father, *i. e.*, Jacob? and we all believe in one God as our creator. Why then do we deal treacherously one against another, husbands against their native wives, by taking in addition wives from foreign nations and loving them more than the first? K. A. One Rabbi is quoted as entertaining the strange opinion, that the first clauses of the verse contain the language of those who had married foreign wives, and who object to the strictures of the prophet: Are we not all alike descendants of Adam and creatures of the same God? The "covenant of our fathers" is that which the Blessed made with our fathers at Sinai, R. K. comments on this expression thus: The covenant of our fathers was not to deal treacherously against their wives. For Abraham our father, although he had no children by Sarah, did not deal treacherously against her in

taking another wife besides her, until she said to him of her own accord that he should take Hagar, Gen. xvi. 2. And so Isaac our father, although Rebekah was barren, did not take another besides her. And so Jacob our father did not take a wife of his own will in addition to his wives, until they gave him leave.

Ver. 11. Even in Jerusalem the place of the sanctuary they commit this abomination. By the holiness of the Lord is meant the cleaving together of man and wife, as is required Gen. ii. 24. At the close of the prohibited degrees Israel is commanded to be holy, Lev. xix. 2, in contrast with the heathen who indulge in such practices. Israel is also called "holiness to the Lord," Jer. ii. 3; and holiness is profaned by unjustly treating a daughter of Israel, and marrying besides her "the daughter of a strange god," *i. e.*, one who serves a strange god. This expression stands in opposition to that of the previous verse—One God hath created us, K.

Ver. 12. The learner (the one awake, of an active acute mind), and the teacher a wise man (the one answering.) R. M. precisely reverses them, as does the English version, understanding by the wakeful, the teacher, and by him who answers, the pupil. Both refer these expressions to the schools of learning, as that which follows has reference to the penalty to be inflicted on disobedient priests. J. adopts the same rendering, but applies the term "master" to the priests, and "scholar" to the laity. K. explains the expression to mean every living person; him who is alive (awake, as opposed to the sleep of death) and can answer to his name. A. and T. son and son's son. The rendering of the LXX. ἕως ταπεινωθῇ seems to have arisen from mistaking the letters of the original text for עד ינוה, the verb thus formed being read as a Pual future.

Ver. 13. "This second thing ye do:" the first was offering on the altar what had been taken by violence or was blemished; the second is covering it with the tears of the daughters of Israel, caused by your unrighteous treatment of them. The altar being subjected to this double injury, God would accept nothing that was offered upon it, A. K. According to R. the first grievance was for any one even though previously unmarried to be wedded to a Gentile at all, ver. 10–13; the second still

more aggravated, was for one already joined to a woman of Israel to take in addition to her, and to put over her Gentile wives, the only excuse being that the beauty of the former had been injured by the famine and the captivity. The word "second" has been mistaken by the LXX. for "I hate," which has in the original somewhat similar letters.

Ver. 14. And if ye say, What reason is there in our treatment of our wives, why he should not accept our oblations? the answer is, Because Jehovah has been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, that thou dost not love her, and thy heart is not with her, and thou hast dealt treacherously against her. She is thy companion even if she were not the wife of thy youth; how much more when she is the wife of thy youth, whom it is incumbent upon thee to love exceedingly and not to refuse. Isa. liv. 6. He says "thy covenant wife" because thou madest a covenant between thee and her when thou tookest her to wife, K.

Ver. 15. The brevity and elliptical character of the expressions in this verse make it exceedingly difficult, and have given rise to great variety in its interpretation, in ancient as well as in modern times. The best view of it, and, as it would appear, the oldest, for it is expressed by T., seems to be that it is an allusion to the case of Abraham, behind whose connection with Hagar, the cotemporaries of the prophet sought to shelter themselves from his reproofs. K. copied by M., One (*i. e.*, Abraham who was one and was father to all who follow him in his faith) did not do (as ye are doing). Excellency of spirit (Eng. ver. marg.) was to him, consequently he was not led by carnal lust, but married even Sarah only in obedience to the command. Gen. i. 28. Joseph Kimchi finds in it the same general reference, but reads it interrogatively as the language of the people objecting to the prophet: Did not Abraham our father, who was one, do as we are doing? for he married Hagar his maid, although excellency of spirit was to him, *i. e.*, he was a prophet. And Malachi replies, But what was the one (Abraham) seeking? When he married Hagar, he only married to seek seed, since he had no son by Sarah. And nevertheless, he did not deal treacherously against his wife, for he did, by her pleasure and leave, what he did. Surely ye should take heed unto your-

selves, and none of you should deal treacherously against the wife of his youth, to leave her and marry the daughter of a strange god. R. explains it to mean that God made one pair at first and the rest of the spirits (all other human souls) proceeded from them. J. also, like the English version, refers it to the original creation of a single human pair, as revealing the true character and design of matrimony. Another Rabbinical explanation applies it to Israel generally, as a unique people and distinguished above other nations. Did not God constitute Israel his own peculiar people and make them one, distinct from all others, requiring them to preserve their race from foreign mixture? Excellency of spirit, or special endowments, were granted to them. They should therefore seek to intermarry only with the godly seed, the daughters of Israel. A. paraphrases it, "Not one of you has done (according to the law) and his spirit is left to him:" by which he may have meant they were all transgressing, although by God's mercy they were continued in life, or no one has acted as though the Spirit of God were still with him. If the latter, it would be similar to the explanation of L. de Dieu, (which Maurer has spoiled in the borrowing.) No one has acted as ye are doing who had any remains of the Spirit's influence upon his heart: and how could one act thus, seeking the seed of God? Abarbenel renders it: It is not one of you alone who has acted thus, while the rest had a better spirit. The *οὐ καλὸν* of the LXX. is perhaps an error of transcription for *οὐκ ἄλλος*. K. remarks on the last clause of this verse, that it is the custom of the Scriptures to pass from the second to other persons in the same connection.

Ver. 16. The only true sense of the first clause is that given by A. The Lord hates that a man should put away his pure wife. The LXX. T. J. K. M. and R. are united in putting upon it an exactly opposite sense, making it to sanction divorce. If he hate (his wife), let him put her away (Eng. ver. marg.), a rendering which the original will not bear. K. remarks, It is proper to dismiss her with a bill of divorce, that she may go and be married to another, but to retain her and hate her in thy heart, is dealing very treacherously. In the Talmudic tract Gittin, or Divorces, different Rabbins are introduced

maintaining the two views of this clause given above; and the discrepancy is reconciled by saying that the former is true in the case of the first wife, and the latter in the case of the second. The next clause is also variously explained. A. The Lord hates that a man should cover violence with his garment; he sees what is done in secret. R. Is it proper that thou shouldest spread thy robe over her to take her to thee to wife, and then cover the robe with violence by hating her in thy heart, and grieving and vexing her continually? K. The meaning is, that he makes it appear as though he loved her, and he cleaves to her as his garment which he is unwilling to put off; so he will not dismiss her, and yet he hates her. This is violence covering his garment.

The next section of the prophecy, ii. 17—iii. 6, is occupied with those who denied the righteousness of God's dispensations, and points them to a time when that righteousness should be fully and finally vindicated, viz., the coming of the Lord to his temple. The single feature of Messiah's work which is here sundered from all the others, not because it is its only or even most important characteristic, but simply because it alone is in point here, is that of purification and judgment. And the whole of what he was to accomplish in this respect is here regarded, as it were, in the aggregate, or condensed into one view from the outset of his earthly ministry, when he scourged out of the temple them that were profaning it, to the final and complete separation which he is yet to make of the wicked from among the just. So that the question, whether it is the first coming of Christ that is referred to, or his second coming, is wholly out of place; and every attempt to explain this passage of one or the other exclusively, must be unsuccessful. The prophet does not undertake to distinguish between Christ's successive comings. His entire work of judgment consequent upon his appearance in the world is the thing intended.

Ver. 17. Wearying the Lord is spoken of after the manner of men, for the Blessed faints not, neither is weary. Isa. xl. 28. Every one that doeth evil is good in the sight of the Lord; or if this is not the case, where is the God of judgment? Why does he not inflict deserved punishment upon them? K.

Chap. iii. ver. 1. The error of the Jewish interpreters in

relation to the messenger here spoken of, who should prepare the way before the coming of the Lord, is a natural consequence of their refusal to recognize its fulfilment. K. R. M. think that an angel from heaven is intended. A. supposes that Messiah ben Joseph is meant; a figment of the Rabbins who, unable to reconcile the seemingly contradictory statements regarding the person and acts of the coming Redeemer, alleged that there were to be two Messiahs, one a descendant of Joseph, who should suffer and die, the other a son of David, who should conquer and reign. Preparing the way before the Lord, K., by an error into which other interpreters have fallen since, in relation to other passages than the present, converts into removing obstructions from the way of the returning exiles. "The Lord," according to K., is king Messiah. The angel (or messenger) of the covenant is likewise Messiah (so also A.), or else Elijah (so also M.) of whom it is related in the Hagada, that he was very zealous for the covenant of circumcision when Jezebel prohibited its observance. He shall come suddenly, for no man shall know the day of his coming until it shall actually take place; because the end is not revealed in the book of Daniel. (This last sentence is probably directed against Christians who find the date of Messiah's advent in the prophecy of the seventy weeks.) It may be worth observing, that J. remarks upon the citations from this verse in the New Testament, "It is manifest that the apostles, evangelists, and the Saviour himself, did not follow the authority of the septuagint, which being acquainted with the Hebrew language they did not need to do, but they translated what they read, from the Hebrew; non curantes de syllabis punctisque verborum, dummodo sententiarum veritas transferatur."

Ch. iii. 7–12, reproves the people for their negligence in bringing tithes and offerings, in consequence of which they had been burdened with a curse which would only be removed upon their return to their duty.

The concluding section of the book, iii. 13—iv. 6, replies to those who say that it is vain to serve God, by pointing to the manner in which the righteous and the wicked are even now respectively regarded by the Lord, and to the distinction palpable to all which shall one day be made between them. K.

remarks that the prophet reproves his hearers again for saying that there was no judge and no judgment.

The form of the verb rendered ver. 13, "we have spoken so much" and ver. 16, "spake often," denotes as in Ezek. xxxiii. 30, the frequent repetition of the speaking, K. The form is sometimes used as a passive, at other times it expresses as here reciprocal action, an interchange of words with one another, talking, conversing, which is by implication frequent and continued.

Ver. 14, 15 are the language of men who understood not the ways of the Lord nor his judgments. And when those who fear the Lord, hear the words of these men who deny the providence of God in sublunary affairs, they speak one to another and multiply their words, and repeat them, and give themselves to them, until they find by their understanding that "all his ways are judgment; a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is he." The Blessed hears their words and shall reward them. A book of remembrance is spoken of here as in Ex. xxxii. 32, Dan. xii. 1, after the manner of men, since kings keep such records; but there is no forgetfulness with the Blessed. What they say who fear the Lord and think upon his name, is kept for them to eternity. They who think upon his name are they who meditate perpetually upon the ways of God, and the doctrines of theology, for his name is himself and he is his name, K.

R. paraphrases ver. 14–16, thus: We have served God and kept his ordinance, and now we see the wicked prosper until we bless them on account of the results of their wickedness. Men tempt him saying, We will see what he is able to do to us, and yet they are delivered from evil and stumble not. The Lord answers them, At the very time that the wicked are committing their iniquity and the good walking mournfully before me, they that feared the Lord spake to one another not to cleave to their evil deeds, and as for me your words are not forgotten before me. Although I hasten not to render a recompense, I have hearkened and heard and commanded a book of remembrance to be written for them, and their words are preserved before me.

R. renders ver. 17 as is done in the English version, only he

understands by the jewels or treasure that recompense which God has laid aside respectively for the righteous and the wicked. The LXX., J., A., K., and M. depart from the order of the words as indicated by the Masoretic punctuation, and connect them thus: They (*i. e.*, the pious of this generation who shall be raised from the dead, and the pious of that generation also, K.) shall be my jewels or special treasure in the day which I am making, (*i. e.*, the day of judgment when I judge the wicked, K.) K. paraphrases thus the latter part of this verse and the next: I will spare them, so that the evil which consumes the wicked shall not overtake them. A father spares all his sons, Ps. ciii. 13, but still more the one that serves him. Then shall be proved the distinction between the righteous and the wicked; and workers of iniquity shall no more say, It is good in the eyes of the Lord; it is vain to serve God.

Chap. iv. 1, 2. The day that cometh is the day of judgment, in which the wicked shall be consumed quickly like stubble; but the Sun of Righteousness shall arise upon the good, and they shall be delivered from all evil and rejoice with a glad heart, K. A. and R., however, understand the burning as an oven not of the flames of Gehenna, but of the excessive heat of the sun, which shall then be invested with unwonted power. His rays should be beneficent and salutary to the righteous, but bring injury and ruin to the wicked. The view here alluded to is more fully presented in Breshith Rabba, in which, as quoted, Bux. Rab. Lex. p. 1398, it is said: "There is a pool of waters about the sun, and when it rises, God weakens its strength, that it go not forth and inflame the whole world. But hereafter the holy and blessed God shall strip it of its covering, and burn with it the wicked, as it is said, The day cometh that shall burn as an oven." "Root nor branch" is rendered by T., son nor son's son. Wings means the light of the sun spread over the earth, as in Joel ii. 2, the dawn is said to be thus spread. Whithersoever ye go forth, ye shall be fruitful, and grow like calves of the stall, which are great in fatness and flesh, K.

Ver. 3. Now the wicked rule you, but then ye shall trample them under the soles of your feet. Although it had

been said that the coming day should burn them up, their consumption should not be instantaneous, but gradual, and occupying a short time; but so long as they last, they shall be trampled beneath the feet of the righteous. The figure of ashes is employed because the coming day shall burn them, K.

