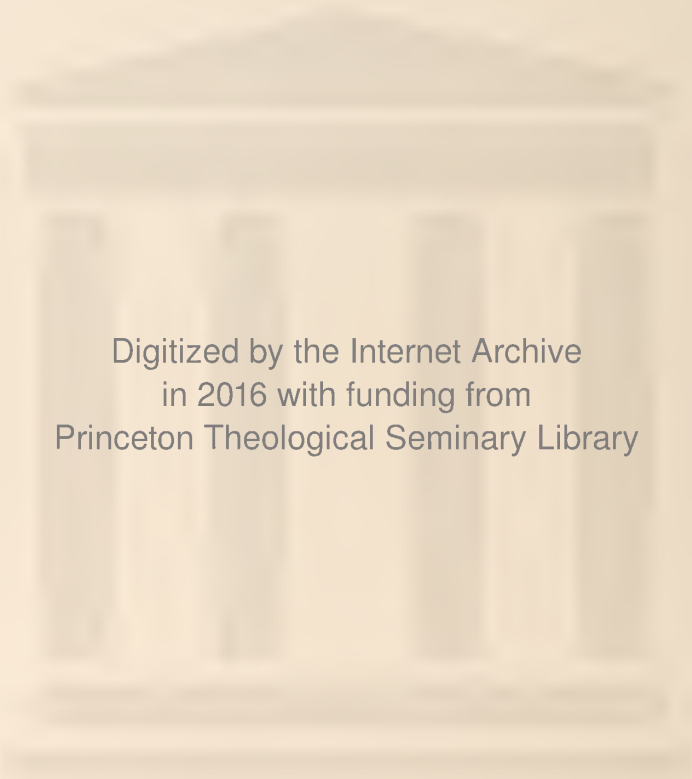

THE

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ART. I.—*The Bible, the Missal, and the Breviary; or Ritualism Self-illustrated in the Liturgical Books of Rome: Containing the Text of the entire Roman Missal, Rubrics, and Prefaces, translated from the Latin; with Preliminary Dissertations, and Notes from the Breviary, Pontifical, etc.* By the Rev. George Lewis, of Ormiston. Edinburgh, 1853: pp. 809.

MR. LEWIS claims this as the first full English translation of the great Roman Liturgy.* The Missal is not to be found in any other spoken language. One Voisin, in the seventeenth century, who presumed to make a French version, was anathematized for his pains, and the book is not extant. Before the present undertaking, Hussenbeth's was the most complete English translation, and he gives all that is necessary for the information of the unlearned in following the service. The small volumes which are in the hands of the worshippers in these churches, are not missals or mass-books, but guides to the observance of what the priest is performing at the altar,

* The copy followed is "The Roman Missal restored, according to the decree of the most holy Council of Trent; published by order of the holy Pius V., and revised by authority of Pope Clement VIII. and Urban VIII. Augmented with the new Masses granted by the indulgence of the Apostolic See. Mechlin, 1840."

with devotions appropriate to the individual worshipper. The congregation are, in fact, spectators of mysteries conducted in their presence, and not requiring their co-operation. It is not a system of common devotions, but each one is left to his own separate worship, under the general suggestions of what is taking place within the sacred enclosure to which every eye is turned.

The Missal is the repertory of all the forms used in the celebration of the Mass throughout the ecclesiastical year. It is the growth of many centuries, and the dogma which has been inaugurated under the reigning Pope has given him the opportunity of immortalizing his pontificate, by incorporating new forms of honour to the Virgin.

The Breviary is the private book of the priest. It is the formulary of the religious reading and devotional engagements required of him every day of his life. It furnishes the scriptures, comments, psalter, prayers, and legends, which he must peruse and use for his own edification. It is his Bible, commentary, and private prayer-book. It keeps him in mind of the festivals and the saints, and of their respective claims on his remembrance. Such a register is eminently necessary, since Rome has made every day a *feria*, or holy day; sometimes crowding into the same day the commemoration of more than one event or name. According to the degrees of solemnity with which the offices are to be performed, the festivals are marked in the calendar as double, semi-double, and single; and these are divided again into double of the first class, double of the second class, and great double. Some of the higher festivals take an octave of days. Of the great *feriæ*, fifteen are in honour of Christ; twenty-four of the Virgin; eleven commemorate incidents in the history of the Church; six exhaust those of the Bible history. In a catechism taught in the city of Rome, the fourth commandment is summarily taught in these words: "Remember to keep holy the festivals." In referring to the honour due to Gregory XIII. for correcting the computation of the year, and making Rome "set her ecclesiastical clock by the sun," Mr. Lewis makes the appropriate exclamation: "Happy had it been for the world, if he had more fully understood the parable the heavens utter to the

earth, and corrected the grave errors which had been accumulating from the days, not of Nice only, but of the Apostle Paul, who saw them already 'working.'"

The calendar of the Missal records two hundred and sixty-eight saints, in addition to angels, apostles, and evangelists, each having a day or an octave. These are only the beatified. The canonized are innumerable. Butler's Lives include more than fifteen hundred. The *Acta Sanctorum* has reached its fifty-first folio volume, and it is estimated that before this sacred directory is complete, it will catalogue more than thirty thousand names; "an amazing proof of the polythcistic tendency of the human mind." The present modes of beatification and canonization took their rise principally from the decree of Urban VIII. in 1625. There are eighteen steps in the progress to canonization. Beatification is reached at the fifteenth, when the candidate is styled "Blessed," and then he may be stopped for want of additional evidence of merit, or fresh miracles by his relics. Applications are not usually entertained at the Vatican until the candidate has been dead ten years, and the entire process of canonization cannot be commonly completed in less than sixty years. There are solicitors in Rome to urge the claims of the aspirants, and a sort of State's Attorney, on the part of the Papal Court, whose business is to scrutinize the case suspiciously, and insist on the full amount of evidence. The first native American name in the calendar is St. Rose of Lima, who died in 1617, and was canonized in fifty-four years; the probation being perhaps abridged in her favour from the fact that her countenance, when an infant, was transformed into the likeness of a rose, that the Virgin enjoined her being called by her own name, "St. Rose of Holy Mary;" and that she heard from Christ the words "Rose, thou art the espoused of my heart."

It is remarkable that there is not one saint taken from the Old Testament. The litany of the Missal sweeps them into a single and partial suffrage, "All ye holy patriarchs and prophets, pray for us." Gregory Nazianzen accounts for the omission, by suggesting that none could reach the honour who had not exercised faith in the incarnate Christ: but against this opinion is the fact that place is given to the Maccabees.

The beautiful Litany, so happily accommodated to evangelical use by Luther, the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer, and others, is desecrated by the long procession of intercessors —such as Raphael, Laurence, Vincent, Sylvester, Anthony, "all holy monks and hermits," Cecilia, Anastasia, "all the holy virgins and widows"—who in the Missal precede the moving supplications "by the mystery of thy holy incarnation"—"by thy cross and passion," "by thy death and burial," "Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world," &c. In this particular, as in some others, Mr. Lewis's annotations are not supported by his translation. It is not quite correct that "all this" appeal to the intercessory mediators takes place in the Litany, "before the worshipper arrives at the one Mediator," (page 27); for in advance of the human names come the rogations, "Lord, have mercy. Christ, have mercy. Christ, hear us. Christ, give ear to us. O God, Heavenly Father, pity us. Son, Redeemer of the world, pity us. God, the Holy Spirit, pity us. Holy Trinity, one God, pity us," (p. 507.)

In every mass, or liturgy for the day, there is a lesson from the Scriptures, but the selections are so short and fragmentary, that if even in their vernacular language, the people could obtain but a very imperfect knowledge of revealed truth. The English and Irish have access to these portions in their translated Missals and Douay Bibles; but comparatively few possess these, and the vaster number of those who hear the word of God at all, hear it in the unintelligible words of the Vulgate. Sometimes even the hearing of the unknown tongue is denied: as on Holy Saturday, when no less than twelve selections from the prophetical books are provided, the rubric is, "The person officiating reads then in a low voice. . . . Before or *while* the Prophets are read, the presbyters catechize," &c. Of the one hundred and fifty-eight masses of the great festivals, the first seventy-three contain less than an average of fourteen verses of the Bible to a mass. In the next thirty masses, twenty-three entire chapters are given. In the remaining fifty-five, as in the first seventy-three, there is not one whole chapter, and the average of verses is eighteen. The retrenchments are sometimes hard to be accounted for, excepting on the ground that it was thought injudicious for even the priests to see too often

the inspired contradiction of what tradition required them to teach and do: as in the use of the twentieth chapter of Exodus, as a lesson, the first twelve verses—the whole of the first table—are omitted, and are not supplied in the order of any other day. The same want of fulness and continuity in the Scriptural extracts is found in the Breviary. The excellent theory of that manual is to take the clerical reader through the entire Bible once every year, and through the Psalter once every week. At one period this complete course was probably arranged in the tables of the Breviary, but other services being intruded, the Bible was curtailed. Mr. Lewis gives an illustration of the extent of these omissions in the single book of Isaiah. One month is appropriated to that prophet; but out of the sixty-six chapters, thirty-nine are wholly left out, including the 44th, 53d, 55th, and 61st. Again, from the Epistle to the Romans four chapters (vi. viii. x. xi.) are entirely excluded, and as many as 144 verses are dropped from the remaining chapters: so that of 433 verses 259 do not come under the eyes of the priest, unless he adds to his daily task in the Breviary a consultation of the unmutilated text. In like manner no portion of four of the chapters in the Epistle to the Hebrews is given, and of the remaining nine chapters 73 verses are omitted—making an hiatus of more than one half of a work which has special claims to be read by every one who professes to sacrifice as a priest at an altar. About the same proportion of the book of the Acts is withheld. The space in the Breviary which the inspired writings ought to fill, is occupied with 449 selections from twenty-eight fathers and doctors of the Church, from Cyprian (A. D. 258) to Pope Innocent VI. (A. D. 1356.) Of these selections as many as 113 are from Augustine, who lost his popularity as an orthodox teacher when the Reformers began to turn the powerful artillery of his doctrinal theology against those who were ignorant of God's righteousness. In the midst of many inventions and follies, much sound reading is furnished in the excerpts of the Breviary. The doctrine of the Divinity of the Lord Jesus, and that of the personality and work of the Holy Spirit, are faithfully witnessed, though fearfully overlaid with fictions and misinterpretations that endanger the life of the truth. Specimens of the legends are

given in Mr. Lewis's preliminary chapters, interspersed with comments of his own—generally fair—and an occasional good story in point, such as this, after the notice of St. Anthony in the Breviary:

"Anthony, on one occasion visiting Alexandria, found that a cobbler lived next door to him. Calling on him, he entered into conversation on the subject of his faith and his pious exercises. The cobbler told him sincerely what he believed; and as to his daily exercises of devotion, he answered that in the morning, in a short prayer, he gave thanks to God for his daily benefits, and above all, that he had sent his Son; asking the pardon of his sins for the sake of Christ; praying for the preservation of his Church and of his own family; and entreating Christ to make intercession with the Father for all men. Thus resting in the faith, he proceeded cheerfully about his affairs, providing for himself and children, and taking care that they were well cared for and instructed. Having answered thus, the saint asked if he used no stricter exercise than this. 'Stricter exercise!' said the cobbler; 'doth he labour little, trow you, that provideth how his family shall be maintained? Think you that he that governs a house and bears other burdens common to all citizens, hath nothing to exercise and vex him? Dost thou not see how many public and private miseries there be in this life, and to bear them well, and in them to exercise faith and patience, dost thou not think it a warfare hard enough?' Anthony went his way, admonished not to prefer his own exercises before the duties of common life." Even the Tractarian poet of "The Christian Year" sings—

> "The trivial round, the common task,
> Would furnish all we need to ask—
> Room to deny ourselves; a road
> To bring us daily nearer God."—*Keble.*

The twenty-four hours of each day are divided into seven portions, within which the clergyman is bound to accomplish a prescribed routine of devotion and reading. *Matins* is begun at midnight; *primes*, at the dawn; *terce*, at the third hour of the day; *sixths*, at noon; *nones*, three hours after noon; *vespers*, three hours later; *compline*, the complement or close, at bedtime. It was in an attempt to make up for the neglect of his

past "hours," by reciting all the over-due offices, that Luther brought on a sleeplessness and nervousness that threatened his intellect. There are indulgences and accommodations which may be resorted to for a relief of the burden in emergencies; but even with the most conscientious, the flesh must be often too weak to admit of spiritual benefit. Yet on this point, as on many others, those who boast of their evangelical freedom from such yokes, may be admonished of the peril of the opposite extreme. If it be only superstition that prompts the Roman "religious" to draw out his breviary at the canonical hour, though in steamboat or railway-car, it certainly has no worse appearance than to observe the Protestant cleric on his journey, or at the hotel, with almost anything else in his hand but his Bible or book of devotion.