Ver. 4. Until the day of judgment shall come, remember throughout every generation the law of Moses my servant, to do according to all that is written in it, as I commanded in Horeb: not according to the words of those (Christians are no doubt principally intended) who say that it was given for a time in its literal sense, but an interpreter should come and expound it spiritually; this verse is an answer to them, K. The letter of unusual size, with which the word Remember commences, as explained, Buxt. Comment. Masoret, p. 156, is designed to call attention to the importance of the injunction, or, in the opinion of others, as the numerical power of the letter is seven, it alludes to the five books of Moses, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, as the seven parts composing the entire Scriptures.

Ver. 5. Although I have thus admonished you respecting the law of Moses throughout every generation, nevertheless for your good I will send you Elijah the prophet. The meaning of which is that his soul which went up to heaven shall be brought back into a body created like his former body; for his former body returned to the earth at his ascension, every element to its element. And after he shall be restored to the body, he shall be sent to Israel before the day of judgment, which is the great and dreadful day of the Lord, K. The substitution by the LXX. of Elijah the Tishbite for Elijah the prophet, also betrays an expectation of his personal reappearance. The same view is presented in the book of Sirach xlviii. 10. J. remarks upon the combination of Moses and Elias here, as they were afterwards united in their appearance when Christ was transfigured, Moses representing the law, and Elijah the prophets, since the law and the whole choir of the prophets predict the passion of Christ. In opposition to Jews and heretics he cites the language of the Saviour applying this prediction to John the Baptist. M. makes upon this verse the verbal remark, that "before" and "behind" are primarily said of

the human body, whence they are transferred to other things, particularly to antecedence and posteriority in point of time.

Ver. 6. He shall admonish both fathers and children to return with all their heart to the Lord, and they who return shall be delivered from the day of judgment. He gives this admonition, lest in the day that is coming the Lord smite the whole earth, and it be accursed. They who will not receive it, shall perish in the wilderness of nations or at the day of judgment in the land of Israel: but they who are admonished shall shine as the brightness of the firmament and as the stars for ever and ever, K. A. and M. agree with K. in rendering "the heart of the fathers in addition to or together with the children, and the heart of the children in addition to their fathers." R. "He shall turn the heart of the fathers by means of the children, and the heart of the children by means of the fathers," a rendering, which the original will not admit. The LXX. and J. translate as the English version. The sense is thus given by J.: Before the day of judgment come and the Lord smite the earth with a curse whether utterly or suddenly (as the Seventy translate,) the Lord shall send in Elijah the whole choir of prophets, who shall bring back the heart of the fathers to the children, viz., that of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and all the patriarchs, so that their posterity may believe in the Lord the Saviour, in whom they too believed, for Abraham saw the day of the Lord and was glad; as the heart of the father to the son, that is the heart of God to every one who has received the spirit of adoption; and the heart of the children to their fathers, that Jews and Christians who now disagree with each other may be united in an equal reverence of Christ. For if Elijah shall not first turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, when the great and dreadful day shall come (great to the saints, dreadful to sinners) the true and righteous judge shall smite not the heavens nor those who dwell in heaven, but the earth and those who are engaged in earthly works, with a curse.

A. concludes his exposition with a reference to the writing which is said, 2 Chron. xxi. 12, to have come to Jehoram from the prophet Elijah, and which he argues could not have been written prior to his ascension and left to be transmitted to that

king, but must have been written at the time and sent directly by Elijah. And there is no doubt, he adds, that he is to reappear, and may the Lord in his mercy hasten his prophecy and speed the end of his coming. May the Lord, we would rejoin, speedily remove the veil which still remains untaken away from the heart of Israel according to the flesh.

ART. VII.—*The Life of Mrs. Sherwood, (chiefly autobiographical) with Extracts from Mr. Sherwood's Journal during his imprisonment in France and residence in India. Edited by her daughter*, Sophia Kelly. London: 1854. pp. 600, 8vo.

SOME years ago, we in common with thousands of readers in England and America—we may now add India—looked with avidity for every new publication of Mrs. Sherwood; holding her to be, without exception, the most captivating writer in her chosen branch of literature, which was that of religious narrative. And as we never yielded to the prudery of those ultra-puritanic censors, who would proscribe all story books, if they happened to inculcate divine things, or essayed by beautiful parables to lead the youthful mind to Christ, we rejoiced unfeignedly in the wide circulation given to books, which, along with a very pardonable Episcopalian provincialism, taught the true gospel, and the way of a sinner's return to God. There are many who can never forget the first time they read and wept over "Little Henry and his Bearer;" and we know those to whom the "Lady of the Manor" was almost a Christian Library. Mrs. Sherwood had the rare faculty of being long without being tedious, and her protracted descriptions, adding to the seeming reality of the story, have sometimes reminded us of De Foe.

At a certain time, exceedingly painful rumours came to our ears, respecting the orthodoxy of Mrs. Sherwood. It was confidently asserted that she had yielded some cardinal doctrines of the faith; that her later volumes had broached heresy; in a

word that she was known as a Universalist. It ought to be for an instruction and a warning—but multitudes believed this evil report and ceased to read the works of this once honoured author. The appearance of the volume named above has delightfully dispelled some of our apprehensions, and restored this excellent Christian woman to her former place in our affectionate reverence. We observe here no deviation from the catholic faith of evangelical Christendom. What other views may be offered in any among her voluminous writings, we cannot venture to say; but in this memoir, which is largely made up of her own diary and reminiscences, we remember nothing which would strike even the most fastidious as unsafe; unless it should be her belief in the premillennial advent, and her accordance with Dr. Malan, as to the faith of assurance. Mrs. Sherwood was no Unitarian. "Some have believed of me," she used to say, "that I doubt that my Saviour, my Redeemer, is perfect God as well as perfect man. Oh! those who say so cannot know how, through the Divine blessing of the Holy Spirit, I have been taught to see this Saviour. No created being could suffer what our Lord has suffered for us, his ransomed brethren. Christ's love for us is eternal—fathomless—divine." She was no Universalist; as we learn from the following remarks of her daughter. "It was whilst we were living in Britannia Square, Worcester, a very large parcel arrived from America, containing many splendidly bound volumes, as a present to me. The books were from a numerous party in America, called the 'Universalists,' with which I disclaim all connnection, as I believe their doctrines, as far as I know them, are a denial of the Holy Scriptures; as they say that the mercy of God is bestowed upon man without the ransom being obtained by Christ. These persons, in their journals, have declared me, and also my daughter Sophia, members of their body; but we wrote at once to disclaim it, though I have reason to think our letters were never published. The works sent, though finely got up, were hateful to us from their sentiments; and Dr. Streeten closed the parcel up again, and forwarded them to a gentleman in Bristol who had dealings in America, who promised to return them from whence they came; and so it was done. It was for the purpose of declaring that my whole trust

and confidence are on the righteousness of my Divine Saviour that I then set to work to write a statement of my belief, which I did in the story of Evelyn, in the third volume of 'The Fairchild Family.'"

The most valuable part of this large volume is the autobiography. If sometimes it abounds in family details and motherly gossip, we believe every cultivated reader will forgive this, for the sake of the characteristic power of description, and the glimpses afforded into corners of English society, both literary and religious, which are seldom revealed, and which, as to manner and effect, often remind us of Mrs. More and Madame d'Arblay.

Mrs. Sherwood was born in 1775, and was a daughter of the Rev. George Butt, a clergyman of the Church of England. The picture which she gives of this accomplished and remarkably winning man, is in her very best manner. Her early life was one of delightful freedom, hilarity and improvement. She was introduced to many notabilities of the day, such as Miss Seward, Miss H. More, and Dr. Valpy. The journal of Henry Sherwood, afterwards her husband, kept during his detention in France, in the eventful year 1797, is not the least interesting part of the book.

Being gifted from early childhood with a talent for story-telling, which was almost oriental, and growing up amidst all the incitements of literary commerce, she could scarcely refrain from composition, and very early entered on the career of authorship as a novelist. Of the works entitled "Margarita," "Susan Grey," and "Estelle," we know nothing but what she tells us; they seem to have gained a certain vogue. The great era of her life was opened by her going to India; and the occasion of this was her marriage in 1803, to an army officer, Captain Sherwood, a man of eminent piety, and the friend of Bishop Corrie, Henry Martyn and Thomason. The life of Mr. and Mrs. Sherwood in India was truly a missionary life. We do not see how it could have been more so, if they had been formally dedicated to the work. And we own that our interest in the volume before us is chiefly derived from this fact, and from the intercourse of Mrs. Sherwood with those devoted servants of Christ, Corrie and Martyn. Of Martyn's little peculiarities

and personal traits, there is so much more in Mrs. Sherwood's easy narrative than in the published biography of that remarkable missionary and confessor, that we shall gratify our readers by copious extracts on this head; especially as the volume is not republished in America. If these are inserted with a frequency not common in our pages, let it be remembered, that material so tempting seldom offers itself for our selection. The first gives an account of Mr. Martyn, at Dinapore; it is Mrs. Sherwood who writes:

"The instant we came to anchor at Dinapore, Mr. Sherwood set out on foot to carry a letter which he had brought from Mr. Parson to Mr. Henry Martyn, who eventually became one of our dearest friends. Mr. Martyn's quarters at Dinapore were in the smaller square, as far as could be distant from our old quarters, but precisely the same sort of church-like abode, with little furniture, the rooms wide and high, with many vast doorways having green jalousied doors, and long verandahs encompassing two sides of the quarters. Mr. Martyn received Mr. Sherwood not as a stranger, but as a brother, the child of the same father. As the sun was already low, he must needs walk back with him to see me. I perfectly remember the figure of that simple-hearted and holy young man, when he entered our budgerow. He was dressed in white, and looked very pale, which, however, was nothing singular in India; his hair, a light brown, was raised from his forehead, which was a remarkably fine one. His features were not regular, but the expression was so luminous, so intellectual, so affectionate, so beaming with divine charity, that no one could have looked at his features and thought of their shape or form; the outbeaming of his soul would absorb the attention of every observer. There was a very decided air, too, of the gentleman about Mr. Martyn, and a perfection of manners which, from his extreme attention to all minute civilities, might seem almost inconsistent with the general bent of his thoughts to the most serious subjects. He was as remarkable for ease as cheerfulness, and in this particular this Journal does not give a graphic account of this blessed child of God. I was much pleased at the first sight of Mr. Martyn. I had heard much of him from Mr. Parson; but had no anticipation of his hereafter becoming

so distinguished as he subsequently did. And if I anticipated it little, he, I am sure anticipated it less, for he was one of the humblest of men.

"Mr. Martyn invited us to visit him at his quarters at Dinapore, and we agreed to accept his invitation the next day. Mr. Martyn's house was destitute of every comfort, though he had multitudes of people about him. I had been troubled with a pain in my face, and there was not such a thing as a pillow in the house. I could not find anything to lay my head on at night but a bolster, stuffed as hard as a pin-cushion. We had not, as is usual in India, brought our own bedding from the boats. Our kind friend had given us his own room; but I could get no rest during the two nights of my remaining there, from the pain in my face, which was irritated by the bolster; but during each day, however, there was much for my mind to feed upon with delight. After breakfast Mr. Martyn had family prayers, which he commenced by singing a hymn. He had a rich, deep voice, and a fine taste for vocal music. After singing, he read a chapter, explained parts of it, and prayed extempore. Afterwards, he withdrew to his studies and translations. The evening was finished with another hymn, scripture reading, and prayers. The conversion of the natives and the building up of the kingdom of Christ, were the great objects for which alone that child of God seemed to exist then, and, in fact, for which he died.

"I wish that I could remember more of his conversation at that time; but my memory has been too often heavily laden with diversified subjects to be always vigorous and distinct. There is a reference in 'The Infant's Progress' to one elegant idea of his respecting a rose transfixed with a thorn. The natives have a peculiar taste for forming nosegays by fixing flowers of various colours and descriptions on a thorny branch, and these the gardener often presents as an offering to his master. This offering is usually laid on the breakfast-table. The flowers thus parted from their own stem begin to languish instantly, soon collapse, and lose their bloom and fragrance. It may easily be imagined how such a mind as that which Henry Martyn had, might apply this emblem to the union

between Christ and his people; showing how our life depends on our union, and with him only, as the only living root.

"We were much pleased with Mr. Martyn's sermon, and yet I do not now even remember the text. Mr. Martyn showed us in the Calcutta Collection, which we used in India, a hymn which he had caused to be sung at the funeral of a young and lovely lady, the wife of an officer of the regiment then in Dinapore. Little did I anticipate the circumstances under which I myself selected this hymn to be sung many a year after, at the funeral sermon of my daughter Emily:

> 'When blooming youth is snatched away
> By death's resistless hand,
> Our hearts the mournful tribute pay
> Which pity must demand.'

"In my Indian journal I find this remark:—'Mr. Martyn is one of the most pleasing, mild, and heavenly-minded men, walking in this turbulent world with peace in his mind, and charity in his heart.'"

The references to Bishop Corrie, first in connection with Martyn, and afterwards by himself, confirm the judgment which we had already formed of this excellent man. It was no small privilege to be joined to two such servants of Christ, as were Captain Sherwood and his gifted wife:

"As we were proceeding we met with a boat, bringing us bread and vegetables from kind Mr. Corrie, the late Bishop of Madras, a friend of Mr. Parson, then stationed as chaplain at Chunar. This was the beginning of our intercourse with the simple-hearted, holy Christian. God, in his infinite mercy, though we knew it not, was beginning to lead us out from worldly society into that of his chosen and most beloved children in India. He hitherto hedged our way with sharp thorns, but he was preparing the roses, which after a little while were to render the few last years of our residence in the East as happy as human beings can be in the present state of existence.

"As the day broke, having not yet left Benares behind us, but being still near some parts of the city, we heard a confused noise of horns, cracked drums, and other nondescript instruments, we cannot say of music, but of discord, sufficient to ter-

rify any one who did not know from whence it came. These sounds were from different places of worship at Benares. It was here that Mr. Corrie first began his ministry in India, and many of his letters to Mr. Martyn are dated from thence. It is very probable that had he not been removed from this place, within two or three years afterwards, his life must have fallen a sacrifice to the excessive heats. Mr. Sherwood walked up from the river to the Fort, when he landed at Chunar, and he found Mr. Corrie in quarters there. He breakfasted with him whilst the fleet was coming up, and when it came in view he brought Mr. Corrie on board our pinnace. He remained with us three hours, whilst the greater part of the fleet was labouring through the dangerous rapid which is opposite Chunar, and then he left us. And now let me endeavour to recover my first impression of that humble and blessed child of God, Mr. Corrie. He was a tall man, nearly six feet high; his features were not good, from the length of his face, but the expression of his countenance was as full of love as that of my father's—more I cannot say—with a simplicity wholly his own. He never departed from the most perfect rules of politeness; he never said a rude or unkind thing; and never seemed to have any consciousness of the rank of the person with whom he was conversing. He was equally courteous to all, and attentive to every individual who came within his observation. I had been greatly pleased with Mr. Martyn; I could not be less so with Mr. Corrie. A letter from Mr. Parson had apprized him of our approach, and he met us not as strangers, but in every respect treated us as a dear brother and sister, opening out his own plans for instructing the people, and urging us to make every exertion for the cause of Christianity. This excellent man, as I said, remained nearly three hours with us, until we, with the whole fleet had passed Chunar; he was then obliged to leave us, returning in a small boat."

The long extract which we shall next give, will go further, by its graphic character, to illustrate the life of Europeans in India, than any account of equal length within our knowledge.

"The mode of existence of an English family during the hot winds in India is so very unlike anything in Europe, that I must not omit to describe it, with reference especially to my

own situation then at Cawnpore. Every outer door of the house and every window is closed; all the interior doors and venetians are, however, open, whilst most of the private apartments are shut in by drop curtains or screens of grass, looking like fine wire-work, partially covered with green silk. The hall, which never has any other than borrowed lights in any bungalow, is always in the centre of the house; and ours, at Cawnpore, had a large room on each side of it, with baths and sleeping-rooms. In the hot winds I always sat in the hall at Cawnpore. Though I was that year without a baby of my own, I had my orphan, my little Annie, always by me, quietly occupying herself when not actually receiving instruction from me. I had given her a good-sized box, painted green, with a lock and key; she had a little chair and table.

"She was the neatest of all neat little people, somewhat *faddy* and particular, perchance. She was the child, of all others, to live with an ancient grandmother. Annie's treasures were few; but they were all contained in her green box. She never wanted occupation; she was either dressing her doll or finding pretty verses in her Bible, marking the places with an infinitude of minute pieces of paper. It was a great delight to me to have this little quiet one by my side.

"I generally sat on a sofa, with a table before me, with my pen and ink and books; for I used to write as long as I could bear the exertion, and then I rested on the sofa, and read. I read an immense deal in India, the very scarcity of books making me more anxious for them. A new book, or one I had not often read before, was then to me like cold water to the thirsty soul. I shall never forget the delight which I had when somebody lent me 'Robinson Crusoe,' and when Mr. Sherwood picked up an old copy of 'Sir Charles Grandison.' But to proceed with my picture. In another part of this hall sat Mr. Sherwood during most part of the morning, either engaged with his accounts, his journal or his books. He, of course, did not like the confinement so well as I did, and often contrived to get out to a neighbour's bungalow, in his palanquin, during some part of the long morning. In one of the side-rooms sat Serjeant Clark, with his books and accounts. This worthy and most methodical personage used to fill up his time in copying

my manuscripts in a very neat hand, and in giving lessons in reading and spelling, &c., to Annie. He always dined at our tiffin time. In the other room was the orphan Sally, with her toys. Beside her sat her attendant, chewing her paun, and enjoying a state of perfect apathy. Thus did our mornings pass, whilst we sat in what the lovers of broad daylight would call almost darkness. During these mornings we heard no sounds but the monotonous click of the punkah,* or the melancholy moaning of the burning blast without, with the splash and dripping of the water thrown over the tatties.† At one o'clock, or perhaps somewhat later, the tiffin was always served; a hot dinner, in fact, consisting always of curry and a variety of vegetables. We often dined at this hour, the children at a little table in the room, after which we all lay down, the adults on the sofas, and the children on the floor, under the punkah in the hall. At four, or later, perhaps, we had coffee brought, from which we all derived much refreshment. We then bathed and dressed, and at six or thereabouts, the wind generally falling, the tatties were removed, the doors and windows of the house were opened, and we either took an airing in carriages, or sat in the verandah; but the evenings and nights of the hot winds brought no refreshment. On the 30th of May, the Rev. Henry Martyn arrived at our bungalow. The former chaplain had proceeded to the presidency, and we were so highly favoured as to have Mr. Martyn appointed in his place. I am not aware whether we expected him, but certainly not at the time when he did appear. It was in the morning, and we were situated as above described, the desert winds blowing like fire without, when we suddenly heard the quick steps of many bearers. Mr. Sherwood ran out to the leeward of the house, and exclaimed, 'Mr. Martyn!' The next moment I saw him leading in that excellent man, and saw our visitor a moment afterwards fall down in a fainting fit. He had travelled in a palanquin from Dinapore, and the first part of the way he moved only by night. But between Cawnpore and Allahabad, being a hundred

* The punkah is a piece of mechanism attached to large houses in India, which, being worked, acts as a monstrous fan to the whole house.—Ed.

† The tatta is a screen of fragrant, moss-like grass, which is constantly kept wet by the water-carriers.—Ed.

and thirty miles, there is no resting-place, and he was compelled for two days and two nights to journey on in his palanquin, exposed to the raging heat of a fiery wind. He arrived, therefore, quite exhausted, and actually under the influence of fever. There was not another family in Cawnpore except ours to which he could have gone with pleasure; not because any family would have denied shelter to a countryman in such a condition, but alas! they were only Christians in name. In his fainting state, Mr. Martyn could not have retired to the sleeping-room which we caused to be prepared immediately for him, because we had no means of cooling any sleeping-room so thoroughly as we could the hall. We therefore, had a couch set for him in the hall. There he was laid, and very ill he was for a day or two. On the 2d of May the hot winds left us, and we had a close, suffocating calm. Mr. Martyn could not lift his head from the couch. In our bungalow, when shut up as close as it could be, we could not get the thermometer under ninety-six, though the punkah was constantly going. When Mr. Martyn got a little better he became very cheerful, and seemed quite happy with us all about him. He commonly lay on his couch in the hall during the morning with many books near to his hand, and amongst these always a Hebrew Bible and a Greek Testament. Soon, very soon, he began to talk to me of what was passing in his mind, calling to me at my table to tell me his thoughts. He was studying the Hebrew characters, having an idea, which I believe is not a new one, that these characters contain the elements of all things, though I have reason to suppose that he could not make them out at all to his satisfaction; but whenever anything occurred to him he must needs make it known to me.

"He was much engaged also with another subject, into which I was more capable of entering. It was his opinion that, if the Hindoos could be persuaded that all nations are made of one blood, to dwell upon the face of the earth, and if they could be shown how each nation is connected by its descent from the sons and grandsons of Noah with other nations existing upon the globe, it would be a means of breaking down, or at least of loosening that wall of separation which they have set up between themselves and all other people. With this view

Mr. Martyn was endeavouring to trace up the various leading families of the earth to their great progenitors; and so much pleased was I with what he said on this subject, that I immediately committed all I could remember to paper, and founded thereupon a system of historical instruction which I ever afterwards used with my children. Mr. Martyn, like myself at this time, was often perplexed and dismayed at the workings of his own heart, yet perhaps, not discerning a hundredth part of the depth of the depravity of his own nature, the character of which is summed up in Holy Writ in these two words—'utterly unclean.' He felt this the more strongly, because he partook of that new nature 'which sinneth not.' It was in the workings and actings of that nature that his character shone so pre-eminently as it did amid a dark and unbelieving society, such as was ours then at Cawnpore.

"In a very few days he had discerned the sweet qualities of the orphan Annie, and had so encouraged her to come about him, that she drew her chair, and her table, and her green box to the vicinity of his couch. She showed him her verses, and consulted him about the adoption of more passages into the number of her favourites. Annie had a particular delight in all the pastoral views given in Scripture of our Saviour and of his Church; and when Mr. Martyn showed her this beautiful passage, 'Feed thy people with thy rod, the flock of thine heritage which dwell solitarily in the wood in the midst of Carmel,' (Micah vii. 14,) she was pleased with this passage as if she had made some wonderful acquisition. As I have remarked in the history of my Indian orphans, what could have been more beautiful than to see the senior wrangler and the almost infant Annie thus conversing together, whilst the elder seemed to be in no ways conscious of any condescension in bringing down his mind to the level of the child's? Such are the beautiful influences of the Divine Spirit, which, whilst they depress the high places of human pride, exalt the lowly valleys.

"When Mr. Martyn lost the worst symptoms of his illness he used to sing a great deal. He had an uncommonly fine voice and fine ear; he could sing many fine chants, and a vast variety of hymns and psalms. He would insist upon it that I

should sing with him, and he taught me many tunes, all of which were afterwards brought into requisition; and when fatigued himself, he made me sit by his couch and practise these hymns. He would listen to my singing, which was altogether very unscientific, for hours together, and he was constantly requiring me to go on even when I was tired. The tunes he taught me, no doubt, reminded him of England and of scenes and friends no longer seen. The more simple the style of singing, the more it probably answered his purpose."

"Mr. Martyn's house was a bungalow, situated between the Sepoy Parade and the Artillery Barracks, but behind that range of principal bungalows which face the Parade. The approach to the dwelling was called the compound, along an avenue of palm trees and aloes. A more stiff funereal avenue can hardly be imagined, unless it might be that one of noted Sphynxes which I have read of, but where, I forget, as the approach to a ruined Egyptian temple. At the end of this avenue were two bungalows, connected by a long passage. These bungalows were low, and the rooms small. The garden was prettily laid out with flowering shrubs and tall trees; in the centre was a wide space, which at some seasons was green, and a cherbuter, or raised platform of chunam, of great extent, was placed in the middle of this space. A vast number and variety of huts and sheds formed one boundary of the compound; these were concealed by the shrubs. But who would venture to give any account of the heterogeneous pópulation which occupied these buildings? For, besides the usual complement of servants found in and about the houses of persons of a certain rank in India, we must add to Mr. Martyn's household a multitude of Pundits, Moonshees, Schoolmasters, and poor nominal Christians, who hung about him because there was no other to give them a handful of rice for their daily maintenance; and most strange was the murmur which proceeded at times from this ill-assorted and discordant multitude. Mr. Martyn occupied the largest of the two bungalows. He had given up the least to the wife of Sabat, that wild man of the desert, whose extraordinary history has made so much noise in the Christian world."

"From the time Mr. Martyn left our house, he was in the constant habit of supping with us two or three times a week, and he used to come on horseback, with the Sais running by his side. He sat his horse as if he were not quite aware that he was on horseback, and he generally wore his coat as if it were falling from his shoulders. When he dismounted, his favourite place was in the verandah, with a book, till we came in from our airing. And when we returned, many a sweet and long discourse we had, whilst waiting for our dinner or supper. Mr. Martyn often looked up to the starry heavens, and spoke of those glorious worlds of which we know so little now, but of which we hope to know so much hereafter. Often we turned from the contemplation of these to the consideration of the smallness and apparent diminutiveness in creation of our own little globe, and of the exceeding love of the Father, who so cared for its inhabitants that he sent his Son to redeem them."

In all the previously published accounts of Henry Martyn's labours and self-denials, we think there is none which more exhibits his extraordinary self-devotion than that which we here subjoin:

"From the earliest period of Mr. Martyn's arrival at Cawnpore, he had collected all the pious soldiers, as has been stated before, and he was trying to get a place for them for public worship. It was very remarkable that the building fixed upon for this purpose was a large, empty bungalow, in the very next compound to his own house. This bungalow was in preparation when we returned. They commenced placing pews and benches, and erecting a pulpit and reading desk, and thus eventually a very respectable and convenient place of worship was prepared, although Mr. Martyn remained only to see it opened. But before it was opened, however, a part of the building afforded a convenient place for the meetings of the pious soldiers and a few persons of the higher ranks who longed for something like public worship. In the church compound there was a small puckah house, the former use of which we knew not; but I cast my eyes upon it, and asked Mr. Martyn if he would permit me to have it for the orphan children of the regiment then in the barracks, the girls, especially, who were without mothers.

"Mr. Martyn's school of native boys had proceeded prosperously during the cold season, and he had brought it nearer to himself, whilst he filled his domain with Moonshees, Pundits, and native Christians, and all sorts of odd people; some of whom, when he left Cawnpore, he added to his brother Corrie's establishment, and a few he bequeathed to us. During this time he had formed a friendship with some Europeans, and this blessed minister of the truth had been very useful, also, to several young men, especially to a fine young man of our corps, Lieutenant Harrington, who, about this period of which I am now writing, mixed himself up in all our parties and many of our employments. Another of Mr. Martyn's works at Cawnpore during the late cold season, was collecting together and preaching to the Yogees and Fakeers, a sort of persons who abound in every part of India; persons who, under a thin veil of superstition, are thieves, rogues, and murderers, the very vilest of the vile. It was whilst we were absent that he commenced this strange and apparently unpromising labour. Every Sunday evening the gates of his compound were opened, and every one admitted who chose to come, and then placing himself on his cherbuter, he from thence addressed these people. These Fakeers and Yogees (Mussulman and Hindoo saints) are organized bodies, having their king or supreme in every district. They amount to hundreds in every large station, and, it has lately been better understood, act in concert to gull the people. Even we English, in all our pretended wisdom, have often been deceived by them, as well as the poor ignorant natives. I remember once seeing a man standing by the river side, who was said to have stood there in one attitude for many years, until his beard and his nails had grown to an enormous length, and the very birds had built their nests in his hair. We, of course, marvelled not a little at this prodigy; but we did not suspect, what has since been discovered, that this appearance is always kept up by three or four persons, who combine together to relieve guard, watching their opportunities to make the exchange when no eye is upon them. But, horrid as these standing and sitting objects make themselves by wigs and false beards of matted hair, and a thick plaster of cow-dung, they are not worse, if so bad, as many that move

about the country demanding alms from the superstitious or ignorant people. The various contrivances with which they create wonder and excite compassion can hardly be believed in a Christian country. Sometimes Mr. Martyn's garden has contained as many as five hundred of these people on a Sunday evening, and, as I dare not let my imagination loose to describe them, I will copy from my Indian journals what I have written of them. 'No dreams nor visions excited in the delirium of a raging fever can surpass these realities. These devotees vary in age and appearance; they are young and old, male and female, bloated and wizened, tall and short, athletic and feeble; some clothed with abominable rags; some nearly without clothes; some plastered with mud and cow-dung; others with matted, uncombed locks, streaming down to their heels; others with heads bald or scabby, every countenance being hard and fixed, as it were, by the continual indulgence of bad passions, the features having become exaggerated, and the lips blackened with tobacco, or blood-red with the juice of the henna. But these and such as these form only the general mass of the people; there are among them still more distinguished monsters. One, a little man, generally comes in a small cart, drawn by a bullock; his body and limbs are so shrivelled as to give, with his black skin and large head, the appearance of a gigantic frog. Another has his arm fixed above his head, the nail of the thumb piercing through the palm of the hand; another, and a very large man, has his ribs and the bones of his face externally traced with white chalk, which, striking the eye in relief above the dark skin, makes him appear, as he approaches, like a moving skeleton. The most horrible, however, of these poor creatures, are such as have contrived to throw all the nourishment of the body into one limb, so as to make that limb of immense size, whilst all the rest of the frame is shrivelled.'