To return to the Missal. It is not necessary to call the attention of our readers to the amazing perversion of the Lord's Supper to a daily and ubiquitous sacrifice of the actual body of the Redeemer. De Moulin, author of the "Anatomy of the Mass," has numbered thirty-five contradictions between the Christian Supper and the Romish sacrifice. Mr. Lewis adds twelve self-contradictions to be found in the mass itself. Most of these imply, in his opinion, an era when the scriptural feast of commemoration had not been adulterated, and no change in the elements, by consecration or otherwise, dreamed of. One of the contradictions is this: "'In memory of me,' the priest is instructed at consecration to say 'secretly,' while he elevates the host openly for the people to worship, as their very Saviour." This is, indeed, a lamentable part of the means of delusion, by which the people are kept in ignorance; but it would have been only fair in Mr. Lewis to have taken notice that the "secretly," as it appears in the full canon of the Mass, has reference to the solemnity of the change that is supposed to be going on under the influence of the private acts of the priest; and that accordingly he not only says secretly the sentence that so clearly indicates commemoration, but also the other sentences, which are the very rock of transubstantiation —"for this is my body,"—"for this is the chalice of my blood." (Comp. pp. 62, 525, 526.) On Corpus Christi day, 1 Cor. xi. 23—29, is read entire. (p. 558.)

It were enough to put the ordinances of the Mass by the side of the simple narrative of any of the Evangelists, or of the Epistle to the Corinthians, to make plain the monstrous diversity, even apart from doctrine, and looking solely at the ceremony. A blessing or prayer; a breaking and distribution of the bread; six or eight words of explanation; then a thanksgiving; a giving of the cup; a single sentence to explain it; a hymn; this was the Lord's Supper, as observed by the Divine founder, when he transmitted the institution with the emphatic "Do this." But the Romish ceremony is indeed a *mass* in the number and complication of its ceremonies, as well as of its absurdities and falsities. There are twenty-five invariable and indispensable parts of each mass, including prayers, confession, creed, consecration, commemoration of the living, of the dead, elevation of the host, administration, and those in connection with manipulations of the chalice, paten, and censer, washings, &c. To these are to be added the special services that happen to fall upon the day of the mass, and which make part of it; as, for example, on the first Sunday in advent, eighteen portions, consisting of additional prayers, gospel and epistle, "secrets," "gradual," and hymn, swell the whole number of acts to forty-three. The celebrant has not only to remember the rubrics for all these parts of the service, but he has to observe concurrently the postures, gestures, and collateral performances which constitute a grand feature of the spectacle. Under the "rites to be observed in celebrating mass," ninety directions are inserted. In drilling himself for the work, the priest is assisted by diagrams of the altar, with measurements and points indicating his positions. Mr. Lewis has made a table of the statistics of one mass, and finds that the directions add up to 330. That is, there is that number of written rules, when and how the officiating persons must fold or unfold hands, sign the cross, kneel, bow slightly or profoundly, incense, kiss, turn the eyes, wash hands or fingers, beat the breast, ring the bell, light or extinguish candles.

"The historian of Alexander the Great," (here our author relates the apposite anecdote) "tells that after the battle of Arbela, which decided the fate of the Persian monarchy, the royal standard of Persia was found in the battle-field; when

stripped of its ornaments of purple and gold and precious stones, which the pride and pomp of each succeeding age had added, it was found to have been originally the leathern apron of a smith, that with a stout heart and strong arm had stayed the flight of his countrymen, turned a route into a victory, and become the founder of the Persian monarchy. Hard as it would have been for the founder of that ancient monarchy to have recognized the apron that the gratitude of his countrymen adopted as the national standard, as it flaunted in the field before the fatal battle, harder still would it be for the first disciples of our Lord, did they visit the modern churches of Rome, to recognize in the mass the last supper of their Divine Master."

The idolatrous idea of the mass has produced a long and circumstantial code of directions as to the means requisite for preserving and guarding it from sacrilege and mistake. There is a curious and disgusting chapter on the "defects occurring in the celebration of mass," which must be well studied by the officiator who would discriminate "Essentials," "Integrals," and "Accidentals," in what he does or omits. There may be fatal defects in the materials used, in the expressions uttered, in the mental intention or bodily condition of the priest. Every imaginable accident is provided for, even to the following: if a fly, or spider, or any other thing, fall into the wine after consecration, the priest must swallow it, if he thinks he can do it without nausea. If he vomit the eucharist, he must swallow it again, unless nausea ensue; in that case the wafer may be separated from the rest of the matter disgorged, and laid up in some sacred repository till rotten, and afterwards cast in the place of relics.

There are but nine hymns in the Missal; but those of the Breviary are numerous. The former include the "Stabat mater," and "Dies iræ." The Day of Wrath is sung in the masses for the dead, but neither invokes saints nor prays for the deceased.

"What shall I be then replying,
To that friend for succour flying,
When e'en saints for fear are sighing?

"Thou, great King of all creation,
Source of love, and free salvation,
Thou shalt hear my supplication.

"Me with weary steps thou soughtest,
Me with sufferings thou boughtest,
Finish then the work thou wroughtest."

On the other hand, only one stanza of the Stabat Mater is addressed to the crucified; the rest are expressions of sympathy with, or prayers for the help of, Mary.

"Alas! mother, fount of love,
Make me feel the force of thy grief,
That with thee I may mourn.

Cause my heart to be on fire
With love to Christ,
That I may please him.

Holy mother, deeply fix
The wounds of the cross
In my heart." * * *

"O, Christ! when thou shalt call me hence,
Grant me, through thy mother,
The palm of victory."

The *Te Deum* is not in the Missal, but is in the Breviary, and has been taken from that for the English Missal.

Besides the Missal for public worship, and the Breviary for his private use, the Roman priest has his Ritual for the administration of the Seven Sacraments. Here, as in the case of the transmutation of the Lord's Supper into the Sacrifice of the Mass, the simplicity of scriptural baptism disappears under the array of sacred oils, salt, silken towel, crumbs, tapers, spittle, exorcisms, anointings, and crossings. The Ritual still provides for the exorcising of those who are supposed to be possessed of evil demons. The forms of adjuration increase in length and violence as the earlier efforts prove ineffectual. Parts of them are in very impressive language, and are capable of being used devoutly by one who would earnestly endeavour, in the strength of Christ, to resist the great adversary in a scriptural way, and put him behind him, or under his feet: "Fear Him who in Isaac was sacrificed, in Joseph was sold, in the lamb was slain, in man was crucified, and became thence triumphant over thy infernal wiles." "Begone, transgressor! Begone, seducer! full of all guile and deceit, enemy of virtue, persecutor of innocence! Give place, most dire; give place, most impious; give place to Christ, in whom thou hast found nothing of thy works; who

spoiled thee, who destroyed thy kingdom, who bound thee, vanquished thee, and plundered thy goods; who cast thee into outer darkness, where, with thy servants, destruction is prepared for thee. But why dost thou savagely withstand? Why dost thou rashly refuse? Thou art accused to the Almighty God, whose laws thou hast transgressed. Thou art accused to his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, whom thou durst tempt, and didst presumptuously crucify. Thou art accused to the human race, to whom thou didst administer the poison of thy persuasions."

Another of the Ritual books is the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum*, containing general directions for the bishops in their peculiar functions. Besides the book, each bishop may have one or more Masters of Ceremonies, as his counsellors and assistants. The Congregation of Rites in the city of Rome is mostly composed of those who are, or have been in this office. The *Ceremoniale* is a hand-book of small details; the grand forms used by the bishops are contained in still another volume of the liturgical series, the *Pontifical*, embracing the modes of confirmation, holy orders, blessing of abbots, consecration of virgins, coronation of monarchs, consecration of churches, altars, images, bells, &c., &c.; excommunications, degradations, and discipline in general. Even the sexton, under the title of Ostiarius, is solemnly constituted by a bishop. The ceremonies are certainly eminently significant; for that functionary first appears with a candle in his hand, receives from the bishop the church keys, goes to the gate with an archdeacon, and turns the lock, and takes the bell-rope in his hand. The bishop also ordains the clerk, (by clipping his hair,) the reader, the exorcist, the acolyte, sub-deacon, deacon, and priest. Mixed with the mummery of these proceedings may be found much excellent doctrine, and prayers that might well be imitated in their scriptural simplicity, on the occasions of licensing, ordaining, and installing, by the Presbytery: "Let him be a faithful and wise servant, whom thou hast appointed over thy family, that he may give to them food in due season, and present every man perfect. Let him be unwearied in his anxieties, fervent in spirit; let him hate pride, love humility and truth, nor ever desert it, overcome either by praises or by fear. Let him not put light for

darkness, nor darkness for light; let him not call evil good, nor good evil. Let him be a debtor to the wise and to the unwise, that he may obtain the fruits of the profiting of all men."

Or this:

"Protect him, O Lord, and defend him from all his enemies, and all their enmities, visible and invisible. Direct his steps in the way of peace and justice, and largely bestow on him the gifts of thy virtues,—justice, temperance, fortitude, prudence, charity, sobriety, patience, magnanimity, invincible constancy, faith unfeigned, unshaken hope, a devout mind, perfect humility, a sound understanding, gentleness, modesty, oneness of mind, peace, concord, chastity, abstinence, vigilance, discretion, rectitude, knowledge, piety, counsel, and in all good actions inflexible perseverance. Take away, O Lord Jesus Christ, from him whatever is depraved and perverse, whatever is contrary to salvation, whatever is hurtful to the soul—pride, boasting, vainglory, elation, and whatever may be displeasing to thee. Surround him, inwardly and outwardly, with the aid of thy protection, that defended by thee he may be safe, protected by thee he may be secure, taught by thee he may be wise. Show him the way in which he should walk; bestow on him the treasure of wisdom, that he may know and possess that from which he may bring forth things new and old. Give him in all things to follow thy steps, and from his ministry to obtain joyful fruits; that after the course of this life is run, when he shall come before thy tribunal with much fruit of souls, thou mayest bestow on him that reward which thou hast promised to give to all faithful stewards labouring in thy name."

What better material could go into a charge to a pastor than such as this which the metropolitan delivers to a bishop at his consecration?

"Be constant in preaching; cease not to preach to the people committed to thee the word of God copiously, sweetly, and clearly; and thou shalt be enriched with the dew of heaven. Read oftener the divine writings; nay, as far as possible, let the holy text be ever in thy hands, above all in thy heart; and let prayer interrupt the reading, and let thy soul look into it diligently, as into a mirror, that it may correct what is wrong, or add some new grace to what is lovely. Learn, that you may

wisely instruct others, laying hold of that which is according to sound doctrine and faithful speech; that you may be able to confirm others in sound doctrine, and to convince those that are opposed. Continue in those things which thou hast learned, and in the words of the divine dispensation entrusted to you. Be ready always to give an answer. Nor let your actions put your discourse to shame, lest when you shall speak in the church, any one reply, Why then does he not do as he exhorts?"