"Since I wrote this account I have been inclined to believe that this last case must be one of disease, commonly called elephantiasis, and not an artificial work. When Mr. Martyn collected these people, he gave each a pice; but he was most carefully watched by the British authorities, and had he attempted at anything which could have been represented

to be an attack upon the religion of these poor people, he certainly would have incurred a command to collect them no more. Had he excited them to make any noise or tumult, he would undoubtedly have incurred the same reproof. He, therefore, was compelled to be very careful of what he said to them, and on this account he kept much to discussions upon the moral law. He went over the ten commandments with them. Though he used the greatest caution, he was often interrupted with groans, hissings, cursings, blasphemies, and threatenings; the scene altogether was a fearful one. Nor was Mr. Martyn aware that these addresses to the beggars had produced any fruit, until the very last Sunday of his residence in Cawnpore. Mr. Martyn's bungalow was next to one in which some wealthy natives resided, and on the wall of one of these gardens was a summer-house, which overlooked his domain. One Sunday a party of the young Mussulmans were regaling themselves in this kiosk, or summer-house, with their hookahs and their sherbet, at the very time when Mr. Martyn was haranguing the mendicants below. This was a fine amusement for the idle youths, and they no doubt made their comments upon the 'foolishness' of the Feringhee Padre; 'foolishness' being the term commonly applied, even by the English at Cawnpore, to many of the actions of this child of God. But after a little while these young men felt disposed to hear and see more of what was going forward; so down they came from their kiosk, and entered the garden, and made their way through the crowd, and placed themselves in a row before the front of the bungalow, with their arms folded, their turbans placed jauntily on one side, and their countenances and their manner betraying the deepest scorn."

"We were, during this our second stay at Cawnpore, peculiarly blessed in our society. Few were the evenings which we did not spend with Mr. Martyn and Mr. Corrie, and twice in the week we all went together to Mr. Martyn's domain, the children not being omitted. First we went to the church bungalow, where we had service, and afterwards to his house. One or other of these excellent men usually expounded to us. Our party consisted of some young officers, who were almost always

with us, a few poor, pious soldiers, some orphans of the barracks, and a number of our former pupils. We always sang two or three hymns from the Calcutta Collection, and sat at one end of the place of worship, the other and larger end not being finished, and of course not open. After the service, as I said, we went to the bungalow, and had supper, and generally concluded with another hymn. Mr. Martyn's principal favourite hymns were, 'The God of Abraham praise,' and 'O'er the gloomy hills of darkness.' I remember to this hour the spirit of hope and of joy with which we were wont to join in these words:

'O'er the gloomy hills of darkness
Look, my soul, with hope and praise,
All the promises do travail
With the glorious day of grace;
Blessed jubilee,
Let thy glorious morning dawn.

Let the Indian, let the negro,
Let the rude barbarian see
That divine and glorious conquest
Once obtain'd on Calvary;
Let the gospel
Loud resound from pole to pole.'

Oh, what glorious feelings have we enjoyed when, Mr. Martyn leading the hymn, we all broke forth in one delightful chorus. On such occasions all languor was forgotten, and every heart glowed with holy hope. We were then, indeed, somewhat mistaken as to the means which were to bring about our expected jubilee; but we did not mistake as to the magnitude of the love of God, through Christ our Redeemer, and what he wrought for the human race when he cried out on the cross, 'It is finished,' and then gave up the ghost.

"We often went, too, on the Sunday evenings, to hear the addresses of Mr. Martyn to the assembly of mendicants, and we generally stood behind him on the cherbuter. On these occasions we had to make our way through a dense crowd, with a temperature often rising above 92, whilst the sun poured its burning rays upon us through a lurid haze of dust. Frightful were the objects which usually met our eyes in this crowd; so many monstrous and diseased limbs and hideous faces, were displayed before us, and pushed forward for our inspection, that I have

often made my way to the cherbuter with my eyes shut, whilst Mr. Sherwood led me. On reaching the platform I was surrounded by our own people, and yet even there I scarcely dared to look about me. I still imagine I hear the calm, distinct and musical tones of Henry Martyn, as he stood raised above the people, endeavouring, by showing the purity of the Divine law, to convince the unbelievers that by their works they were all condemned; and that this was the case of every man of the offspring of Adam, and they therefore needed a Saviour who was both willing and able to redeem them. From time to time low murmurs and curses would arise in the distance, and then roll forward, till they became so loud as to drown the voice of this pious one, generally concluding with hissings and fierce cries. But when the storm passed away, again might he be heard going on where he had left off, in the same calm, steadfast tone, as if he were incapable of irritation from the interruption.

"Mr. Martyn himself assisted in giving each person his pice after the address was concluded; and when he withdrew to his bungalow, I have seen him drop, almost fainting, on a sofa, for he had, as he often said, even at that time, a slow inflammation burning in his chest, and one which he knew must eventually terminate his existence. In consequence of this he was usually in much pain after any exertion of speaking.

"The 18th of August that year is a day to be remembered by me. The religious persons in Calcutta were just beginning at this time to think of translating some of the best English works on religious subjects into Hindostanee. Amongst some other books they had tried John Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress;' but if ever there was a work ill-suited to the genius of the East, it was this work of honest old John's. When a few pages had been completed, the incompatibility of Bunyan's homespun style with the flowery oriental taste so struck everybody, that it was thought the thing must be given up. What could be made of 'Mrs. Bat's-eyes,' 'Mr. Worldly Wiseman,' and 'Mr. Byends,' in a narrative for Hindoos and Mussulmans? The report of this failure had reached Mr. Corrie, and he came over the Parade to us this morning, all glee and delight, with the idea of fabricating an Indian 'Pilgrim's Progress;' but, as he said, 'he had none of that qualification called invention.' He could give

hints and correct blunders, but he had not been in the habit of writing in the style required, and, therefore, it had been settled between him and Mr. Martyn that I was to write, and they were to direct and criticise; in short, it was to be a joint performance, and we formed a conception of our plan that very day.

"Our dear companion, Mr. Martyn, was indeed, as we apprehended, changing rapidly for another state of being. In the autumn of the year before, he suffered from an attack of inflammation of the chest, of a very serious nature, and so feeble was he in the spring, that Mr. Corrie, when he arrived at Cawnpore, on his way to Agra, made an application to the authorities to be permitted to remain there, in order to assist his friend. As it afterwards happened, Mr. Corrie was prepared to take Mr. Martyn's place, as soon as he was obliged to leave the station. Most merciful and tender was that arrangement of Providence, whereby the two beloved friends were thus left together for some months, so short a time previously to the death of one of them; and I have shown how much Mr. Sherwood and myself benefitted by this arrangement.

"I must now proceed to what I call the adventures of a pine-apple cheese. A European cheese was at that time a most expensive article in the higher provinces. One had been provided for our family at the cost of I know not how many rupees, and our little major-domo had received these rupees to pay for it. This cheese was placed every evening on the supper-table when we supped at home, which was five days on an average in the week, our party, whether at home or elsewhere, always including the Padre, as Mr. Martyn was called. It occurred to me one day by mere chance, that Mr. Martyn's cheese was singularly like our own, and on deeper scrutiny, I thought I perceived a remarkable sympathy between ours and the one which appeared on Mr. Martyn's table; as one diminished, so, in equal ratio, did the other shrink. I mentioned my suspicions to Miss Corrie, and we soon became convinced that there was but one cheese between the two families, although both heads of the houses had assuredly each paid for one. Having arrived at this point, I charged our attendant, Babouk, with being in league with Mr. Martyn's head-man in

the affair. I told him that he stood detected; he joined his hands, crouched like a dog, and confessed the charge, crying, 'Mercy! Mercy!' He was forgiven, though from that time the double duties of this celebrated cheese were put a stop to.

"Mr. Martyn himself always supped on raisins steeped in water and sweet limes. I of course gave money to have these provided when he was at our house. They were things of small value there, but I found out afterwards that our little thief bought the raisins at half price from Mr. Martyn's servant.

"We spent some hours every morning during the early part of the month of September, in taking short voyages on the river; for Mr. Sherwood, Mr. Martyn, and Mr. Corrie hired a pinnace, and we furnished it with a sofa and a few chairs and tables. The children went with us, and their attendants. Mr. Martyn sent a quantity of books, and used to take possession of the sofa, with all the books about him. He was often studying Hebrew, and had large lexicons lying by him. The nurses sat on the floor in the inner room, and the rest of us in the outer. Well do I remember some of the manœuvres of little Lucy at that time, who had just acquired the power of moving about independently of a guiding hand; by this independence she used always to make her way to Mr. Martyn, when he was by any means approachable. On one occasion I remember seeing the little one, with her grave yet placid countenance, her silken hair, and shoeless feet, step out of the inner room of the pinnace with a little mora, which she set by Mr. Martyn's couch, then, mounting on it, she got upon the sofa, which was low, and next seated herself on his huge lexicon. He would not suffer her to be disturbed, though he required his book every instant. Soon, however, weary of this seat, she moved to Mr. Martyn's knee, and there she remained, now and then taking his book from him, and pretending to read; but he would not have her removed, for, as he said, she had taken her position with him, and she was on no account to be sent from him. Little Annie, in the meantime, as Miss Corrie used to say of her, had more than she could do, in all the various exigencies of these voyages, to take care of herself, and keep herself safe and blameless, neat and clean; a pretty anxiety ever

manifested itself on her small face, lest we should be overset, or some one should tumble out of the window. But, oh! how dear in their different ways were all these little ones to Mr. Corrie; climbing about him, leaning upon him, and laughing at all his innocent jests. Sweet, most sweet, is the remembrance of those excursions on the Ganges, and such must they continue ever, till memory's power shall pass away.

"In the meantime, I was going on with my 'Indian Pilgrim,' under the eye of Mr. Corrie, being in the Mahommedan part of the story much assisted by some papers of Mr. Martyn. The history of Bartholomew, in this book, is founded on fact. I often went out with Mr. Martyn in his gig, during that month, when he used to call either for me or Miss Corrie, and whoever went with him, went at the peril of their lives. He never looked where he was driving, but went dashing through thick and thin, being always occupied in reading Hindostanee by word of mouth, or discussing some text of Scripture. I certainly never expected to have survived a lesson he gave me in his gig, in the midst of the plain at Cawnpore, on the pronunciation of one of the Persian letters; however, I did survive, and live to tell it many years afterwards."

"On the Sunday before Mr. Martyn left, the church was opened, and the bell sounded for the first time over this land of darkness. The church was crowded, and there was the band of our regiment to lead the singing and the chanting. Sergeant Clarke—our Sergeant Clarke—had been appointed as clerk; and there he sat under the desk in due form, in his red coat, and went through his duty with all due correctness. The Rev. Daniel Corrie read prayers, and Mr. Martyn preached. That was a day never to be forgotten. Those only who have been for some years in a place where there never has been public worship, can have any idea of the fearful effect of its absence, especially among the mass of the people, who, of course, are unregenerate. Every prescribed form of public worship certainly has a tendency to become nothing more than a form, yet even a form may awaken reflection, and any state is better than that of perfect deadness. From his first arrival at the station, Mr. Martyn had been labouring to effect the

purpose which he then saw completed; namely, the opening of a place of worship. He was permitted to see it, to address the congregation once, and then he was summoned to depart. How often, how very often, are human beings called away, perhaps from this world, at the moment they have been enabled to bring to bear some favourite object. Blessed are those whose object has been such a one as that of Henry Martyn. Alas! he was known to be, even then, in a most dangerous state of health, either burnt within by slow inflammation, which gave a flush to his cheek, or pale as death from weakness or lassitude.

"On this occasion the bright glow prevailed—a brilliant light shone from his eyes; he was filled with hope and joy; he saw the dawn of better things, he thought, at Cawnpore, and most eloquent, earnest, and affectionate was his address to the congregation. Our usual party accompanied him back to his bungalow, where being arrived, he sank, as was often his way, nearly fainting, on a sofa, in the hall. Soon, however, he revived a little, and called us all about him to sing. It was then that we sang to him that sweet hymn, which thus begins:

> 'O God, our help in ages past,
> Our hope for years to come,
> Our shelter from the stormy blast,
> And our eternal home.'