Even from the bushels of chaff about the celebration of the Mass, may be winnowed many grains of pure and sweet materials for the meditations and devotions of the Protestant communicant. Take the following from the priest's preparations:

"At the table of thy sweetest banquet, beloved Lord Jesus Christ, I, a sinner, presuming nothing on my own merits, but trusting in thy compassion and goodness, fear and tremble to approach, for I have a heart and body stained with many sins, a mind and tongue not kept with due care. Therefore, O merciful God, O dreadful Majesty, I, wretched, in grievous straits, turn to thee the fountain of mercy, to thee quickly, to be healed. I fly under thy protection. I cannot stand before thee as my Judge. I sigh to have thee as my Saviour. O Lord, I show thee my wounds; I put off all reserve before thee; I know my faults are many and great, for which I stand in fear. I hope in thy mercies, which are more than can be numbered. Look therefore upon me with the eyes of compassion, O Lord Jesus Christ, King eternal, God and man, crucified for men. Give ear to me, for I hope in thee. Pity me, full of misery and sin, thou whose fountain of compassion shall never cease to flow. Hail, victim of salvation, offered for me, for all, on the gibbet of the cross! Hail, noble and precious blood, flowing from the wounds of my crucified Lord Jesus Christ, and washing away the sins of the whole world! Remember, O Lord, thy creatures, whom thou hast redeemed with thy blood. I repent of my sins; I desire to amend what I have done amiss. Take then from me, most merciful Father, all mine iniquities and my sins, that being purified in mind and body, I may be worthy to share the holy of holies; and grant that this holy foretaste of thy body and blood, which I unworthily purpose to take, may be to the remission of my sins, to the purifying of my soul from

all its faults, to the putting to flight base thoughts, to the new birth of good feelings, and efficacious to the bringing forth of works agreeable to thee; also my most assured protection against the snares of all my enemies."

Many of the best short prayers, seldom exceeding one sentence, which make part of each service in the year, have been adopted in the liturgy of the Church of England, where they appear as "Collects for the day." Some of these brief ejaculations in the Missal, are exceedingly rich with suggestions, and models of sententiousness.

"Pour, we beseech thee, O Lord, thy grace into our hearts; that we, who by the message of the angel, have known the incarnation of thy Son, Christ, may by his passion and cross attain to the glory of his resurrection."

"O Lord, we beseech thee, mercifully to give ear to the prayers of thy people, that we who are justly afflicted for our sins, may be comforted with the visitation of thy loving favour."

"Stir up, O Lord, we beseech thee, thy power, and come and succour us by thy great might, that by the aid of thy grace thy mercy may hasten what is hindered by our sins."

"O God, whose only begotten Son appeared in our nature, grant, we beseech thee, that as he was made in outward things like to us, so we may be inwardly renewed after his image."

"May thy gifts free us, O Lord, from all inordinate delights in earthly things, and ever renew us with heavenly nourishment."

"Being fed, O Lord, by thy heavenly delicacies, we beseech thee that we may always delight in them as those things by which we truly live."

"Graciously perfect, O Lord, in us the benefits of thine holy observance, that what we know we ought to do, may be done, through thy power working in us."

"Give, we beseech thee, O Lord, a salutary efficacy to our fasts, that the chastisement of our flesh may be to the quickening of our souls."

"Grant us, we beseech thee, Almighty God, so to abstain from carnal feasts, that we may equally abstain from the vices which assail us."

"O God, who by the mouths of the prophets didst command us to forsake things temporal, and to hasten to things eternal, grant to thy servants that the commands of thine which we know, we may be able to obey through thy heavenly inspiration."

"Grant us, we beseech thee, O Lord, thy Spirit, ever to think what is right, and to act what is right, that we, who without thee cannot exist, may be able to live according to thee."

"O Lord, we beseech thee, let thy grace always go before and follow after us, and make us to be continually intent upon good works."

One of the most touching parts of the Romish liturgy is a choral performance borrowed from the Greek books, and said to have been composed in consequence of an earthquake at Constantinople in the reign of Theodosius. It is the *Improperia*, or Reproaches, in the services of Good Friday, and is sung responsively by two singers, with choruses in Latin and Greek. It begins—

"My people, what have I done to thee? or in what have I grieved thee? Reply to me. Because I have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, hast thou prepared a cross for thy Saviour?"

The pathetic effect may be imagined when the highest cultivation of music and of the voice is employed in the alternations of the following sentences:

"What more ought I to do for thee and have not done it? I indeed planted thee my choicest vine, and thou art become very bitter to me; for thou hast given me vinegar to drink, and pierced thy Saviour's side with a spear. *Chorus.*—Holy art thou, &c.

"For thy sake I scourged Egypt with its first-born; and thou hast delivered me to be scourged." *Choir.*—"My people" as above to "Reply to me."

"I brought thee out of Egypt, drowning Pharaoh in the Red Sea, and thou didst deliver me to the chief priests. "*My people*," &c.

"Before thee I laid open the sea; and thou hast opened my side with a spear." "*My people*," &c.

"I went before thee in a pillar of cloud; and thou didst lead me to the judgment-hall of Pilate." "*My people*," &c.

"I fed thee with manna through the desert; and thou didst smite me with thy blows and scourges." "*My people*," &c.

"I gave thee the waters of salvation from the rock; and thou hast given me gall and vinegar to drink." "*My people*," &c.

"I smote the kings of Canaan for thy sake; and thou hast smitten my head with a reed." "*My people*," &c.

"I gave thee a royal sceptre; and thou didst give my head a crown of thorns." "*My people*," &c.

"I exalted thee to great power; and thou didst hang me on the gibbet of the cross." "*My people*," &c.

Then an anthem swells out in celebration of the cross, and the alternate choirs continue in new tones to rehearse the incidents and blessings of the crucifixion.

The best means of opposing the progress of Popery in the United States is to diffuse its own authenticated books. A sensible, Bible-reading community, could not look through the Missal or Breviary, without perceiving at a glance that, with the many excellent things scattered through their pages, there is an immense overbalance of what is absurd, false, and discreditable to an enlightened age. Compared with Scripture, these books strike every reader as not only in utter variance with the simplicity of the New Testament *cultus* and its plainest doctrines, but as exceeding in the former respect the obsolete ceremoniousness of the Levitical ritual, and almost ignoring the true spirit of the theology of Christ and his apostles. There are many misrepresentations afloat on the Protestant side of the controversy. The work before us might be cited for a number of unintentional departures from the law of candid interpretation. Injustice is done to Rome by declamatory and superficial enthusiasts on the right side of the contest. But when allowance has been made for all this, it is impossible to look at the authorized literature of Romanism, old and new, without seeing the fatal stigma on its forehead. There are Christian words, symbols, titles, and truths, running through the language, but the whole look, sound, and association, is strange and uncouth. It is like something sitting in the temple of God, showing itself off as Divine, yet too unlike Divinity,

too incongruous with the real temple, to impose itself on any but the deluded. The Romanist must have the Bible to undeceive him, as the Protestant must have the Missal to prevent his being deceived. Let the two be put into the hands of any dispassionate, intelligent umpire, Jew, Mohammedan, or Heathen, and the verdict must be that they belong to different systems.

How vain and wasteful, then, is the mere outpouring of ridicule and denunciation upon the adherents of Rome—attended with all the suspiciousness of partisan unfairness—when the whole matter, in all its deformity, is at hand, and open for exhibition at any moment! How prejudicial to the Protestant cause, to make materials of warfare against the Romish religion out of the mere abuses of its tenets and forms, or the personal errors of its upholders, when the acknowledged tenets and forms, by which alone the religion can be honestly judged, are all-sufficient for every end of truth and justice!

Another remark is prompted by the glance we have been taking at these productions. In the mountain of dross there are many precious grains of the imperishable gold of revelation. Much is omitted, but much is preserved. The good and the bad are thrown together, but they are capable of being discriminated and separated. The redemption by Christ, the doctrines of the Nicene Creed, the total pollution and guilt of man by original sin, the sanctifying prerogative of the Spirit, are prominent in the readings and devotions of the public ministrations and private offices. The Scripture extracts which the clergy and the devotees are required to peruse, and which all may read who can, are abundant in inspired testimony against many of the worst and most conspicuous errors of human tradition as given in the same pages. Mr. Lewis, in his notes, often points out these passages, and expresses the thought, that it may be in the designs of Providence to hide this good seed till pious Romanists—clergy and lay—shall at some blessed juncture discern the difference between what is of God and what of man, and large portions of the corrupt Church be regenerated by the truth before the day of destruction. When that time shall come, how striking will be the argument to those who have been taught to say more Ave Marias than Paternosters,

that not a syllable of Scripture—nor even the most ancient of their own symbols—gives example or warrant for the invocation of the Virgin or the Saints! How will the mystery of the real body in the host disappear before Scripture and reason as in the child-like, yet sage-like, logic of Lady Jane Grey, with the Abbot of Westminster. "What took he but bread; what brake he but bread; what gave he but bread? What he took, he brake; what he brake, he gave; what he gave, they eat; and that was bread, not his body, for his body was alive before them, and not broken by himself, nor eaten by them."

Art. II.—*Commentaire sur le Yaçna, l'un des livres religieux des Parses, ouvrage contenant le texte Zend expliqué pour la première fois, les variantes des quatre manuscrits de la bibliothèque royale, et la version Sanscrite inédite de Nériosengh, par Eugène Burnouf, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur de Sanscrit au Collége de France.* Tome I. Paris, 1833. 4to. pp. cliii. 592, and cxcvi.

Avesta, die heiligen schriften der Parsen, aus dem Grundtexte übersetzt, mit stäter Rücksicht auf die Tradition, von Dr. Friedrich Spiegel. Band I. Der Vendidad. Leipzig, 1852. 8vo. pp. 295.

It belongs to the Church to convert to her own use the accumulated treasures of the world; and no higher honour can be claimed for worldly treasures than that they are capable of subserving the progress and the well-being of the Church of God. Israel spoiling the Egyptians was a type for all after time. Vessels of gold and of silver, rich and costly stuffs, wealth acquired without God and with no regard to his service were, at the bidding of the Most High, and upon the demand of his people, lavishly bestowed upon those who would use them for the construction or embellishment of the sanctuary. This is the destined end of every material and intellectual acquisition. The streams of ancient civilization and culture swelled to their beautiful proportions, that they might empty themselves

into the bosom of Christianity; and the rapid accumulations of modern times tend in the same direction. Religion looks with satisfaction upon the quickened enterprise and intense activity which pervades every department of life at present; for she expects to have that developed from every quarter which will confirm the truth, kindle devotion, or enlarge the means and avenues of good. There is not a field that human diligence can reap, from which she may not cull her proper food and draw from it strength and increase.

It might perhaps seem, at first view, as though one field, to which much and sedulous attention has been turned of late, were utterly unpromising; that the direction of study upon the systems of heathenism would be attended with no profit; that nothing could be gained to the advantage of true religion from what seems so diametrically antagonistic. But the results of the labour expended have shown that this would be a hasty and ill-judged conclusion. However absurd, irrational, or wicked the superstitions of the heathen may be, they should not be dismissed as undeserving of serious examination. They should be studied, if for no other reason, to see how silly and wicked they are, and thus by the contrast to increase our admiration for the glorious gospel, and to heighten our sense of indebtedness to it. The thorough sifting of these false religions is necessary, moreover, for the refutation of the errors which they contain, and the vindication of the opposing truth. The Church is engaged in her struggle with heathenism still. Her missionaries have to meet it upon its own soil, and they must be able to dislodge its batteries and to force its strongholds. A thorough knowledge of the system which they are sent to combat will show them where to plant their artillery with the greatest effect. The apostle, who was raised up to be the chief opposer of Judaism, received his training at the feet of Gamaliel. Paganism has its defences, its subtleties, and its subterfuges; and more skill is needed than upon a hasty consideration might be deemed necessary, so to present or to parry arguments, that the native mind, biassed as it is and accustomed to a style of thought different from our own, may be made to see the falsity of their errors. And in this work aid may be given without personally visiting heathen ground. But lately we

heard inquiries made by a respected brother from India for a popular but thorough refutation of German pantheism, that it might be used against that similar system, which underlies Brahmanical belief. The labours of Burnouf, Spiegel, and others, in unfolding the religion of the Parsis, may not be without their value in the direction just indicated. The followers of Zoroaster are still to be found in inconsiderable communities at Yazd and Kirman in Persia, and in greater numbers in Hindostan. In the city of Bombay, where they most abound, there were 114,698 in 1849, and in the entire peninsula probably more than 500,000. Their wealth, intelligence, and commercial enterprise, give them an importance greater than would be accorded to their mere numbers. That they are rising in consequence will appear from the fact, that "thirty years ago there were but two Parsis employed as English copyists in a government office, and some half a dozen in counting-houses; not only public offices, but banks, merchants' and attorneys' offices are now literally crowded with them."* The Queen of England has knighted one of the professors of this faith, Sir Jemshedji Jijibhai, whose wealth and munificence are such that he is said to have expended a quarter of a million sterling in acts of generosity in twenty-six years. The Parsis have numerous temples, some of which have been recently built, and in a style of great elegance. They support in Bombay seven newspapers, one of which is issued daily. There are also men of some note for learning among them, who have distinguished themselves by publications of various kinds. An evidence of this is furnished by the following statements of Mr. Briggs. "Ardeshir Behramji, the first Parsi interpreter in the Supreme Court of Bombay, published in 1824, a Gujarati Grammar, to facilitate the progress of English students in acquiring that tongue. Sohorabshah Dosabhai has published idiomatical exercises in Gujarati and English. Hirjibhai and Meherwanji of the Lauji family, who visited England, have furnished the public with a volume in English as to their impressions of England and its people. Naurosji Firdunji, one of the present interpreters in the Queen's Court in Bombay, conducted for a

* See The Parsis, or Modern Zerdusthians, by H. G. Briggs.

length of time a scientific magazine in Gujarati, called the *Vidhiya Saugar*. Some of the Parsis are intimately conversant with Persian. Sohorabji, the youngest son of Sir Jemshedji Jijibhai, lately issued a translation of a Persian work into the Gujarati dialect. A rising young merchant of Bombay, Shet Dhanjibhai Framji, has devoted upwards of eight years to the compilation of a work on the Zend and Pehlevi dialects,* which he is about to publish. Munshi Dosabhai Sohorabji has published idiomatical exercises in the Persian, Hindusthani, and Gujarati languages, with corresponding lessons in English."

That the polemic value of the investigations into Parsism has not been overlooked by those competent to avail themselves of it, is apparent from the writings of the learned missionary of the Scotch Free Church, Dr. Wilson, especially his "Parsi Religion Unfolded." One thing at least can be accomplished without much difficulty. The divergence can be exhibited between their religious books and their present practice, and they can be convicted of departures from their own acknowledged standards. It is well known with what success this has been done in the case of the Vedas and their adherents. It has resulted in a strife amongst the Hindûs themselves, and a movement on the part of some of them to reform Hindûism by rejecting the popular superstitions, and returning to a more simple worship, such as is reflected in their earliest records. And anything seems better than the absolute apathy and stagnation in which the heathen mind is so commonly found. If this can be interrupted, and religious inquiry stimulated by almost any cause, the result can hardly be other than beneficial.

The study of the systems of heathenism may thus be rendered subsidiary to important ends. But besides these indirect uses, there are direct advantages deserving of pursuit. These have been sometimes misconceived, and false, exaggerated or partial views substituted for the true.

By one school of mythologists exclusive stress is laid upon casual and superficial resemblances between the religions of the heathen and revealed religion, and a close dependence of the

* The prospectus of this work, which is a Zend dictionary in English and Gujarati, is contained in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, VII. pp. 104—106.

former upon the latter is affirmed. Heathenism is searched for traces or reminiscences of scriptural names or personages, events or rites; analogies are seized upon, however fanciful or remote; Satan is everywhere thought to be aping Jehovah, and in these counterfeit religions, of which he is the author, to have simply caricatured the true; and then these caricatures are adduced in evidence of the fidelity and truthfulness of that heavenly original, which, without the deformities of any, is yet the common source of all. The labours of Hercules have been made to confirm the deeds of Samson. The Titan Japetus is taken as the traditional echo of Japheth, Deucalion of Noah, and Vulcan of Tubal-Cain. Arion cast from the ship into the sea, and borne to land by dolphins, is a garbled account of Jonah; and Visvamitra is the Hindu Job. In the same spirit, and with the same design, it was maintained that the wisdom of all the ancient sages and philosophers was drawn more or less directly from the fountain of Hebrew inspiration. The difficulty in either case arose from the forced and arbitrary assumptions which must be made, and the insufficient evidence on which the theory had to rest. The unsatisfactory nature of this view, when pressed to such an undue extent, led by a natural reaction to an opposite extreme still more extravagant, in which the same premises were insisted on, but a contrary conclusion drawn. In the analogies still instituted between heathenism and revealed religion, the former was made the original, and the latter the copy, with the avowed design of placing it on a par with or even beneath acknowledged superstition. The fact is, that there are some great truths of the primeval religion of mankind, and some great facts in human history prior to the dispersion, of which, as it was reasonable to expect, the memory is still preserved among almost all the tribes of men, though mingled oftentimes with the grossest error, and sometimes quite buried beneath the mass of superincumbent falsehood. But as the seat of divine revelation was so limited, and the chosen people were of set purpose kept so secluded from the other nations of the earth, it is certainly not to be expected that what was for the time designed exclusively for them, should find universal circulation and acknowledgment; and to make such an expectation the guiding principle of an investigation, could

only lead to disappointment and error, as well as to the neglect of what was more real and important.

By others, the myths of the heathen have been regarded as legendary distortions of historical facts. Heroes and kings were converted by their admiring successors into gods and demigods; and their deeds, which did not pass beyond the bounds of natural occurrences, grew by repeated recitals into the superhuman and miraculous. Now, it was thought, if this process could be reversed, and these accretions of the marvellous could be stripped off, the residuum would be reliable history. This was accordingly attempted. Deities were reduced to ordinary men. Their genealogies were retained, their residences fixed, their dates computed. These fabulous records were made to yield successive dynasties, with long lines of kings and their eventful reigns. Ages of possible history were constructed, which might have given occasion to these myths. All seemed very plausible. It would perhaps be difficult to prove that it could not have been so; but whether it actually was so, it was unfortunately quite impossible to ascertain. A hundred other histories might be invented, possessing as much plausibility as any given one that has been proposed. And so the whole scheme broke down, from the want of any basis upon which to rest it, and from the impossibility of arriving at any solid conclusions. The whole is as intangible and as delusive as those appearances of land, which often present themselves to the eye of the mariner in the distant horizon, and yet are nothing but cloud and vapour. There is besides so much discrepancy and contradiction in the myths themselves, that the attempt to reduce them to anything like consistency and unity, except by the most violent and arbitrary methods, seems absolutely hopeless. Thus, for example, Cicero records (*De Nat. Deor.* iii. 21) that in order to reconcile the current fables of the gods, it was necessary to assume the existence of five different Minervas, five Mercuries, four Vulcans, four Apollos, six of the name of Hercules, three Jupiters, and so on. Varro even thought that there were three hundred Jupiters. Of course the endeavour to draw out the thread of history from such tangled confusion, even assuming it to have had a real historical origin, is utterly preposterous. But while some fables may have arisen in the

manner assumed, there are many more which in all probability were derived from a totally distinct source, and never had a particle of real events in their composition; and there is no criterion by which to decide with confidence in each particular case upon the mode of genesis. The best historians now discard all that has been called history, which is thus constructed. They are content to detail the myths of a people, precisely as they lay in their current superstitions, without undertaking to say what their historical basis may have been, or whether they had any. It may be with regret that we see figures once esteemed real, living men, vanish as airy phantoms. And perhaps some historians are disposed to bring down the age of fable too far. Still it is safer not to begin to build until a solid foundation can be found. This principle, while it sweeps away some cherished scenes from classic ground, is equally relentless in the beginnings of Persian story. So that Professor Roth of Tübingen, who may be looked upon as an authority in such matters, says, after reviewing some of the early portions of Firdusi's great epic, "It is better to confess that we have no history of Persia before the time of Cyrus, than to take Firdusi's kings for history."* Such conclusions coming from such a quarter, and reached by purely literary means, are the more acceptable, as the excesses of the historical view have likewise been chastised, by suffering it also to play into the hands of unbelief. And when the shadowy forms of Egyptian and Asiatic fable are arrayed in the dress of a real history, and their immense mythologic periods are paraded as though their chronological exactness could not be disputed, and the attempt is made thereby to cast discredit on the Scripture record, we cannot be displeased to see these shadows made to disappear at the simple waving of a master magician's wand.

Reaction from the flatness and the incongruities of historical explanation led to what may be denominated the mystical mode of treatment, the assumption that the myths were veils of profound religious and philosophical truths. The vulgar mind, imbued with superstition, may have stopped at the outer shell; but it was the province of the wise to penetrate to the kernel.

* Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft II. 228.

The mysteries especially were instituted to keep alive the great doctrine of immortality, or other tenets equally important. The fables are never to be taken in their gross obvious sense, but in their inner spiritual meaning. This mode of explanation, like the preceding, already found adherents and advocates among the classic heathen in the decrepitude of their decaying systems. As the glaring absurdities of the popular belief pressed themselves more and more upon the attention of thinking minds, and especially as the Christians made unsparing use of these in their polemics, every effort was made to rid themselves of this grievous incumbrance. One class sought escape by denying to the vulgar throng of gods and goddesses any claim to divinity, sinking them to the level of mortals, and finding back of them an undefined object of homage in a supreme but unknown God. The inconsistencies and difficulties which beset this method of relief, have been before alluded to. The other way of escape was to retain the myths, but assign to them a higher spiritual sense. Allegorizing, thus begun, found its way through the Neo-Platonists to the Alexandrine school of Jews and Christians, and we find Philo and Origen applying the same process to the sacred history which their Pagan masters pursued in regard to the heathen fables. It proved as impracticable in the latter case, as it was absurd in the former. It is impossible to carry through a consistent allegory where none was ever intended. The spiritualizing process proves merely a blind and random guess-work, with no settled principles of guidance, and no possibility of verifying results, and it can only lead to endless diversity and uncertainty. All religions fare alike under the application of this universal solvent; and as they who manage it, find everywhere just what they please to find, all religions are discovered to be equally truthful and good. This is precisely the point reached by the Sufies of Persia, and which they are disposed to apply to the myths of their own land, as to all others. A spurious volume is found among them, called the Desâtîr, which represents these sentiments, and is ascribed to a high antiquity. It was, in 1818, published by a learned Parsi priest, and the Avesta is now popularly explained by its adherents agreeably to the mode of interpretation therein adopted, which is very much

after the fashion that the followers of Swedenborg deal with the Holy Scriptures.

Others, again, have sought in these mythologies nothing but a reproduction of the phenomena of external nature, clothed in symbolical forms; those phenomena especially which are most striking to the senses, or most important to the life of man. The passage of the sun through the signs of the zodiac, and the revolution of the seasons with the changes which they occasion, give the keynote to the whole. Joyous festivals celebrate the sun's return; grief and wailing mark his departure. Or the geographical features of a country supply contrasts which are looked upon as the foundation of its myths.