"We all dined early together, and then returned with our little ones to enjoy some rest and quiet; but when the sun began to descend to the horizon, we again went over to Mr. Martyn's bungalow, to hear his last address to the fakeers. It was one of those sickly, hazy, burning evenings, which I have before described, and the scene was precisely such a one as I have recounted above. Mr. Martyn nearly fainted again after this effort, and when he got to his house, with his friends about him, he told us that he was afraid he had not been the means of doing the smallest good to any one of the strange people whom he had thus so often addressed. He did not, even then, know of the impression he had been enabled to make, on one of these occasions, on Sheik Saleh. On the Monday our beloved friend went to his boats, which lay at Ghaut, nearest the bungalow; but in the cool of the evening, however, whilst Miss Corrie and

myself were taking the air in our tonjons, he came after us on horseback. There was a gentle sadness in his aspect, as he accompanied me home; and Miss Corrie came also. Once again, we all supped together, and united in one last hymn. We were all low, very, very low; we could never expect to behold again that face which we then saw—to hear again that voice, or to be again elevated and instructed by that conversation. It was impossible to hope that he would survive the fatigue of such a journey as he meditated. Often and often, when thinking of him, have these verses, so frequently sung by him, come to my mind:

> 'E'er since, by faith, I saw the stream
> Thy flowing wounds supply
> Redeeming love has been my theme,
> And shall be till I die.
>
> Then in a nobler, sweeter song,
> I'll sing thy power to save,
> When this poor lisping, stammering tongue
> Is silent in the grave."

"Mr. Martyn's object for going to Persia was to complete his Persian Testament; but he had no unpleasant ideas nor expectations of the country; on the contrary, all his imaginations of Persia were taken from those beautiful descriptions given by the poets. He often spoke of that land as a land of roses and nightingales, of fresh flowing streams, of sparkling fountains, and of breezes laden with perfumes. Though these imaginations were far from the truth, yet they pleased and soothed him, and cheated him of some fears. Man lives by hope, and to hope and anticipate good of every kind must be a part of the renewed nature. The parting moment, when that holy man arose to leave us, blessing our little children, and blessing us, was deeply sad; we never expected to see him more, and we never did."

We are constrained to say, that for a work proceeding from a book-making family, the one before us is "made up" in very slovenly style. Its principal charm resides in the portion which is autobiography. Throughout, there is a tantalizing looseness as to dates; days of the month and week being given again and again, where one has no clew to the year. It would

be difficult to divine in what year Captain and Mrs. Sherwood returned to England. After that event she continued her religious authorship, and gained access to new acquaintances of distinction in the evangelical world. During this period she learned and adopted the opinions of the pious but peculiar Dr. Malan, of Geneva; whose strong views of faith seem to be a protest against certain latitudinary opinions respecting Christ's finished work, which have prevailed in England as well as America. She departed this life in 1851, at the age of seventy-six.

Art. VIII.—*The Truth and Life.* Twenty-two Sermons. By the Rt. Rev. Charles P. McIlvaine, D. D., D. C. L., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ohio. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway, 1855. 8vo. pp. 508.

We always expect to find the great principles of evangelical truth, and the spirit of evangelical piety, in the writings of Bishop McIlvaine. Though faithful to his denominational principles, and doubtless, in some points, disposed to lay more steps on externals than we think the free spirit of the gospel warrants, yet on all great questions, he is sure to be found on the right side. It is refreshing to see the true doctrine of the Church upheld as it is in these discourses, by an Episcopal prelate, when even some of our New-school Presbyterian brethren, in the ignorance of their reactionary zeal, seem to be going over to the Popish doctrine on the subject; and denounce this journal as conceding everything to the Independents.* These brethren ought at least to know the historical fact, that the doctrine in question has been held by *jure divino* Presbyterians, high-church Episcopalians, and Christians of every grade and form of ecclesiasticism, provided always, they do not make any particular mode of church organization absolutely essential. As this is historically true, so also it is consistent. There is no

* See New York Evangelist for March 22d, 1855.

logical incongruity in the *jus divinum* theory of Church Government, and the great evangelical doctrine that the true Church consists only of true believers.

To illustrate this matter, let it be supposed that the alumni of a College,* of Nassau Hall for instance, were required to associate in every State of the Union, and that these state associations were all included in a national organization. Suppose further, that many not really alumni should profess to be such, and join these several associations and be publicly recognized as members. In this case it would follow, 1. That the alumni of the college would consist of its real (not professed) graduates scattered abroad throughout the country; that their relation to the college would be entirely independent of their external organization; that many true alumni might, for various reasons, fail to unite with any of the associations above mentioned. It might be their duty, and greatly to their advantage to unite with their brethren, but still the question whether they are alumni or not, is one entirely independent of this external association.

2. It follows that as a man may be an alumnus without being a member of any of these associations, so he may belong to such an association without being an alumnus.

3. That the attributes, prerogatives and promises pertaining to the alumni would belong to the real graduates of the college, and not to these associations as such, and to these associations only so far as they were what they profess to be, viz., associations of alumni.

4. It would be unavoidable and proper to speak of these associations as alumni-associations; because they profess to be such; and because the public would have no certain means of discriminating between the true and false members; and it would be perfectly consistent with the theory that none but real graduates are alumni, for the authorities to threaten they would one day visit these associations and separate the true from the false members, the wheat from the tares. No one would be authorized to infer from this language, that the attri-

* We use the word *alumnus* not in the sense of one fostered, in which sense it applies to all who ever studied in a college; but in that sense in which it is universally used among us, viz., *a graduate.*

butes, prerogatives and promises pertaining to alumni, belong to these external associations consisting of true and false members.

5. It is obvious that as to the form or mode of external organization of the alumni, it might be left perfectly discretionary, to be determined according to the exigencies of time and place; or, while certain general principles were prescribed, the details might be left free; or thirdly, everything might be prescribed so as to render it obligatory on each of the alumni-associations to be organized precisely in the same way.

6. On either of the above theories, i. e., whether the mode of organization was entirely free; or whether it was partly discretionary, or entirely prescribed by authority, any association of alumni for alumni purposes, would be an alumni-association, no matter how it might be organized, because the fact of their being alumni and their rights and privileges as such, depend on their relation to the college, and not on their subsequent association with each other.

All these points are applicable to the case of the Church.

1. The Church consists of those who are united to Christ by faith. He is the head; they severally are his members, collectively his body, which is the Church. As nothing but graduation is required to make a man an alumnus of a college, as all graduates are alumni, no one not a graduate is an alumnus; so nothing but faith in Christ is necessary to make a man a member of the true Church; all believers are members; and no one not a believer is or can be a member. The Church, therefore, consists of true believers scattered abroad throughout the world, united to Christ and to each other by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost.

2. Christ has commanded his people to associate themselves together in outward visible societies for the purposes of public worship, edification and mutual watch and care.

3. He has commanded them to receive into these societies, and to regard and treat as members of his body, all who, possessing competent knowledge, make a credible profession of faith and obedience. But as they cannot discern the heart, it must follow that many who are not true believers would be received into these societies, and be regarded and treated as

members of the Church, before men, though they are not such in the sight of God. As union with the Church depends solely on union with Christ its head, by faith, and not on union with these external societies; and as union with these societies, though a duty, is not in all cases essential, of course there may be members of the Church who are not members of these societies, as there are members of these societies who are not members of the Church.

4. The attributes, prerogatives, and promises pertaining to the Church belong to the body of believers, and not to the external organization as such; and to these external organizations, only so far as they are what they profess to be, viz., associations of believers.

5. As we cannot discern the heart, we are bound to regard and treat as believers all who make a credible profession of faith, and to regard and treat all associations of credible believers for church purposes, as true Churches.

6. It is universally agreed that Christ has commanded his people to associate in external organizations, and that thus, as well as in other ways, the true Church becomes visible among men. But there is great diversity of opinion as to how far the mode of external organization is prescribed in the Scriptures. Some hold that nothing is absolutely enjoined on this subject, but that the Church is at liberty to assume what outward government she deems best suited to her circumstances. She may be Congregational, Presbyterian, or Prelatical, just as she sees fit, according to the saying of Stillingfleet, "Government is of God, the form of man;" and according to the analogy of civil governments, which may rightfully assume the democratical, aristocratical, or monarchical form, as the people may determine. Secondly, others hold that while Christ has prescribed certain principles relating to the organization of the Church, he has left much, as to the details, discretionary. This is the common opinion of Protestants, and especially of Presbyterians; and whether recognized *in thesi* or not, is practically acted upon by every religious denomination on earth. Thirdly, others again hold that everything in the government or polity of the Church is prescribed in the Scriptures; that the Church has no more discretion in this matter than she has in

matters of doctrine; and that whatever is not enjoined, and, therefore, obligatory *jure divino*, is forbidden and unlawful.

7. Any of these theories of Church government is consistent with the Protestant doctrine as to the nature of the Church. We may believe that the Church consists of true Christians, and yet believe that they are at liberty to assume what outward organization they please; or that their discretion is limited to matters of detail; or that they have no discretion in the premises. All that that doctrine requires, is that we hold that the Church is independent of all forms of external organization. She may exist under any form, or in the persons of scattered believers, for the obvious reason that she owes her existence not to outward organization, but to union with Christ. So long, therefore, as there are believers in the world, the Church is in the world. These believers are bound, whenever practicable, to unite in an outward organization; and the mode or form of that organization is, according to our doctrine, prescribed, to a certain extent, in the word of God; but the Church is no more dependent on such organization than the soul is upon the body.

The above statement, we hope, is sufficiently clear and sufficiently comprehensive, to convince our New-school brethren that they need not cease to be Protestants in order to avoid being Independents. We have had a higher object, however, in writing the above pages. We have been much pained to learn that our former articles on this subject have been misunderstood by some excellent brethren in our own Church. The "Idea of the Church," and the "Organization of the Church," are two distinct subjects. The latter is not included in the former. Our previous articles related to the "Idea or nature of the Church." Because in reference to that subject we reproduced the doctrine of every Protestant symbol, that the Church in its idea, or essence, is the body of Christ, consisting of those united to him by faith and by the indwelling of the Spirit, and therefore might exist under any form of external organization, or without any such organization at all, it was inferred that we regard the outward organization as altogether discretionary, or as of very little importance; or that we denied that the outward Church is in any sense the true Church.

These inferences are entirely gratuitous. It might as reasonably be inferred from our teaching that nothing but faith makes a man a true Christian, we therefore hold that outward profession is of no importance, and that professing Christians are never and in no sense true Christians. We have now endeavoured to show that in perfect consistency with the doctrine that the true Church consists of true believers, we may hold, as we most cordially do hold and teach, that these true believers are bound to assume an outward organization; that the mode or form of that organization is, in its essential principles, prescribed in the word of God, and, therefore, obligatory as a matter of precept; and that the outward or visible Church is the true Church, in the same sense, and just so far as professing believers are true believers.

There is another objection of which we have heard. It is said, if the true Church consists of believers, infants are of necessity excluded. The answer to this objection is obvious. The Scriptures plainly teach, 1, that faith is necessary to salvation; 2d, that faith is necessary to baptism; and 3d, that faith is necessary to membership in the true Church. Now if it is a fair deduction from the last of these propositions that infants cannot be church members; it is of course a fair deduction from the second, that they ought not to be baptized; and an inevitable deduction from the first, that they cannot be saved. This is a *reductio ad absurdum*. The objection proves too much. The only wonder is that those who see it has no force as against infant salvation or infant baptism, should be suicidal enough to urge it against infant church membership, and say, "If the Church consists of believers, then infants cannot be members of the Church."

The plain common sense principle which governs all these cases, is that as the language of the Bible is addressed to adults, it is to be restricted in its application to adults, unless the contrary is, in any given case, clearly indicated. When our blessed Lord uttered those dreadful words, "He that believeth not shall be damned," he did not mean to shut the doors of heaven in the face of the countless clouds of departed infants, the purchase of his blood, which flock as doves to the celestial gates, and of whom, as he himself says, his kingdom largely consists. Neither

when he made faith the prerequisite of baptism, did he mean to drive away the crowds of Christian parents bringing their little ones to place them in his arms or at his feet. He spake to adults and his language is to be restricted to them. Infants come under a different category. An adult cannot be regenerated, without his new nature expressing itself in faith. Therefore an unbelieving adult cannot be a member of Christ's body. But the Spirit comes to infants as the dew on Hermon, and as He works in the secret parts of the earth, they may be regenerated and be united to Christ's body by the illapse of the quickening power from the divine head, though that life may slumber in them as the living principle slumbers in the unsown wheat. God forbid that we should teach any doctrine which involves the denial that infants are members of the Church. We believe there are more infants in the true Church in heaven and on earth than there are adults, probably an hundred-fold. And as to unrenewed infants of believers, they are still members of the Church in the same sense and to the same extent that other unrenewed professors are. That is, they belong to the visible Church, to the body which we by the law of Christ, are required to regard and treat as the Church. We are required to regard as Christians all who make a credible profession of faith; and we are required to regard as members of the Church the infants of all professing parents. In neither case can we tell who are really members; both however stand on the same ground. True Christians are members of the true Church, (the Church invisible;) professing Christians, whether renewed or unrenewed, are members of the outward Church. Renewed infants are members of the true Church; and the children of professing parents, whether those children be renewed or unrenewed, are members of the Church visible.

In all cases in which God enters into covenant with men, children are represented by their parents, and are included in the covenant, though incapable of complying with its conditions. The condition of the covenant made with Adam, was perfect obedience; the condition of the covenant made with Abraham, was faith in the promise of redemption; the condition of the national covenant with the Hebrews, was national obedience; the condition of the gospel covenant, is faith in Jesus of

Nazareth as the Son of God. In no one of these cases are infants capable of performing the condition of the covenant, though they are included in them all. The parent professes faith in the name of the child, and until that child comes to the age of discretion and renounces the acts of its parent, it is a professing member of the Church. Whether he is a true member, depends, as in the case of adults, on the question whether he is renewed or not. Every regenerated child is a member of the Church in the sight of God; every baptized child is a member of the Church in the sight of men; just as every true believer is a member of the Church in the sight of God, and every professing believer in the sight of men. This, as we understand it, is the plain doctrine of our standards and of all Protestant Churches (Baptists excepted) on this whole subject. We may, therefore, dismiss the objection in question, satisfied that no one who believes either in infant baptism, or infant salvation, will give it the slightest weight.