Without meaning to deny or question that heathen fables may have sprung from some, and perhaps all of the various origins suggested by the several partial modes of treatment which have been described, we yet think that to confine inquiry to the specific origin of myths, and to aim chiefly at stripping off the mythical dress, in order to uncover the secret which lies hid beneath it, is to miss what is most interesting and valuable in this whole study. The mythical form is, after all, of greater consequence to us than its obscure or casual origin. Whence it came, or how it grew, less concerns us than what it is. These fables cannot be properly understood or explained from anything exterior to man himself. A religion is not to be comprehended by tearing all that is religious out of it, and leaving behind a non-religious residuum, which, however, it may have entered into the framework, or modified the outside appearance, has nothing to do with the real essence of the matter. All the religions of the world, save one which had its birth in heaven, are the offspring of the spiritual nature of man. The human heart is the soil out of which they have all grown; the inborn principles of man's nature furnished the seeds; and outward circumstances, however greatly they may have affected the growth, did not determine nor produce it. This constitutes the chief interest of the study. The religions of the world make the invisible and immaterial visible and tangible. Man's heart is in them developed in its fruits. They are the products of man's spirit, upon which it has deeply impressed itself. In studying them, then, we study man as he has revealed himself

openly and without disguise. Man's outward worship sustains the same relation to his religious nature and feelings, that language does to his thoughts and his intellectual nature. As words are the expression of ideas, and language the utterance of the mind, in investigating them we bring to light the laws of thought, and trace the workings of the intellectual faculties. Just so religion is the language of the heart; and it is the more truthful representative of the inner man, as its outgoings are spontaneous and unstudied. The conscious effort of the individual to state what is struggling within his breast, is often like the breeze which ruffles the surface of the lake, and makes it a less faithful mirror than when sleeping in entire repose. The spontaneous growth of ages and of masses of men is less liable to such disturbance. And especially, if, without confining ourselves to a single specimen, or within a narrow range of observation, we enlarge the scope of our vision so as to take in the most prominent religions of the world, we may thus get beyond the influence of all that is merely casual and local, and gain a view of those great, permanent and pervading characteristics, which belong to the race.

The analogies and points of relation, which subsist between the most remotely sundered and the most widely varying religions, are oftentimes surprising and extensive. The method was once much in vogue of explaining all such resemblances by the assumption of a direct derivation of one from the other. Some Egyptian or Asiatic origin was claimed for everything. The rites of Judaism even were disposed of in the same way: the process was continued *ad nauseam*, until the magnificent and speaking ceremonial of Moses, with its divinely descended truths, was converted into a confused medley of disjointed rites, picked indiscriminately out of every form of heathenism. Even as applied to Pagan rites themselves, the theory cannot be universally carried out without breaking down under the mass which is laid upon it. There are deep analogies hid beneath superficial diversities, of which no satisfactory solution can be found, except the obvious one, that like causes produce like effects. The nature of man is one; and all that springs from it, however separated in locality, or whatever the variety of attend-

ant circumstances, must bear testimony to the community of its origin.

And now, if we look upon the broad surface of heathenism thus, as the natural heart of man, without quickening from above unfolded to our eye, how momentous and how vast the territory before us! There is room for unlimited exploration, and the results of the search cannot but be of the greatest consequence. The universality of religion proves unmistakably and undeniably that a religious nature is of the very essence of man's being. It is as plain as the gravitation of matter. Man was made to worship: he must worship. And the very degradation of heathenism, and the grovelling nature of its deities, serve but to add a new and signal force to the argument. For they show this principle to be so inwrought into the very constitution of man, that he not only pays spontaneous homage when the proper object of adoration is presented to him, but he will do violence to his intellect and his reason sooner than disobey its impulses.

And then, upon this grand but humiliating arena may be seen, under every various phase, the struggles of the heart with those momentous questions, which necessarily force themselves upon it—Whence came the universe? Whence came man, and whither is he bound? Whence came evil? How may sin be removed and the deity appeased? And when we see the hesitating and despairing, or the monstrous and absurd answers which are everywhere returned, differing in every respect, except their common failure to attain the truth, what emblem can more befit such a spectacle than that of men groping their way in a labyrinth of total darkness? A phenomenon which fills so large and so sad a space in the history of mankind cannot be without some important providential reason. We are sent of God to heathenism as our teacher. He suffered the nations to walk in their own ways. And he did so that the experiment might be wrought out upon so grand a scale as to settle beyond cavil the correctness of its results, whether man can save himself—whether he can, by his own unaided efforts, rise to the knowledge of his Maker, to holiness and bliss. The result is a total failure; a failure so absolute and manifest as to occasion, even in the breasts of the heathen themselves, despair of self-

relief, and dissatisfaction with the system under which they live, working thus that sense of spiritual poverty which may prepare them to hail with joy the riches offered in the glorious gospel.

When we search everywhere throughout heathendom, but search in vain, for any just or even tolerable conception of the unity, the holiness, the mercy, eternity, or greatness of the infinite God—when we can find nowhere a lofty and pure morality either in precept or in practice—when, with all the conscience of sin which was possessed, we meet nowhere with any rational mode by which to purge it away, and none effectual in delivering from its power—and when we are obliged to turn disappointed away even from those mighty and populous empires, and from those most refined and polished nations, which make the greatest figure in the ancient world, to a feeble and despised people, not distinguished for any special cultivation, and which never originated any native system of philosophy, and find among them a religion which combines in itself in unalloyed perfection all those truths for which we look in vain elsewhere, and which has given birth to all just conceptions upon these momentous themes, to the most profound philosophies, and to the highest style ever reached of culture and civilization, we may well ask for a reason of all this; and we may well challenge an explanation upon any other hypothesis than that which admits this religion to be from heaven.

It has been seen how instruction may be gained from heathendom surveyed in its totality; if, however, detached portions be regarded separately, this will open new themes of profitable study. Notwithstanding their general features of resemblance, there is anything but sameness in the religions of the world. It is with them as with the various nations of men themselves: they are strikingly alike, and yet as strikingly different. And their points of diversity are no less instructive than their points of agreement. Even such elements as are common to all, are in each case blended in some new proportions. The great problems of human life and destiny are surveyed from different points, and their relative magnitudes are altered as the point of observation is shifted. One question is uppermost in one system, another in another. One seeks its solution by one

route, another by a route wholly different. Thus, for example, the origin of evil is by the Parsi system referred to an independent being, Agra-Mainyus (Ahriman), who is constantly seeking to introduce disorder into the perfect creation of *Ahura-Mazda (Ormuzd); the conflict between these two beings of opposite natures creating the mixture of good and evil which now exists, and which shall finally terminate in the subjugation of Agra-Mainyus, and the triumph of Ahura-Mazda. In express contradiction to this system, the Most High, when predicting by the mouth of Isaiah, the mission of Cyrus, who would be an adherent of it, claims for himself absolute and unlimited control over both the kingdoms of good and of evil: "I form the light and create darkness: I make peace and create evil; I the LORD do all these things." Isa. xlv. 7. Another system, as if a precursor of the doctrine that God, even if so disposed, could not prevent sin in his creatures, represents the universe as a series of emanations, which, by the very act of receding from the primal centre of goodness, necessarily lose their purity and brightness, as light and heat become weakened in proportion to their distance from the body by which they are radiated. Again, one prominent thought in the Hindu system is the removal of sin, and the acquisition of merit by self-inflicted sufferings of the transgressor; no such idea is found in Parsism, which accomplishes the removal of uncleanness by a round of purgations. The systems of heathenism are not absolute unmingled falsehood: there are truths mixed up with their errors, though distorted often, and needing a careful search to discover their existence. It is an interesting subject of inquiry how these various systems stand related to each other and to the great problems of human life; which of these problems is most prominent in each, and what solution is offered by them respectively; also what are the elements of truth and power in each, and in what combinations they are presented, and how these stand related to Christianity. For it is most instructive to observe how the religion of the Bible, like Aaron's rod turned serpent, swallows up all the religions of men; how it, in other words, blends together within itself in their purity and har-

* Some etymologists have remarked an analogy between the formation of Ahura, which seems to be a derivative of the substantive verb, and the Hebrew יהוה.

monious combination all those elements of truth and power, which are elsewhere found isolated and obscured; and how it really and fully satisfies all those various needs and longings, of which heathenism painfully proves the existence, but which it knows not how in any of its forms effectually to still. To study heathenism is to study, under most impressive forms, the wants of men; and this is well adapted to bring to view new features of that blessed word of life which is divinely fitted for their relief. We need have no hesitation in admitting, on behalf of any false religion, all of good that a candid examination can discover in it. The religion of Christ can surely never suffer by the contrast. And such an examination will furnish the best refutation of those extravagant claims, which are sometimes put forth, of the excellence of certain Pagan systems, and of the indebtedness of the true religion to them. Thus it has been stoutly affirmed that the Jewish doctrines of angels, and of the resurrection, were either borrowed or underwent essential modification from the Parsi religion. But it appears from the investigations of Burnouf and Spiegel, that the resurrection formed no part of the original faith of Parsism, and that the supposition that it did, rests upon erroneous translations.* And that it was no prejudice in favour of revealed religion which led Spiegel to this result, is apparent from his statement that the Hebrew canon was not closed until after the time of Alexander;† a statement which manifestly presupposes a denial of the genuineness of one or more of the books of the Old Testament.

This subject also has relations to history, too intimate and important to be overlooked. When the religions of mankind are contemplated in their proper light, as at once products and functions of the history of the people amongst whom they are found, they suggest many interesting deductions. In order properly to appreciate the product of an age, or of a state of things different from our own, it is necessary to transfer ourselves to it, and to live, as it were, in the midst of it. We cannot estimate it justly, if we contemplate it merely from the outside, and from a distance, viewing it from our own stand-

* Zeit. d. Morg. Gesell. I. p. 260; Avesta, p. 15.
† Zeit. d. Morg. Gesell. IX. p. 185.

point, and applying to it our own modes of thought and habits of judging, which may be entirely foreign from those amongst which it had its origin. This is true of a literary composition; it is true of the institutions, usages, and enactments of any people; it is true also of their religion. Now, this is only saying that its whole style and texture have been determined by the conditions in which it arose; it may be made to tell the story, therefore, of those conditions. It contains a picture of the moral and mental states of whole races of men during the period of its prevalence. It reveals their inward belief and the range of their ideas, and will thus save from oblivion a large and important chapter in the history of human opinion. And as it is impossible that this should have been inoperative and uninfluential, we shall be warranted in interrogating it still farther. It will disclose to us the spirit of a people, the ideas, so to speak, which rule them, which predominate in and control their history, and of which the whole course of events in which they take part, is but the expression and the symbol. Here it is in fact, that we must seek the key to many otherwise inexplicable phenomena, and the secret springs of many movements visible upon the surface. The religion of a people is to be regarded as more than a single element, co-ordinated with many others of equal influence in their history. It is rather the master-power which reduces all others to its sway, and harmonizes or subjects them to itself. Rooted in the strongest feelings of our nature, it takes rank correspondent with that of the faculties in which it has its seat. Who could understand the history of the Mohammedan powers, while ignorant of the religion of the false prophet?

The religions of men also indicate plainly the culture of those, among whom they are found. "Thou thoughtest that I was altogether such a one as thyself." Ps. l. 21. This lets us into the mode by which men form their conceptions of the deity. Their notions of spiritual beings and of the spiritual world are based upon the world around them. Their minds are not capable of a range of ideas, or of an elevation of thought much above their own actual condition. Their loftiest ideal is formed by taking one like themselves and simply investing him with superhuman power and splendour. The

gods of Homer are formed upon the model of his heroes. This too is the case in the Parsi religion. Upon this Spiegel remarks, (Zeit. d. Morg. Gesell. V. p. 223), "The relations of the Persian divinities are altogether patterned after those of men. Take but the Shah-nameh of Firdusi in your hand, a book which is certainly based upon the oldest conceptions of the Persians. Perpetual war exists between Iran, civilized Persia, and Turan, the uncivilized nomads of the north. The king consults with his nobles respecting the war with the foreign barbarians; countless hosts follow him. The fortunes of war are various, and though the Iranians mostly reap the due reward of their valour, the crafty and treacherous king of Turan succeeds often in deceiving them, routing them and even subjecting them. Sore times for Iran follow, but they must be patiently endured, for they are transient. At last a hero is found who restores the royal name to honour, and pays the Turanians with interest for the evil which they have inflicted upon the Iranians. Now it is entirely after this plan that their heaven is arranged. The bright heaven of Ahura-mazda is the heavenly Iran; the deep darkness of Agra-mainyus is the superterrestrial Turan. As the monarchs of Iran and Turan are surrounded by their nobles, so these mutually hostile powers, the one by the Amesha-çpentas (Amshaspands,) the other by the Daevas. The proper field of combat, on which both parties measure their forces is the earth, especially the earth as known to the Iranians. The armies which they lead against each other, are good and bad men. The life of men and gods is accordingly a constant strife. The victory of the latter is slow, but sure; and such as have faithfully adhered to them, shall receive their merited reward and portion of the bliss."

Again, these religions are neither stationary in themselves, nor sundered from all connection with others. They may therefore, be viewed as they are brought into contact, perhaps conflict, with other systems, or as they are influenced by internal causes disposing to change. As they mingle with the great stream of human opinion, the effect may be traced in the modifications which they cause or which they undergo themselves. Scarcely anything is more interesting than to watch

this strife of opinion, or to trace the various doctrines or religious tendencies, which are commingled on the broad arena of thought and discussion, back to their original sources. Who can understand the mythology of Rome without studying that of Greece? or the mythology of Greece unaided by those of Egypt and the East? Or how can the genesis of the ancient philosophies be comprehended if these religions be left out of view? Or what can be made of the early Christian heresies, the Gnostic, the Manichean, and so on, without them?

The internal history, too, of these religions and the proper development of the germs which they respectively contain, furnish instructive hints regarding the law of human culture and progress. It is often assumed that man's progress is naturally and by an inherent power upward and onward; and that the heathen religions are a step in the progress of the mind up to clear and just views of truth. The facts will be found in conflict with this theory, and justify us rather in regarding them less in the light of stages to be passed through, than of falsities to be renounced. The depraved moral nature of man is a dead weight perpetually dragging him downward. Religions will be found to deteriorate, even while knowledge, refinement and general culture are advancing, until the rottenness induced by the former ultimately engulfs the latter. Heathen systems become uniformly by the lapse of time more irrational, more heartless and formal, more oppressive and burdensome, more subservient to the interests of a crafty and pampered priesthood. It is thus with the Brahmanical religion; it is thus with the Parsi; a fact which goes to show that heathen systems are corruptions of the purer faith of the primitive ages of mankind, and that the light which glimmers through them, is to be traced ultimately to that primeval source. No upward tendency is ever discernible, which is not due more or less immediately to revelation from heaven.

The volumes before us are devoted to the investigation of the religious books of the Parsis. Less than a century has passed since these books were first brought from India to Europe. This was accomplished by an ardent young Frenchman, Anquetil du Perron, who, unable to raise the funds needed for so long and expensive a journey in any other way, embarked as a

common soldier. After encountering many difficulties and hardships during his eight years absence, he at length returned, bringing with him 180 manuscripts, and a translation of the Zendavesta, as received from the lips of Parsi priests. This was published in Paris in 1771. Although considerable discussion was at once awakened with regard to the contents of these books, as well as their antiquity and genuineness, for a long time no serious attention was directed to the strange language in which the originals were found. The worth of the language to philology was unknown; and as all the writings it contained had already been given to the world in French, there seemed to be little to attract to its study.

Such was the state of things when Burnouf addressed himself to the study of the manuscripts brought home by Anquetil, supposing that, by availing himself of the aid of his translation, he would have little difficulty in mastering the tongue. He was not long in discovering, however, that from its exceeding inaccuracy but little use could be made of it. The Parsis themselves, from whom it was derived, had lost all accurate knowledge of the language; and as Anquetil conducted his intercourse with them, not in their native tongue but in modern Persian, this was no doubt a fruitful source of misunderstandings and additional errors, especially as the mode of oriental translation, when exactness is insisted upon, is to render with slavish literality word for word, and particle for particle, even though the result be quite unintelligible. In the case of the Vedas, there are numberless native helps of the greatest consequence. There are extensive commentaries upon every word and sentence; there are native grammars and lexicons of the most minute and elaborate character; and there is a vast Sanscrit literature, affording every opportunity for eliciting the meaning of doubtful passages by comparison with others more plain. In the case of the Zend, however, all was different. The Avesta itself, and that a mere fragment of its original extent, comprised all the existing remains of the tongue. There were no grammars, and the native vocabularies published by Anquetil, not to speak of their doubtful origin, were exceedingly meagre, and contained the grossest blunders. The very alphabet, as furnished by Anquetil, needed considerable cor-

rection. The task to be performed was really found to be that of recovering a lost language with the fewest possible aids. And the accomplishment of this task by Burnouf, Bopp, Rask, and others, deserves to be classed with the most brilliant intellectual achievements of modern times. It takes the same rank in philology with the discovery of Le Verrier's planet in astronomy, as a triumphant demonstration of methods and of principles. It may be said, in fact, to have been during the struggle after this result that scientific philology had its birth.

There are two native translations of the Avesta, which furnish all that remains towards its traditional interpretation. The first is in Pehlevi or Huzvaresh. It is an interesting circumstance, that this same language, though otherwise unknown, is found again upon the coins and monuments of the Sassanides, as decyphered by De Sacy, Olshausen, Mordtmann, and others. This, with other considerations conspiring to the same conclusion, is regarded as determining, approximately at least, the age of the version. The language proves to be intermediate between the old Zend and the later Parsi, (from which was ultimately formed the modern Persian,) but with a strong infusion of Aramæan. This has been thought by some scholars to indicate that the version had its origin in Western Persia, where, from the proximity of Syria, Syrian influence would be most strongly felt. This conclusion, however, is not admitted by Spiegel, who thinks the employment of Aramæan words to have been a kind of learned pedantry, equally prevalent in all sections of the country, and analogous to the use of Arabic words in modern Persian. If this version were but intelligible, its aid would be invaluable, but, unfortunately, almost as little is known of the Pehlevi as the Zend: its paucity of flexions, too, makes it incapable of representing adequately the various tenses and cases of the Zend. It will be more likely to be of assistance in ascertaining the state of the Parsi religion and of the Avesta text, and the current of principles of interpretation at the time of the Sassanides, than in throwing much direct light, for the present at least, upon the meaning of the Avesta itself.

The second native translation is reputed to be about four centuries old, and is in Sanscrit. The name of the translator

is given as Neriosengh. This version is professedly made, not directly from the Zend, but from the Pehlevi version just named. It is much to be regretted that this version, so far as is known at present, at least, is but partial, being confined to the Yaçna, which is but a single division of the Avesta. It has been said to contain a part of the Vendidad; but if so, this has not yet been brought to Europe. Burnouf has made effective use of it in the commentary before us. This version has the advantage of being in a language which is now well understood, and which is equally rich in flexions with the Zend itself. But its value is greatly impaired by the fact that the Sanscrit is so barbarous from the slavish character of the version, as to be in many cases unintelligible without a recourse to the original, and then it represents the Zend only mediately, and contains all the glosses and additions of the Pehlevi from which it was made.

With a good version, accurately corresponding to the original Zend, it would have been comparatively an easy task to fix definitely the meaning, as well as the grammatical value, of all the words and forms; and the construction of a grammar and lexicon for the language would have been very plain work. But with a periphrastic and inexact translation, the case was seriously altered. And the very first step, viz. the determination of the grammatical character of words and forms could only be accomplished with the greatest toil and difficulty. Happily the close relation which was soon discovered to exist between the Zend and the Sanscrit, greatly facilitated this labour. The next step, after ascertaining the grammatical character and relation of each word in the sentence, was to apply to it the vague and general sense of the translation, so that each word might have its proper force, as already determined. The comparison of passages in which these words occurred again, or of the Sanscrit or other languages in which their cognates were preserved, supplying the corrective. Where these methods failed, it was necessary to have recourse to what Burnouf calls a species of divination, but which is now recognized as forming the basis of scientific philology. It is not easy to describe it better than in his own words:—pp. xxvii., etc.

"The problem which I had to solve was this: given a Zend

word, to which the Parsis attribute a signification which a comparison of passages and the study of the languages belonging to the same family neither confirm nor explain, to justify the sense given by the Parsis, or to find another. I commenced by detaching from the word to be translated its formative and suffixed terminations, which I had learned from the grammatical analysis of other words, in which the concurrence of Neriosengh, of Anquetil, and of the comparison of languages, left no doubt. I thus reduced the word, about which there was difficulty, to its simplest elements, or what is called its radical. And once master of this radical, I sought to discover whether the languages with which the Zend has most relation, the Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, the Germanic dialects, etc., bore any traces of it. This method led me, in a great number of instances, to very curious results. Thus I have established that the list of Sanscrit roots contained almost all the radicals whose meaning I sought; but that these radicals were infrequently used, if they were used at all in the classical Sanscrit, and that in order to find them in the language it was necessary to ascend to the Vedas. These old radicals were ordinarily strangers to the Greek and Latin languages, for otherwise I would have recognized them more speedily: some were found only in the Germanic dialects. So that the Zend and Sanscrit radicals, viewed with reference to their employment, naturally divided themselves into classes, the most marked of which only I shall indicate at present: 1. Zend radicals, belonging almost exclusively to the language of the Vedas, or to the most ancient Sanscrit, very rare in Greek and Latin, more common in the Germanic languages. 2. Zend radicals not found in classical Sanscrit, but which being mentioned in the lists of roots, have certainly belonged to the language, and probably to its most ancient form: this numerous class is rare in the learned idioms of Europe. 3. Zend radicals belonging to all ages of the Sanscrit, and common to the Greek, Latin, Germanic, Slavic and Celtic tongues. This class is the most numerous of all, and it may be said to form the common fund of all these languages. 4. Finally, Zend radicals, which I have not been able to refer to any known radical of these different languages, but

which I have almost always found again more or less altered in the Persian dictionary.

"If, as I venture to hope, these results at least in the general are incontestable, they cast new light upon the statistics of one of the richest families of human languages. In the first place they establish the high antiquity of the Zend, of which a considerable part is thus found cotemporary with the primitive dialect of the Vedas. In the second place, they evidently prove that the different languages which compose the Sanscritic family should not be regarded as derived one from the other, but that laying aside the different ages of their culture, which establish among them an appearance of chronological succession, they belong primitively to one and the same fund from which they have drawn in unequal proportions. This inequality so striking in the employment of the radicals is found again in the greater or less development which these radicals have received in the different idioms which have preserved them. Thus a root, which in Sanscrit has remained unproductive, has in Zend given birth to numerous offshoots. Another stopping in the midst of its growth has run through only the first period in one of these idioms, and in another only the last. In a word, whether in derivatives or radicals, nothing is absolutely equal in all these languages, but all set out from an originally common fund and are developed by the same laws.

"This community of origin, of which I met such convincing proofs at every step, emboldened me to attempt an account of a certain number of Zend words, which I saw resist the means of analysis, whose process and results have just been summarily indicated. The comparison of words identical or almost identical in Zend and in Sanscrit, for example, had given me a certain number of laws of permutation of letters; laws, whose certainty is greater, the greater the number of observations upon which they rest, and insofar as they have their ultimate reason in the peculiar constitution of the vocal organs. Zend words which differ from Sanscrit only by the change of one letter, and to which the application of one of these laws could be made with certainty, become the base from which I raised myself to other words, in which the simultaneous application of several laws was necessary. So that I came to explain

Zend words very different in sound from the corresponding Sanscrit terms, and to refer them by the comparative analysis of their elements to the form in which they appear in other idioms. I am far from concealing from myself the inconveniences attached to the exclusive employment of such a method, and I am not ignorant of the dangers of applying it without discretion. For the worth of the rules of permutation is not precisely the same for words which differ completely from each other as for those which are almost alike, and the certainty of these laws decreases in some measure in proportion to the need there is of applying them. But the appreciation of the different circumstances, which can permit or limit their use, belongs to criticism, and I hope it will not be found that I have in this work refused to the reader any of the means of verification which it was my duty to furnish him."