Bishop McIlvaine in his discourse on the Being of the Church, proceeds on these two plain scriptural principles; first, that as the Church is the body of Christ, all who are in the Church are saved, and all who are out of the Church are lost; and secondly, whatever makes us members of the Church, must be essential to salvation.

As to the former of these principles, he says: "To be found in the Church, and to be saved, are essentially connected. We repeat it, then, with special emphasis; membership in the Church of Christ, and salvation in Christ, are essentially connected and correlative."—p. 57. Again, "Whatever we may make the Church, to be members of it is to be saved; not to be members is to be lost; because it is simply to be, or not to be, in Christ."—p. 59. In answer, then, to the question, What constitutes the Church? he says: "The habitation of God by his Spirit." "Where is the house of the Lord our God? The Scriptures answer, Wherever his Spirit is. And thus the saying of Tertullian, so much wondered at, because misunderstood, is perfectly scriptural: 'Wherever three are met together in the name of the Lord, there is the Church;' not a Church in any outward equipment or visible organization, but the Church, the habitation of God, in the highest sense of spiritual being."

p. 64. "The Church in its real, interior being, is the aggregate of all the branches of the True Vine; all the real branches; all that are united to the vine by an internal, vital bond, in partaking of its life; not of such branches *in connection* with those which, however professedly and reputedly branches, are only so in appearance by an outward insertion and the tie of a visible bond, (that is, the visible Church as seen of men,) but of such branches only as commune in the vine's own life, and by that oneness of spiritual life are united not only to the vine, but among themselves also; all abiding in Christ by the fellowship of the Spirit, and he thus abiding in each of them. *That* is *the* Church of Christ. Union to that Church, and union to Christ, are therefore, identical."—p. 65. In confirmation of his views, the author quotes from the Homilies the statement: "The true Church is the congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone;" and from Bishop Ridley, "The Church which is Christ's body, and of which he is the Head, standeth only of living stones and true Christians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and truth." "Nothing," says Bishop McIlvaine, "can be plainer than the above distinction between the Church, as consisting of all, and only of those who are true Christians in heart and life, and as made known or visible by the sacraments," &c. As to the second point, viz., What makes us members of the Church? he says, if baptism does, "then it is true, not only that without that sacrament we cannot be saved, but with it, we cannot be lost."—p. 58. This of course, he denies; we are not made members of the Church by baptism. "It is," he says, "a living faith that brings us to Christ. By partaking of his Spirit, we are united to him in oneness of inward life, and all who have that same union with Christ are thereby united to one another, in one spiritual communion and fellowship, which is the Church of Christ. Thus a living faith is God's ordained means whereby we are made members of his spiritual house, his living Church, unto which are the promises and by which he is glorified."—p. 67.

The third leading point discussed in this sermon, is the question, "If the sacraments and other visible ordinances of the

Church are not essential to its being, in what relation do they stand to it?" The answer to this question is, they serve to make it visible. The Bishop says in conclusion, that he knows no Holy Catholic Church, but "the communion of saints," the great company of every name and denomination who are united to Christ by a living faith. This view of the nature of the Church has characterized in all ages the advocates of evangelical religion, as distinguished from Ritualists, and we have no fear of its now being rejected.

SHORT NOTICES.

Vertoogh van Nieu Nederland, and *Breeden Raedt Aende Vereenichde Nederlandsche Provintien.* Two rare Tracts printed in 1649–'50. Relating to the administration of affairs in New Netherland. Translated from the Dutch. By Henry C. Murphy. New York. 1854. Quarto, pp. 190.

This is another valuable contribution to the early history of New York, for which the public is indebted to the enlightened munificence of James Lenox, Esq. The former of these Tracts, "'Representation from New Netherland,' has already appeared in print, in the volume of the Collections of the New York Historical Society, printed in 1849; but it was considered desirable by Mr. Lenox to preserve it in its present form, in uniformity with the 'Voyages of DeVries,' already printed, and with other translations which may hereafter similarly appear, of rare pamphlets relating to New Netherland." This Tract is followed by a series of important historical and illustrative notes, and accompanied by a very interesting map of the North River, published in 1666.

Uhlemann's Syriac Grammar. Translated from the German. By Enoch Hutchinson. With a Course of Exercises in Syriac Grammar, and a Chrestomathy and brief Lexicon prepared by the translator. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 346 and 348 Broadway. Edinburgh: T. & J. Clark, 38 George Street. 1855. 8vo. pp. 367.

This is an elegantly printed volume, and one which will be very acceptable to all biblical students. It presents in small

compass the requisite means of gaining an acquaintance with one of the most important of the cognate languages of the Hebrew, which has, moreover, as the language of an interesting portion of the ancient Church, independent claims on the attention of Christian scholars. This is no doubt the best manual for the purpose accessible to English students.

The Christian Retrospect and Register. A Summary of the Scientific, Moral and Religious Progress of the first half of the Nineteenth Century. With a supplement to the work down to the present time. By Robert Baird. New York: M. W. Dodd, corner of Spruce Street and City Hall Square. 1855, pp. 442.

This convenient digest was first published in 1851. The present volume, containing the Supplement, belongs to the fifth edition of the work, which sufficiently proves the favourable reception it has experienced.

A Historical Vindication of the Abrogation of the Plan of Union by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. By Rev. Isaac V. Brown, A. M. Philadelphia: W. S. & Alfred Martien, 144 Chestnut Street. 1855.

This volume is, perhaps, a fair match to that from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Judd, sent forth by our New-school brethren. Both have their value; but neither has any claim to be regarded as a trustworthy and satisfactory history of the division of the Presbyterian Church. It is obvious that no such history can be expected during the present generation. When the grave has covered the actors of the scenes referred to, those who come after us may be able to do justice to all concerned.

Memoirs of the Rev. Walter M. Lowrie, Missionary to China. Edited by his father. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 265 Chestnut street. pp. 405.

The Christian public will welcome this reduced Memoir of one of the most highly gifted and most sincerely lamented missionaries of modern times. The portrait prefixed to the volume is an admirable likeness.

Art, Scenery, and Philosophy in Europe. Being Fragments from the Portfolio of the late Horace Binney Wallace, Esq., of Philadelphia. Herman Hooker, Corner of Eighth and Chestnut streets. 1855. pp. 345.

Mr. Wallace was born in Philadelphia in 1817, and died suddenly in Paris, France, at the early age of thirty-five. He was educated at Princeton College, where he was distinguished for his proficiency in Greek and mathematics. The late Professor Dod is reported to have said of him, "He was the most extraordinary young man I ever knew. He seemed to read and know everything. His superiority and modesty alike attracted my attention on all occasions." Daniel Webster, in a letter to

Hiram Ketcham, Esq., dated Feb. 22, 1849, says of him, "He is a young man of as much ability and power as any I know." The hopes of future eminence and usefulness excited by the early manifestation of superior abilities, were destined to be buried with him in the grave. This volume serves as a monument to perpetuate and declare his merit.

A Defence of the Eclipse of Faith. By its Author. Being a Rejoinder to Professor Newman's Reply. Also, The Reply to the Eclipse of Faith. By Francis W. Newman; together with his Chapter on the Moral Perfection of Jesus. Reprinted from the third edition of the "Phases of Faith." Second Thousand. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co., 111 Washington Square. 1854. pp. 208.

The "Eclipse of Faith" was a criticism on Professor Newman's "Phases of Faith" and other skeptical writings from the same author, and from the school to which he belongs. To this Professor Newman published a Reply, in the form of an additional chapter to the new edition of his work. To this again the author of the Eclipse has published a rejoinder. The title page of the volume gives its contents. The publisher or editor of the American edition says, in reference to the chapter on the "Moral Excellence of Jesus," "It is with extreme reluctance, and only with an overruling desire that the strangest and most unworthy speculations on sacred themes may not claim sympathy on the score of being denied liberty of expression, that we have been instrumental in giving to that chapter the extended circulation of a reprint. The ingenuity and sophistry of skepticism never ventured upon a more daring length than in that chapter. The utter absurdity of the pleas which the writer there advances will be so transparently obvious to most readers as to render them nugatory of harm, while the Christian believer may be led to realize all anew, and with intenser reverence, trust, and love, the graces of that divine character, which admits of being assailed, indeed, but which turns aside every weapon that every form of prejudice or passion may direct against it. We have felt under an obligation to say this much, because we hold ourselves bound to some sort of apology or excuse before the community, for submitting to them such speculations as they will find in a portion of these pages." We deem this apology altogether inadequate. If the man who assails the moral character of his father or mother is infamous, how much more infamous is the man who assails the moral excellence of the "Lord from heaven!" If a man would not reprint an assault against the character of a parent, how can he be justified in reprinting blasphemies against his Saviour? It is said these speculations are "nugatory of harm." That is impossible. Immoral and irreligious writings are in

their nature corrupting. They pollute the mind. They desecrate and defile the spirit. They should never be read on any pretext, unless it be on the same principle that the physician visits a pest-house. But because a physician is obliged to visit a pest-house, that is no reason why it should be thrown open to the community. Whatever may be the value of the other parts of this volume, the presence of that chapter, if it is what the publishers declare it to be, is reason enough why the book should be banished from every Christian family.

The Night Lamp: a Narrative of the means by which spiritual darkness was dispelled from the death-bed of Agnes Maxwell Macfarlane. By Rev. John Macfarlane, LL.D. Philadelphia: W. S. & A. Martien, 144 Chestnut street, 1855. pp. 317.

This is an interesting volume, because the subject is interesting. The narrative of the religious experience of a soul struggling from darkness into light, can never fail to awaken sympathy in the Christian reader. We confess, however, that the book, so far as it owes its character to the writer, and not to the subject, is not at all to our taste. There is weak sentimentalism running through it, which we hardly expect to find in a Scotch divine.

The Hiding Place: or the Sinner found in Christ. By Rev. John Macfarlane, LL.D. Philadelphia: W. S. & A. Martien, 1855. pp. 370.

No one could divine the character of this book from its title. It is a series of discourses on the divine titles given to our blessed Lord in the Old Testament Scriptures. They are sound as to doctrine and devout in spirit, but the style and tone are in our judgment, liable to the same objection as that made in reference to the work from the same author, noticed above.

Remains of the Rev. William Howels, late Minister of the Episcopal Chapel, Longacre, London. Being a collection of Extracts from his Sermons taken down when preached. By Rev. William Prior Moore, A. M. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway, 1855. pp. 358.

This book consists of 1095 detached paragraphs, many of them only a few lines in length; abounding in pious reflections with some striking thoughts.

The Elements of Character. By Mary G. Chandler. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1854. pp. 234.

The topics discussed in the volume are, Character, The Human Trinity, Thought, Imagination, Affection, Life, Conversation, Manners, Companionship.

Follow Jesus. By the author of "Come to Jesus." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1855. pp. 101.

Brief exhortations, under different heads, to make Christ our example.

Fifty Years a Pastor: a Semi-Centenary Discourse, delivered in the Spring Garden Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, Dec. 31, 1854. By Rev. John McDowell, D. D., Pastor. Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, Ninth and Arch streets, 1855. pp. 30.

Any man whom God has counted faithful, putting him into the ministry, and keeping him faithful in preaching the gospel for fifty years, is highly honoured of God; and deserves to be held in high veneration by his fellow men. Such a man is the author of this discourse. Very few of our ministers can look back either upon so long a course of service, or upon one which has been so highly favoured of the Lord. The sermon before us is a simple, manly and faithful narrative of the author's ministerial life, and will be read and preserved with interest not only by his numerous personal friends, but by all who have the opportunity of perusing it.

The Great Journey: a Pilgrimage through the Valley of Tears to Mount Zion, the city of the living God. By the author of "The Faithful Promiser." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1855. pp. 134.

The author styles this one among many of "the faint echoes of the Pilgrim's Progress." It is a handsomely printed volume, and we trust may prove, as the author devoutly hopes, "a means of conveying practical and scriptural truths" to young inquirers.

The Lily among Thorns, and *Old Gabriel.* Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 265 Chestnut street. pp. 64.

One of the attractive minor publications of our Board.

Die Psalmen Davids, nebst einer Sammlung Geistlicher Lieder für Oefflichen und Privat-Gottesdienst. Auf verordnung der General-Synode der Reformirten Protestantischen Niederländischen Kirke in Nord-Amerika. New York: 1854. Verlegt von der "Board of Publication" der R. P. N. Kirche. pp. 538.

This volume was prepared with great labour, by a committee of the Synod of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, to meet the wants of their German Reformed brethren in this country. It contains versions of all the Psalms, and six hundred and fifty hymns, systematically arranged. No modern language contains so rich a storehouse of sacred poetry as the German. The version here given of the Psalms, is by different authors, and we think bears no comparison to that of Watts. But it is as good probably as could be made. So far as we know, it is a

novel idea to include the whole book of Psalms in a German Hymn book. Though we think the translation of the Psalms much inferior to that which we enjoy, the collection of Hymns is probably quite equal to any in the English language. There are many didactic and exhortatory pieces in the collection which we regard as unsuited for the purposes of worship, but that does not impair the value of the volume. The melodies according to which the hymns are to be sung are indicated at the beginning of each; and in many instances the music is printed. The arrangement of this part of the work was committed to Dr. C. W. Lange, a distinguished musician and organist, who says that he has retained the original melodies as far as possible, though he felt himself under the necessity of introducing some American tunes. As our Board of Publication has already had its attention turned to the wants of our numerous German population, we doubt whether they could do a better service, than in aiding in the circulation of this volume among them.

God Sovereign and Man Free; or the Doctrine of Divine Foreordination and Man's Free Agency, stated, illustrated, and proved from the Scriptures. By N. L. Rice, D. D., Pastor of Second Presbyterian Church, St. Louis. Third edition. Cincinnati: John D. Thorpe. 1855.