By methods such as this the exhumation of this fossil tongue has been accomplished. And it is a most interesting as well as valuable fact for science, that in philology, as in natural history the fossil remains of what has been extinct for ages, fill chasms and supply missing members in existing species and genera. The recovery of the Zend cannot as yet be considered complete. The general question even is still in dispute among those who have made it their special study, what comparative weight is to be attributed in cases of conflict to traditional aid and to that of the kindred tongues. For some passages of the Avesta, Spiegel does not even venture to propose a translation: in others he speaks with great hesitation and doubt. And when the promised translation of Westergaard appears, who is the champion of dialectic aids as Spiegel of tradition, there will, without doubt, be no small divergence between them. Still the work is essentially done. The language is understood; its structure and general character have been fully exposed; and its relations to the great family of languages within which it is embraced, have been definitely settled.

The Avesta, as we possess it, is a motley jumble of prayers, ritual prescriptions and dogmatic statements, mostly in the form of questions answered by direct address of Ahura-mazda to Zarathustra (Zoroaster.) The Vendidad, the Yaçna, which

is wholly of a liturgical character, and the Vispered, a small collection of invocations, constitute together what is called the Vendidad-Sade. To these are to be added the Yeshts, and a few other ancient fragments. The Bundehesh and other religious writings of the Parsis, manifestly belong to a much later period. Parsi tradition asserts that the books of Zoroaster consisted originally of twenty-one *nosks* or chapters, and that all which now remains is but a fragment of one of these. The destruction of the remainder is charged upon Alexander the Great, who, after translating all that related to astronomy, medicine, and other sciences into Greek, committed them to the flames; the priests subsequently restoring as much as they could from memory. Spiegel thinks it probable that it was first reduced to writing in its present form, during the Bactrian dominion, in the centuries just before or after the birth of Christ. The second part of the Yaçna, which is the only portion written in measure, is supposed to be the oldest. The Vendidad and the first part of the Yaçna, belong to a somewhat later date and perhaps a different place. The Yeshts are later still. The character in which the manuscripts are now written, is not older than the sixth century of the Christian era. The word *Avesta* strictly means "text." Zend, though commonly applied to the language since the time of Anquetil, has properly no such meaning, but denotes translation or commentary, and is the designation of the Pehlevi version. Spiegel proposes to abolish it as the name of the language and substitute Old Bactrian.

ART. III.—*Religion in America: or, an Account of the Origin, Relation to the State, and present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States. With notices of the Unevangelical Denominations.* By Robert Baird. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1856. 8vo. pp. 696.

THIS fine volume is the enlargement of a work which its excellent author published under the same title about twelve years ago, but which he has re-written and greatly improved, by new labour and the results of wider observation. Few persons have had better opportunities than Dr. Baird of knowing exactly what is needed in Europe on the subject of the American Churches. He has, therefore, been enabled to adapt his various studies to the wants of transatlantic readers; and from this point of view his performance must continually be judged. The former edition had a wide circulation in several languages of Europe, and contributed to increase that just esteem in which the author is held by Evangelical Christians in the Old World.

We paid our respects to the volume on its first appearance, and we still adhere to the favourable opinion then expressed. We still hold, that there is no American, however well informed, who may not read it with instruction, and refer to it as a cyclopedia of facts not elsewhere extant in connection. This is the more true, when we reflect that the members of different ecclesiastical bodies live very much apart, so that a Lutheran and a Methodist often know less of one another, than either knows of his own fellowship in England or Prussia. We still rejoice that the work has fallen, not into the hands of a partisan or a fanatic, but of a mild, generous, and large-minded man, who has done as much as any other towards the promotion of fraternity among differing sects. Since we thus expressed ourselves, the work has undergone a thorough revision, for the sake of which the author has retired from important public employments. It has been brought down in its details to our own times. Every sentence has been read, and almost every enumeration has been changed; as was inevitable in regard to a country and a period like our own.

Of eight books, the First is devoted to preliminary remarks,

suited to prepare for the comprehension of what follows. It is well occupied with chapters on the Geography, Colonization, Settlement, Government, and general religious Characteristics of the United States. Four important chapters are given to the consideration of the Voluntary System; a topic which in its interest for foreign Christians fairly overshadows all the rest, and which perpetually recurs in the subsequent details. Matters have greatly changed; for example, in Scotland, since the day when the *Church of Scotland Magazine*, and other prints, afforded the arena for conflict over the American experiment, and when our method of sustaining the gospel was held up to scorn by the very men who have since been driven to the practice of the same principles. Dr. Baird has on this subject done justice to the wise and holy endeavours of our forefathers, while he has communicated to the Churches of Europe facts too weighty, and results too lasting and too vast, to be ignored in any plans for the reorganization of old economics. We will even go so far as to say, that not even the chaotic mass of Anglicanism can be informed by any principle of order, or reduced by convocations and parliaments to any symmetry or congruity, without perpetual reference to the laws of church progress which have been realized in America. And it has been well for those old prescriptive and traditionary structures, amorphous and tottering, ill able to endure the axe and hammer of reform, and fraught with every sort of combustible material, that Providence should have afforded the American field, three thousand miles away, where every explosive experiment might be tried as it were in the open air. Dr. Baird was one of the first to show to foreign inquirers, simply and modestly, but with the incontestable logic of facts, how the high principles of Vinet and others were taking concrete shape, in all the wonderful extent of the Western Republic.

The Second Book treats of the Era of Colonization. The subject is one of the greatest which our age has presented; and though America is no longer the only great territory which invites thronging millions, it still is, and will continue to be, the world's exemplar and grand instance of the law of human diffusion.

The Third Book, entitled "The National Era," treats of the

National Independence of our country, with the political and religious consequences of that event. The ecclesiastical results of separation from the mother country are set forth; it is shown that the dissolution of the union of church and state was gradual, and was not effected by the government. The discussion of these points involves matters of unusual interest, concerning which egregious errors prevail among European Christians. The silent and peaceful revolution, naturally most surprising to investigators whose notions have followed the transatlantic track, is expounded step by step, in what we consider one of the best portions of the work. The question is discussed, how far the State has the power to promote religion; and it is proved that the General Government is not restrained from promoting religion, though it is not free to prefer one denomination of Christians. It is further shown, that so far from being infidel or atheistical, as some zealots have maintained, the Government is Christian; as recognizing the Sabbath, as recommending other stated days of devotion by executive proclamation, as authorizing the appointment of chaplains, as subjecting the administration of oaths to Christian conditions, and as manifesting a religious spirit in its acts. The government of particular States is shown to have been organized upon the acknowledged basis of Christianity, and their legislation is cited as carrying out the same principles. The truths which are contained in this part of the work strike us as having a great value for our own lawgivers and people; especially in their relation to the observance of the Lord's Day, the securing to the poor of their right to rest, worship, and instruction, and the whole vexed question of religious education and the Bible in schools. We greatly wish that these statements, with fuller development and illustration, could be fairly exhibited to those ill-informed, prejudiced, and wrongheaded religionists, especially among the Germans, who, in their dread of Jacobinism, and their revulsion from the antichristian spectres of 1848, are continually citing the instance of the United States to demonstrate that a separation of Church and State is necessarily followed by the elimination of the religious element from the Constitution.

The Fourth Book discusses more fully and professedly the

operation of the Voluntary Principle in America. Here it is that Dr. Baird brings together in great amount those facts which are new and almost incredible to the old-time Statesmen and Churchmen of Europe. It is made to appear most clearly, that the voluntary principle was the great alternative, and that as soon as all union of the Church with the State ceased, religion was constrained to fall back upon spontaneous support, which has thus become the true American policy, underlying all our immensely expanding interests of churches, schools, and charities. It is here shown by what means moneys are raised for church edifices, for the support of pastors, and for missions. The same is carried out in the matter of education, from the lowest primary school to the most distinguished professional seminary or university. The extension of manifold beneficent, moral, and patriotic enterprises in the most remote parts of the land, is adduced to evince the strength and elasticity of this beneficent principle.

The Fifth Book is upon the Church and Pulpit in America. Amidst much under this head which is both true and seasonable, we find some things which savour too much in our judgment of a particular school or party in homiletics, and some things which have become almost obsolete. We refer entirely to the chapters on Preaching, and we admit the inherent difficulties on the subject. It is no easy task to bring under one rubric the various, and we might almost say, opposite modes of preaching which prevail in our extended country. Dr. Baird has unwittingly assumed his point of observation in the midst of a particular class, and hence his descriptions do not represent Episcopalian or Methodist preachers, or Presbyterians of the Middle and Southern States, so much as Congregationalists and Presbyterians of New England and the North. After a careful examination, we do not consider the American pulpit, as a whole, to deserve the praise conveyed in the ten characteristics of the sixth chapter. So, also, on the subject of Revivals of Religion, while in the main we agree with the author, there are assertions and implications with which we totally disagree. That his account is faithful in regard to a certain sort of revivals, and a certain sort of doctrine employed to produce them, we readily admit; but as belonging to a very large and im-

portant branch of that American Church which he represents, we find ourselves unable to accept the portrait. The view given (page 406, sqq.) of the mode of presenting truth, which is characteristic of American Revivals, may be very true of New England and of New School Theology, and of revivals connected with these, but is far from being so of revivals in general, or of the wide-spread awakenings with which God has blessed the churches of our own name. Upon this point, which we consider a very serious one, there can be no fairer method than to adduce the very language which Dr. Baird has adopted as his own, and which we are unwilling to accept on the part of Presbyterians.

"The leading doctrine at such seasons is that of 'the new birth'—of the sinner's entire dependence, for a change of heart, on the direct interposition of God. And yet for this very reason, the other doctrine implied above, of *duty*, of *obligation* to immediate right action, is urged with redoubled force. Without feeling this, the sinner cannot feel his guilt, for there *is* no consciousness of guilt without consciousness of having violated duty; and where guilt is not felt, the influences of the Spirit are not given to renew the heart. And here, at this precise point, is the great difficulty in dealing with the impenitent. They do not believe that God requires them, in their present state, to become instantly holy. It is not possible, they think, that He should command them to do that very thing without the influences of His Spirit, which, if ever done, will be the result of those influences. They, therefore, feel that there must be, somewhere at this stage of their progress, a kind of neutral ground—a resting-place, where, having done their part in 'awaking out of sleep,' they are allowed to 'wait God's time' (in the customary phrase,) until He has done His part, and renewed their souls. Nor are these views confined to the impenitent. They have been openly avowed by some theological writers, and have exerted a secret but most powerful influence upon far greater numbers who never maintained them in form. There has been, extensively, a feeling that all that the unconverted are bound to do is diligently to use the means of grace; that if they do this, it would be hard in God to withhold the renewing influence of His Spirit; and that He has promised

that influence to their prayers and exertions, if sincere—meaning, of course, a kind of sincerity in which there is no true holiness. These views prevailed in New England previous to the revival of 1735, and were one cause of the great decline in religion which preceded that event. Mr. Edwards was therefore called upon, when that work commenced, to take his ground on this subject, and the principles which guided him in that revival have been the great controlling principles in all our revivals ever since. They are thus stated by his biographer: 'To urge repentance on every sinner as his *immediate duty;* to insist that God is under no obligation to any unrenewed man; and that a man can challenge nothing, either in absolute justice or by free *promise*, on account of anything he does before he repents and believes.' The celebrated Whitefield, when he first visited America, in 1740, was much struck with the power imparted to our preaching by these principles. 'How can *they* possibly stand,' says he, in a letter to an English friend, 'who were never brought to see, and heartily confess, that after they had done all, God might, notwithstanding, deny them mercy! It is for preaching in this manner that I like Messrs. Tennents. They wound deeply before they heal. They know there is no promise made but to him that believeth, and, therefore, they are careful not to comfort overmuch those that are convicted. I fear I have been too incautious in this respect, and often given comfort too soon. The Lord pardon me for what is past, and teach me more rightly to divide the word of life in future.' Against this disposition to 'comfort too soon'—to allow the impenitent some resting-place short of instant submission, the following very pointed cautions were once given by Dr. Nettleton, who has had great experience in the conduct of revivals. 'Now what do you mean by this? Do you mean to encourage the sinner in his sins, and take his part against God? You are attempting to ease and soothe him while he is in rebellion against God. When the sinner is in this distress, there are two things that press heavily upon him—a sense of his obligation to repent, and a fearful apprehension that he never will repent. Now, if you tell him to 'wait God's time,' and the like, you take off this obligation at once. You remove all anxiety, and most probably cause him to sink down

into a state of stupidity and indifference on the subject. You take away the apprehension, also; and the danger is that he will sink down into a state of stupidity, or mistake the relief he feels for a change of heart. Now, instead of quieting him in his sins by such language, you should endeavour to increase his distress as much as possible. You should *press him down*, and tell him he must submit to God, and generally he will. I know some have been brought out truly regenerated after all this flattery, but it was not in consequence, but in spite of it. Again, you say, 'Look to the promises.' Now, there is no promise to the impenitent, and how can you expect him to look to the promises while he is in his sins? I distinguish between *promises* and *invitations*. Men are invited to repent, but there is no promise to them till they do repent.' Such has been the uniform mode of exhibiting this subject. The promises of God are a part of His *covenant*, and the indispensable conditions of the covenant are repentance and faith."