Dr. Rice fully sustains his high reputation as an accomplished disputant and theologian in this volume. The doctrines of foreordination and election, in regard to which so many are in serious error, and others in deep perplexity, are stated with great clearness and precision, while they are vindicated by unanswerable proofs, and a thorough refutation of the popular objections and cavils against them. It is a great merit of the book, that it meets difficulties on these subjects in the form in which they are usually current among the people, and are plausibly urged by sectarians. Its success as a defence of these great Christian truths, is apparent, from the fact that it has already reached a third edition.

Monitory Letters to Church Members. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

This volume consists of appropriate admonitions to professing Christians, with respect to delinquencies and faults, to which they are strongly tempted, because they have an alarming prevalence at the present time. They are set forth in a pleasing and forcible style, and with a persuasive tenderness and fidelity. There are thousands of church members to whom the prayerful perusal of these letters would be a blessing. We wish them a wide circulation.

Prayer for Colleges; A Premium Essay, written for the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West. By W. S. Tyler, Professor of Greek in Amherst College. New York: Published by M. W. Dodd. 1855.

The object of Professor Tyler is to show, 1st, the efficacy of fervent and believing prayer; and 2d, the immense importance of colleges in their relations to the welfare of the Church and the world, for the purpose of arousing Christians to more abundant prayer for the outpourings of the Spirit upon them. He has written well on both these points, while from the nature of the subject, he has put forth his main strength upon the latter. We think the book adapted to do great good, in diffusing among the people some just sense of the inestimable services rendered by our colleges, not only to the Church, but to every high interest of humanity. His statistics on this subject are valuable and interesting, and none more so, than those which show the strong connection between prayer for colleges, and the consecration of their students to the service of God in the ministry, and all the high spheres of life. We have been particularly gratified with those portions of the essay, which show not only that the moral and religious influences acting upon youth in colleges are manifold and powerful, but that a smaller proportion of young men are fatally corrupted at these seats of learning than elsewhere. It is quite important that the vulgar prejudice on this subject should be dispelled.

Scripture Portraits: or Sketches of Bible Characters, especially designed for the Family Circle. By Rev. Jonathan Brace. New York: Published by M. W. Dodd. 1854.

Mr. Brace, in addition to the arduous labours of his pastoral charge, a country congregation embracing four or five hundred communicants, has found time to prepare this interesting volume. It is written in a neat and attractive style, and will undoubtedly be read with satisfaction and profit in the domestic circles for which it is immediately designed.

Hypatia: or New Foes with an Old Face. By Charles Kingsley, Jun. Rector of Eversley, author of "Alton Locke," "Yeast," etc. etc. Second edition. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1855.

The mere glance which we are able to give this book, at the last moment before going to press, makes it evident that it is designed to give currency to the author's peculiar views of Christianity, through the fascinating medium of vivid narrative. He is clearly a writer of considerable power, though given to exaggerated expression, and unnatural, overstrained portraitures. He belongs, we understand, to that small but brilliant coterie in the English establishment, who have been styled by

one of their leaders, the "Broad Church School." A similar class in this country glory in the title of Liberal Christians. We augur little good from any religious teachings of this school. This book purports to be "a picture of life in the fifth century," which the author himself says in his first sentence, "will be painful to any reader, and which the young and innocent will do well to leave altogether unread." We are of the same opinion, at least so far as this book is concerned.

The Footsteps of St. Paul. By the author of "Morning and Night Watches," "The Words of Jesus," etc. etc. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1855.

It is well for the cause of religion that there are "diversities of gifts" in Christian authorship as well as elsewhere. Although for ourselves we should prefer to gather up our knowledge of the great apostle from the sources from which the substance of this volume is derived, yet there are thousands who will be charmed with its flowing narrative and graphic sketches, who would never look at Olshausen or Conybeare, or study patiently the inspired oracles written by or concerning him. As it is not only readable, but evangelical and fervid, we have no doubt it will prove useful.

The Principles of Metaphysical and Ethical Science applied to the Evidences of Religion. A new edition, revised and annotated for the use of Colleges. By Francis Bowen, A. M., Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity in Harvard College. Boston: Hickling, Swan & Brown. 1855.

The subject, the intended use, the known ability and accomplishments of the author, of this volume, all serve to indicate its importance. That he has shown talent, knowledge, culture, and tact in its execution, while he has advanced much that is exceptionable to us, is what all would expect us to say who know him, together with his religious stand-point and ours. The volume would repay an extended notice, for which we have no space now. We may, however, find occasion to consider it at greater length hereafter.

The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Compte. Freely translated and condensed. By Harriet Martineau. New York: Published by Calvin Blanchard. 1855.

Our readers will see from this, that the speculations of Compte, which have exercised an influence potential, and often, so far as religion is involved, disastrous, over the philosophic mind of our time, and especially among conceited philosophic pretenders, are made accessible to all who read the English language.

Principles of Physiology; designed for the use of Schools, Academies, Colleges, and the general reader; comprising a familiar explanation of the Structure and Functions of the Organs of Man, illustrated by comparative reference to those of the inferior animals. Also an Essay on the Preservation of Health. With fourteen quarto Plates, and over eighty Engravings on wood, making in all nearly two hundred figures. By J. C. Comstock, and B. N. Cornings, M. D. New York: Samuel S. and William Wood, 261 Pearl Street. 1855. Atlas Form, pp. 110.

This extended title fully sets forth the design and contents of the work before us; which seems to be an admirable digest, and to present in a short compass, information as to the physical constitution of man, which it is highly important every educated person should possess.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE.

Commentaries of John Calvin on the New Testament. Vol. II. Containing the Gospel of John and the Acts of the Apostles. 8vo. 62½ sheets. This edition is a reproduction of the French edition printed at Geneva, by Conrad Badius, in 1561. The only changes made in the orthography are those which were rendered necessary by the difference of types and by the absence of the abbreviations in use in the 16th century. The fourth volume is to contain a glossary of obsolete words.

Letters of John Calvin, collected for the first time and published from the original manuscripts, with an Introduction and historical notes, by Jules Bonnet. First Series, French Letters, 2 vols., together, 68½ sheets and a fac-simile. 12 fr.

The Bible defended against those who are neither disciples nor adversaries of M. Scherer, by Count A. de Gasparin. 8vo. 9¾ sheets.

Essay upon the notion of sin according to the Old Testament, by D. E. Scherdlin. 8vo. 3½ sheets.

History of the French Revolution, by Louis Blanc. Vol. VI. 8vo. 31 sheets. The entire work is to consist of ten volumes, containing 50 engravings. Price of each volume, without the engravings, 5 fr.; with the engravings, 6 fr.

History of Paris and of its influence in Europe, from the most remote times to the present, comprising the civil, political and monumental history of this city, under the double point of view of the formation of the national unity of France and of the progress of civilization in Western Europe, by A. J. Meindre.

Vol. III. 8vo. 33½ sheets. To be completed in five volumes and to cost 32 fr. 50 c.

Patrologiæ Cursus Completus, or Bibliotheca Universalis, etc. Second Series. Vol. CLI. Pope Urban II.; Authors and writings of the 11th century of uncertain date. Liturgical Monuments. Diplomatic Monuments. Appendices to centuries ix. and x.

Vols. CLII. and CLIII. All the works of Bruno founder of the Carthusians, as well as of the principal Carthusians of the same century, now first collected together.

Vol. CLIV., Hugo, Wolfhelm, Ekkehard, Anonymous. Vol. CLV., Godfrey of Bouillon, King of Jerusalem, etc., etc. 160 volumes of this series have been published.

Travels in Persia, by Eugene Flandin, Painter, and Pascal Caste, Architect, attachés of the French Embassy to Persia, published under the direction of a commission, composed of E. Burnouf and others, members of the Institute. This splendid work is now complete. It comprises, 1. Ancient Persia. 4 vols. fol., 50 sheets, 243 copper-plate engravings and 2 coloured lithographs. 2. Modern Persia. 1 vol. fol., 100 plates. 3. Narrative of the Journey. 2 vols., 8vo., 66 sheets. The cost of the whole is 1,460 fr. A few copies are printed on Chinese paper, for 2,190 fr.

Voyage to the South Pole on the Corvettes Astrolabe and Zellée during the years 1837–40, under the command of J. Dumont-d'Urville, published under the auspices of the department of the Marine. This work is complete with the exception of the Physique, of which only one volume has appeared and which will probably never be completed. It comprises 1. The History of the voyage, by Dumont-d'Urville. 10 vols. 8vo. 242 sheets, and a pictorial atlas, 2 vols. fol., 200 lithograph plates and 9 maps engraved on copper. 2. Zoology. 5 vols. 8vo. 107 sheets and an atlas fol., 140 plates. 3. Botany. 2 vols. 8vo. 29 sheets and an atlas fol. 66 plates. 4. Anthropology. 1 vol. 8vo. 16½ sheets and an atlas fol. 40 plates. 5. Geology, Mineralogy and Physical Geography, 2 vols. 8vo. 44 sheets and an atlas, 9 plates and 4 maps. 6. Hydrography, 2 vols. 8vo. 38¼ sheets, and an atlas fol. 57 maps. Price of the whole 1,450 fr. A few copies are prepared in more elegant style for 2,600 fr. The history of the voyage may be had separately on smaller sized paper for 40 fr.

Journey around the Dead Sea and in the Lands of the Bible, by F. de Saulcy. This work is now complete and comprises the Narrative of the Journey, 2 vols. 8vo. 66½ sheets. Architecture, Sculpture, Archæological Sites and Picturesque Views,

57 plates, 4to. Map of Syria, fol. and 13 itinerary plates. Catalogues of land and river molluscs, of plants and insects gathered during the journey. 200 fr.

Vols. I. II. IV. and XI. of Francis Arago's Works have been issued. As fast as they appear they are translated and published likewise in English, German and Italian.

History of the Cartesian Philosophy, by F. Bouillier. Vol. I. 8vo. 39 sheets. To be finished in 2 vols. for 14 fr.

Critical Studies upon the Treatise on the Sublime and on the writings of Longinus, by L. Vaucher. Containing, 1. Investigations as to the real author of the Treatise on the Sublime. 2. A new translation. 3. Authentic fragments of Longinus corrected, arranged and translated. 4. Documents and testimonies of the ancients respecting the life and writings of Longinus. 5. A comparative table of the vocabulary of the two authors. 8vo. 28 sheets. The author, who is professor of literature in the academy of Geneva, maintains that the Treatise on the Sublime could not have been written by Cassius Longinus the philosopher and rhetorician of the 3d century, to whom it is ordinarily attributed. It must belong, he thinks, to the latter part of the first or the beginning of the second century and he is inclined to suppose that it may have belonged to a lost work of Plutarch.

The following inaugural dissertations were published at Toulouse in the course of 1854: A. Hocédé, authenticity of the Gospel of John proved by the testimony of the heretics of the first half of the second century. E. Lys, Calvin considered as an organizer of the Church. J. Cattelain, the word σάρξ in the epistles of St. Paul.

GERMANY.

F. Hitzig has published a translation of the prophetical books of the Old Testament, 8vo. pp. 366. 1½ th., which is primarily designed to facilitate the use of the Exegetical Handbook to the Old Testament, a connected translation of the books commented upon not entering into the plan of that work. The translation by De Wette would not answer the purpose, for that adheres to the received text, whereas Hitzig believes it to stand in need of perpetual correction. He has accordingly carried into this publication the same spirit of bold innovation which characterizes his commentaries, giving us sometimes as many as seven, eight, and even ten alterations of the text upon a single page. Hitzig is an acute, ingenious and able interpreter, but his excesses of criticism, strained and novel expla-

nations, low views of inspiration, and an arrogant and supercilious manner, disfigure all that he has written. This volume contains simply the later prophets as they are classed in the Hebrew Canon; Daniel is consequently excluded.

M. Baumgarten's Night Vision of Zechariah has been completed by the publication of the second part. 8vo. pp. 548. 2 th. 24 ngr.

H. G. Bernstein, Some Questions on Ecclesiastes. 8vo. pp. 75. 8 ngr. A dissertation read by the author at Breslau, on the occasion of his obtaining the degree of Licentiat.

Ewald proposes to bring out shortly a new edition of his Commentary on the Song of Solomon, in which he will perfect "the little that is lacking," in one of the earliest of his juvenile productions.

The 6th vol. of Ewald's Annual of Biblical Science, 1853–4. 8vo. pp. 196. 1 th.

L. Haupt, Six Old Testament Psalms: with the modes of singing them deciphered from the accents and a rhythmical translation, as the precursor of a comprehensive work on the poetry of the Old Testament. 8vo. pp. 59. ⅓ th. Haupt fancies himself able to restore not only the metrical system but the very melodies of the ancient Hebrews. He maintains that all the books of the Old Testament, with few exceptions, are metrical; that the metre is composed of lines of an equal number of regularly measured feet, and these again arranged in regular stanzas. His system is built upon the accents which are supposed everywhere to mark the metre, and in the lyric portions to be in addition musical notes; Silluk and Munahh correspond to C: Geresh and Tiphha to D, etc. This preliminary publication contains six of the Psalms, whose melodies have been made out according to this scheme, and exhibited in the modern mode of musical notation.

A. Bisping has published an Explanation of the Epistle to the Hebrews. 8vo. pp. 300. 24 sgr. This appears as Vol. III. Part 2, of his Exegetical Manual to the Epistles of the Apostle Paul, and of which, only Vol. I. Part 1, containing the Romans, preceded it. The author is a Roman Catholic, and Professor of Exegesis at the Theological Seminary of Munster. He supposes this epistle to have been written not by Paul, but by Clemens Romanus, under the Apostle's superintendence, who then added the closing verses of the last chapter.

The 14th part of Meyer's Commentary on the New Testament, has been issued, containing the three epistles of John, expounded by J. E. Huther. 8vo. pp. 225. 27½ ngr. The cost of the whole as far as now completed is 20 thalers; or

without the first volume, which contains a critically revised edition of the Greek text, 17 thalers.

The third number of Fürst's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon of the Old Testament, contains pp. 353—528.

V. de Biasi, Hebrew Grammar for the use of Theologians. Vienna. 8vo. pp. 152. 1 th. Worthless. The study of Hebrew having in 1850, been made obligatory upon Catholic students of Theology in Austria, this publication was designed by its author to furnish them a text book.

Keil is publishing a second revised and improved edition of Hävernick's Introduction to the Old Testament. Vol. I. Part 1, has appeared, containing the general introduction. 8vo. pp. 454. 1 th. 21 ngr.

J. G. Donaldson, Jashar. Fragmenta archetypa carminum Hebraicorum in Masorethico V. T. textu passim tesselata collegit, ordinavit, restituit, in unum corpus redegit, latine exhibuit, commentario instruxit. 8vo. pp. 352 and pp. 39 Hebrew text. $2\frac{2}{3}$ th.

G. H. Bernstein, on the Harclean Syriac version of the New Testament, 2d Edit. 4to. pp. 36. This is according to the author, the Philoxenian version revised and amended by Thomas of Heraclea A. D. 616; though he thinks it doubtful whether his labours extended over the Revelation. Matthew v. is given as a specimen of the version. Its value for critical purposes arises from its slavish adherence to the Greek original, preserving the order of the words and often transferring the words themselves.

J. A. Dorner, History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ from the earliest times to the present. Second greatly enlarged edition in two parts: the first conducting the history to the close of the fourth century, the second from that period to the present. The first part and the first division of the second have already appeared. The present publication contains the first section of the second division and embraces the period of the Reformation. 8vo. pp. 453–770. $1\frac{1}{2}$ th.

J. N. Sepp, The Life of Jesus Christ. Part II. Harmony of the Apostles, Vol. I. The Youth of Jesus, 2d edit. 8vo. $27\frac{1}{2}$ ngr.

G. L. Hahn, Theology of the New Testament. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 475. 2 th. 4 ngr. To be completed in two volumes.

J. Schwetz, Catholic Dogmatic Theology. Vol. III. 8vo. pp. 744. Vienna. $2\frac{2}{3}$ th.

J. Scherr, History of Religion. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 245. $1\frac{1}{3}$ th.

H. Ewald, History of the People of Israel until Christ. Vol. IV. containing the period from Ezra to Christ, 8vo. pp.

570, is simply reprinted from the former edition of 1852, in which it was issued as Vol. III. Part 2. The fifth volume containing the history of Christ and of the times in which he lived is new, pp. 450. Cost of the entire work 14¼ thalers.

J. Grimm (Cath. Priest), The Samaritans, and their position in the world's history: with special reference to Simon Magus. A contribution to Church History. 8vo. pp. 196. 24 ngr.

Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace. 8vo. pp. 121. 4 th. Only 100 copies printed.

The Book of John the Apostle on the Translation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. 8vo. pp. 107. 1 th. We are here presented with the original Arabic of this hitherto unpublished apocryphal book, with a translation by M. Enger. The introduction discusses, among other things, the origin and the varieties of the legends respecting Mary.

A. W. Dieckhoff, The Evangelical Doctrine of the Lord's Supper in the period of the Reformation. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 656. 3⅙ th. To consist of two volumes.

T. Kliefoth, Eight Books on the Church. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 510. 2½ th. The author, well known from previous publications, belongs to the strict Lutheran school. He distinguishes three periods, viz., those of revelation, of the Church, and of the consummation. This first volume treats of the kingdom of God in the period of the Church, of the means of grace and their office, of the congregation and its worship, of the Church, its order and government. The next is to contain the development of the Church and its laws, the local and temporal development, and the consummation of the Church.

F. A. Philippi, Church System of Faith (Glaubenslehre). Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 228. 1 th. 6 ngr. Containing the fundamental thoughts on the prolegomena. Strict Lutheran.

The 20th Vol. of the Works of Melanchthon belonging to the series of the Corpus Reformatorum. 4to. pp. 830. 4 th.

M. Schneckenburger, Comparative View of the Lutheran and Reformed Systems of Doctrine. Collected and published from his MS. remains, by E. Güder. In two parts. 8vo. pp. 287 and 291. 2 th. 24 ngr. This is a work upon which the author had been labouring for many years, though he did not live to complete it. Ten years ago he published as a specimen his comparison of the Lutheran and Reformed doctrines as to the two states of Christ.

Villemain's Spirit of the Ancient Christian Literature in the Fourth Century. Translated from the French by J. Köhler. 8vo. pp. 421. 1⅓ th.

Clement XIV. and the Abolition of the Society of the Jesuits.

A critical examination of Theiner's History of the Pontificate of Clement XIV. 8vo. pp. 351. 1½ th.

J. F. Mürdter, Reformers and Martyrs of the Evangelical Church in England, their faith, life, and end. 8vo. pp. 320. ⅔ th.

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W. Menzel, Christian Symbols. Vol. I. No. 1—3. 8vo. pp. 240.

G. Volcmar, The Sources of the History of Heretics until the Council of Nice. Vol. I. Hippolytus and his Roman cotemporaries, or the Philosophumena and kindred writings investigated as to their origin, composition, and sources. 8vo. pp. 175. 1 th.

P. Wackernagel, Bibliography of German Hymns. No. 1. 8vo. pp. 544. 3½ th.

F. Böhringer, The Church of Christ and its Witnesses: or Church History in Biographies. Vol. II. The Middle Ages. Part 3. The German Mystics of the 14th and 15th centuries, John Tauler, Henry Suso, John Rusbrook, Gerhard Groot, Florence Radevynzoon, Thomas à Kempis. 8vo. pp. 844. 3 th.

C. Grünhagen, Adalbert, Archbishop of Hamburg, and the idea of a northern patriarchate. 8vo. pp. 228. 1⅓ th.

G. W. Roeder, The Swiss Reformer, Ulrich Zwingle, his friends and opponents. 8vo. pp. 504. 1½ th.

G. V. Lechler, History of the Presbyterial and Synodical Constitution since the Reformation. 8vo. pp. 297. 2⅙ th. Crowned by the Hague Society for the defence of Christianity.

T. W. Röhrich, Communications from the History of the Evangelical Church of Alsace. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 970. 4½ th.

A. Vogel, Ratherius of Verona and the Tenth Century. Part 1. The history of Ratherius and his times. Part 2. The sources of the history of Ratherius. 8vo. pp. 436 and 239. 3 th. Ratherius was born at Liege, A. D. 890, was thrice bishop of Verona, and once of Liege, besides being abbot of different monasteries. He died in 974.

F. A. von Langenn, Christopher von Carlowitz. A portrait from the 16th century. 8vo. pp. 366. 2 th. This may be regarded as a supplement or an extension of the treatise by the same author on Moritz of Saxony, whose confidential counsellor and diplomatic agent Carlowitz was. His relations with some of the most distinguished men of that period, Erasmus, Me-

lanchthon, Camerarius, and others, afford interesting glimpses of the culture and life of Germany at that epoch.

E. Dümmler, The Pannonian legend of St. Methodius. 8vo. pp. 55. The text of this legend is in the old Russian language, and seems to be the translation of a Greek original. It is here presented in a Latin dress as rendered by Professor Miklosisch of Vienna. Prefixed is a treatise on its credibility. An excursus on the nationality of the ancient Moravians, and several others on connected topics are appended.

A. Eichhorn (Rom. Cath.), Stanislaus Hosius, Cardinal and Bishop of Ermeland (Varmia), principally as to his ecclesiastical and literary labours. Vol. I. From his birth to his attaining the dignity of Cardinal. 8vo. pp. 402. 1 th. 20 sgr. Hosius was born at Cracow, 1504, educated at Padua and Bologna, appointed successively bishop of Culm and of Varmia, one of the richest dioceses of Poland. He went as ambassador to Rome, and was sent as legate from thence to Vienna. He vigorously opposed the doctrines of the Reformation, and was present at the Council of Trent.

E. Dümmler, Piligrim of Passau, and the Archbishopric of Lorch. 8vo. pp. 196. 1 th. Dümmler contests the identity which has been frequently asserted, of the bishopric of Passau and the archbishopric of Lorch. The latter existed actually but a short time, from the christianizing of the lands of the Danube, to their occupation by the barbarians; the former was first founded in the eighth century. The submission of Hungary to Christianity suggested to Piligrim the idea, in the execution of which, however, he was not successful, of adding a new province to his see, and converting it into an archbishopric. In order to give an appearance of right to this proceeding, he forged bulls in the names of preceding popes, identifying Lorch and Passau; to this Dümmler attributes all the confusion which has arisen on the subject.

W. Krafft, The Church History of the Germanic Nations. Vol. I. Part 1. The beginnings of the Christian Church among these nations. 8vo. pp. 428. 1 th 24 ngr.

G. F. von Lerchenfeld, History of Bavaria under King Maximilian Joseph I. 8vo. pp. 417. $2\frac{1}{3}$ th.

L. von Rönne, The Constitution and Government of the Prussian State. Part 8th. Ecclesiastical and Educational Relations. Vol. II. The System of Instruction in the Prussian State. Part 2d. The popular School System. 8vo. pp. 600.

H. Grunholzer and F. Mann, The Educational System of Switzerland. Vol. I. The School Regulations of the Cantons of Zurich, Berne, Luzerne, Schaffhausen, Thurgau, and Zug.

J. Baumgartner, Switzerland in its struggles and changes from 1830 to 1850. The first volume reaches to the end of 1833: of the second volume two divisions have been published. 8vo. pp. 470., 1 th. 18 sgr., bringing the history down to the beginning of 1841.

The second part of J. Thaler's History of the Tyrol contains what he designates its middle period, from the foundation of the country of the Tyrol to the death of the Emperor Charles VI. 8vo. pp. 149—305. 18 ngr.

I. da Costa, Israel and the Nations. Translated from the Dutch. 8vo. pp. 446. 1 th. 24 ngr.

T. Tobler, Two Books of the Topography of Jerusalem and its Environs. Book II. The Environs. 8vo. pp. 1033. $3\frac{1}{3}$ th.

R. Caspar, Galileo Galilei. A collection of the investigations and discoveries of Galilei in the domain of natural science, as a contribution to the history of modern physics. 8vo. pp. 92. 12 ngr.

E. von. Lasaulx, Studies of Classical Antiquity. Academical Treatises. 4to. pp. 552. 4 th. 8 ngr.

Glossarium Latinum bibliothecæ Parisinæ antiquissimum Sæc. IX. Descripsit, primum edidit, adnotationibus illustravit, G. F. Hildebrand. 4to. pp. 330. 2 th.

S. Egilsson, Lexicon poeticum antiquæ linguæ septentrionalis. Ed. Societas reg. antiquar. Septen. Fasc. I. 8vo. pp. 240. 10 th. To be completed in 5 fasciculi.

F. Miklosisch, Chrestomathy of the Ancient Slavonic. 8vo. pp. 92. 1 th. 2 ngr. Grammar of the same. (2d edit.) 8vo. pp. 179. $1\frac{1}{3}$ th.

Bergreien, A Collection of Songs from the 16th Century. From the copy in the grand-ducal library at Weimar, pub. by O. Schade. 8vo. pp. 167 $\frac{5}{6}$ th.

G. W. Hertel, Detailed Communication respecting the manuscripts of Hans Sachs recently discovered at Zwickau. 4to. pp. 36. Quite a sensation has been produced by the discovery, in the archives of Zwickau, of 12 folio volumes, all containing poems of Hans Sachs, and a 13th, giving a complete register of all his writings. Upon a careful examination it was found that they are the remnant of a set of 34 volumes, once in the possession of the poet himself, containing his works, both published and unpublished, corrected in many places with his own hand. Several of them are of later date than any which his printed works contain.

M. A. Castrén's Lectures on Finnish Mythology. Translated from the Swedish by order of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, with remarks by A. Schiefner. St. Petersburg.

8vo. pp. 341. 1 th. 3 sgr. These lectures were delivered in the university of his native land by the author, in the winter of 1851. His death prevented their publication under his own direction.

J. G. Müller, History of the Primitive Religions of America. 8vo. pp. 707. $2\frac{2}{3}$ th. The author divides the aborigines of America into savages and cultivated nations. Under the first class he treats of the North American Redskins, the inhabitants of the Great Antilles, the Caribs, and the Eastern part of South America: under the second, the Peruvians, the Muyscas of Northern South America, and the Mexicans.

The Poems of Hafiz, in Persian, with the Commentary of Sudi, pub. by H. Brockhaus. Vol. I. No. 1. pp. 72. $2\frac{2}{3}$ th.

H. Hecquardt, Sec. of Legation to Bahia, &c., Travels on the coast and into the interior of Western Africa. 8vo. pp. 288. 2 th. 27 sgr.

F. von Siebold, Documentary Exhibition of the efforts of the Netherlands and Russia to open Japan for the commerce of all nations. 4to. pp. 34. 1 th. The author, who resided some years in Japan as the physician of the Dutch embassy, during which time he prosecuted his scientific investigations to the utmost, is well known from previous publications as one of the best living authorities in all that relates to that empire.

Henry Brugsch, who was sent at the close of 1852, by the King of Prussia, upon a scientific mission to Egypt, is about publishing the results of his researches. The publication is to appear in numbers every two months for four years: each number to contain from 15 to 20 folio plates, and 30 to 40 pages of explanatory text, also folio. 6 th. 20 sgr. per No. Series I. will relate to the astronomical notation of the ancient Egyptians; II. to their geographical knowledge; III. to their mythology; IV. historical monuments; V. Monuments of their civil life. The title of the work is to be, Monuments of Egypt described, explained, and reproduced, by Dr. Brugsch, during a sojourn which he made in that country in 1853 and 1854, by order of his Majesty the King of Prussia.

J. K. Gieseler, Prof. of Theol. at Göttingen, author of a Church History and several other publications, died July 8th, 1854. His library has been advertised for sale.

The distinguished philosopher, Fred. W. J. von Schelling, died Aug. 20, 1854. He was born at Leonberg in the kingdom of Wirtemberg, Jan. 27, 1775. In 1798 he became Professor of Philosophy at Jena, in 1803 at Wurtzburg, in 1807 member of the Academy of Science at Munich, 1826 ord. Prof. in the philosophical faculty; in 1841 he was called to Berlin.