Our judgment has not changed since what we wrote eleven years ago, and which we now repeat, with a repugnance to the noxious errors involved, greatly increased by the experience of the intervening period. There is scarcely anything in the historical matter touching revivals, to which we object. But when the writer undertakes to give the instrumental causes of these effects, unless he means deliberately to limit his statements to certain cantons or provinces of the Church, we are unwilling to have such testimony sent across the ocean to our brethren of the Reformed Churches. To them we protest with earnestness, that such are not the views of the genuine Presbyterians of the United States. We abjure, as much as the most zealous adherent of new divinity, the tenet that repentance is not a matter of duty; but we equally abjure every doctrine or system which would make regeneration *a mere item in a series of duties*. And we record our renewed protestation against a plan of teaching, which would represent bare submission to God's rectoral justice, as the critical act to which the sinner must be brought, and which excludes the promulgation of Christ's priestly work, until such time as the convicted soul shall have been sufficiently humbled in the judgment of his spiritual guide. To our Reformed brethren in Scotland, and France, and Swit-

zerland, who honour our pages with their perusal, we declare that these points of what is assumed to be New England Theology are as odious to the sound Presbyterians of America as they can be to themselves. When Dr. Nettleton, therefore, would say in regard to a distressed soul, "you should *keep him down*, and tell him he must submit to God," we persist in rejecting the recipe. It wants all scriptural warrant. It enjoins an act which, in any valid sense, is impossible without faith; and which, as understood, has nothing evangelical. It hangs a thick curtain before the great object, the sacrifice of Christ, and refuses to raise it, till when? Till the moment when the minister shall declare the humbling process to be complete. Awful is the responsibility of that man who shall undertake to determine when that last drop of consummating anguish has been distilled into the cup of bitterness, or when the instant has arrived when a sinner may behold the Lamb of God without damage. How simple, how plain, how safe, how glorious, in comparison, the scriptural advice to an awakened man, *Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved!* Such was the method of Whitefield, as it had been the method of Livingstone, of Knox, of Luther, and of Paul and Silas.

We further express our surprise and disgust, that the shibboleth of New England Divinity, so called, namely, the metaphysical dogma of Natural Ability, should be again paraded before the eyes of our transatlantic brethren, as a principal means of revival. If Dr. Baird means to underwrite the statements on this head, which appear on pages 407 and following, we declare openly that he does not represent the theological teachers, authors, or clergy of the Church to which he and we belong. We trust he rather gives utterance to opinions of the "distinguished friend and professor" to whom resort has been had for the contents of this sixth chapter. We should have been better pleased to hear Dr. Baird in his own person; and his account of revivals, in the diction of New Haven, makes us exclaim, "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau."

With the serious exceptions above taken, we regard the matter of the fifth book as important. When the author speaks

for himself, on the history, character, and abuses of revivals, we read his observations with much respect, and consider them worthy of wide circulation.

The Sixth Book treats of the Evangelical Churches of America, which it takes up in detail, with abundance of valuable record and statistics. The Seventh Book gives a view of the Unevangelical Denominations of America. As a volume for reference, whether at home or abroad, these two books furnish a treasure-house of information which is not anywhere equalled; but the nature of which forbids either extract or abridgment.

It is with some concern that we find ourselves constrained once more to animadvert on a paragraph which re-appears in this new edition; and we do not disguise our profound regret, that after years of reflection, so crude and groundless a statement, and one so likely to be abused by the patrons of error, as that which next follows, should have been retained and perpetuated:

"The great achievement of American theology is, that it has placed the doctrine of the atonement for sin in the clearest light, by illustrations drawn from the nature of a moral government. Nowhere is the distinction between the work of Christ as the propitiation for the sins of men, and that of the Holy Spirit in renewing and sanctifying the sinner, more clearly drawn—nowhere is the necessity of each to the salvation of the soul more constantly and forcibly exhibited. The tendency of our theology, under the impulse of the Edwardean exposition of the doctrine of the atonement, is to avoid the habit—so common to philosophers and philosophizing theologians—of contemplating God exclusively as the First Cause of all beings and all events, and to fix attention upon him as a Moral Governor of beings made for responsible action. Here it is that the God of the Bible differs from the God of Philosophy. The latter is simply a first cause—a reason why things are—sometimes, if not always, a mere hypothesis, to account for the existence of the universe, another name for nature or for fate. The former is a moral governor, that is, a lawgiver, a judge, a dispenser of rewards and penalties. God's law is given to the universe of moral beings for the one great end of promoting the happiness of that vast empire. As a law, it is a true and earnest express-

ion of the will of the lawgiver respecting the actions of His creatures. As a law, it must be sanctioned by penalties adequate to express God's estimation of the value of the interests trampled on by disobedience. As the law is not arbitrary, but the necessary means of accomplishing the greatest good, it may not be arbitrarily set aside. Therefore, when man had become apostate, and the whole human race was under condemnation, God sent his Son into the world, in human nature, 'to be made a sin-offering for us;' and thus, by his voluntary sufferings magnifying the law, 'to declare the righteousness of God, that God may be just, and the justifier of him who believeth.' Thus it is that God, as a moral governor, is glorified in the forgiveness of sinners; that he calls upon all men to repent, with a true and intense desire for their salvation; that he sends into a world of rebellion the infinite gift of his Spirit, to impart life to those who are dead in sin; that in a world of sinners, who, if left to themselves, would all reject the offered pardon, he saves those whom he has chosen out of the world; that he uses the co-operation of redeemed and renewed men in advancing the work of saving their fellow-men. Men are saved from sin and condemnation, not by mere power, but by means that harmonize with the nature, and conduce to the ends of God's moral government. This method of illustrating the gospel carries the preacher and the theologian back from the Platonic dreams and dry dogmatizing of the schools, to the Bible. It sets the theologian upon studying, and the preacher upon imitating, the freedom, simplicity, and directness, with which the apostles addressed the understandings and sensibilities of men. And thus it may be regarded as coinciding with other indications of the tendency of religious opinion in the various evangelical bodies of America."

Anywhere else we should regard the opening statement as no other than the cant of New Divinity. It either means nothing definite—an ambiguity which is always dangerous—or it imports a favour for theological error which we repudiate. There is no such achievement of American theology, in any sound sense. There is no American school of orthodoxy, which has placed the doctrine of Atonement in any clearer light than it was placed in by the Reformed Theologians. No valuable illustration

of atonement has been peculiarly derived by American writers from the nature of a moral government. As we once before said, when the same injudicious dictum was set forth, so we now say, for the information of our friends and brethren abroad, the sound theology of the Reformed Church in America claims as its work no such emendation. Various doctrines concerning atonement are held among us. We have, for instance, the doctrine of Calvin and Owen, which is taught in the very terms of transatlantic symbols, by Presbyterians of the sounder sorts. We have the doctrine of Wesley, among the Methodists. We have the doctrine of Taylor, Fitch, and Finney; for omitting lesser differences it is the same, taught more or less extensively in and out of New England. These have no common trait so prominent, as to justify us in asserting of them, that they, or their common tenets, open a clearer view of this august subject than had previously been attained.

The great achievement of American theology, we are told, is, that it has placed the doctrine of the atonement for sin in the clearest light, by illustrations drawn from the nature of a moral government. Can we err in supposing the particular school here meant, to be that of New England? No other has vaunted any new light from this source. The reference to Edwards confirms our persuasion. Now we take leave to say of this venerable man, that nowhere in his works does he exhibit this doctrine in any new mode, which seeks to rid it of difficulties by recourse to the analogy of government. All the old divines drew illustrations indeed from government, but in perfect harmony with the grand scriptural illustration, or rather essential principle, of substitution and vicarious righteousness. To justify any such statement as that of Dr. Baird, he should have adduced something at once novel and American. The statements which he actually adduces in the remainder of the paragraph, exhibit no achievement whatever; but if we except the implied censure of other systems, present not a proposition which would stagger the veriest Scotch Covenanter. We could wish our author to have applied his mind with more discrimination to a point of theology at once so nice and so important. If any marvel at our feeling the allegation to be a grievance, let us remind them, that this claim of a grand achievement on the

part of American theology, in the matter of a "governmental" atonement, is the very claim which is continually and offensively put forward by those who wish to explode the notions of piacular suffering, endurance of penalty, legal substitution, and imputation of righteousness. In place of such an atonement as includes these elements, this school introduces an atonement which seeks, not satisfaction, but only exhibition. This is, we admit, the American view of atonement, if America means the modern Congregationalism of New England. The leading tenet of this scheme surrenders that which is vital to atonement, reducing it to a mere *setting of God right in the view which creatures take of his rectoral acts.* The germ of this doctrine is to be found in the work of Grotius, *De Satisfactione.* Amidst many noble positions of that celebrated treatise, this pregnant error was allowed by the orthodox to remain long unmarked. Not so, however, with the Socinians, who saw that in this concession the real piacular nature of atonement was given up. It was *not* by the elder Edwards that this view of the atonement was first taken, but by later divines of New England, whose sons are now carrying it out to such extremes as make easy fellowship with the more sober Unitarians. According to this doctrine, the atonement removes only that ground of punishment which arises from the tendency of sin to disturb the good order and happiness of the universe. Instead of a legal satisfaction, it is an exhibition or display of the righteousness of God; and this achievement of American theology places the atonement in light derived, not from priesthood and sacrifice, but from the nature of a moral government. If this is not the idea which the reader of Dr. Baird's unguarded statement is likely to take up, what, we demand, is meant by his assumption that the mode which Calvinism had previously employed for representing the atonement was unhappy and obscure, and even that it contemplated "God exclusively as the First Cause of all beings and events"? What system of teaching is here censured, if not that of Dordrecht, of Westminster, of Cambridge, and of Saybrook? Will not every plain reader think of this as the system which has been improved? For ourselves, and for all Presbyterians of our body, and all sound Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, Episcopalians, and Moravians, we reject the fruits of every such achieve-

ment, and abide by the doctrine and the illustrations which prevailed before the boast of "American Theology" was ever heard. Great as may be the abuses of his remark, we have no cause to believe that the author has individually deviated into any such error as his words might import. The candour of criticism has led us to speak plainly of one or two blemishes which cover only a few pages in a work, which as a whole we esteem, and most cordially recommend.

The Eighth Book relates the Efforts of the American Churches for the Conversion of the World. A concluding chapter gives us a valuable summary, including such topics as the following: the progress of our country, in regard to its material interests, and its intellectual and moral interests; the progress of religious liberty, and the hopeful prospects of the American churches.

We lay down this volume with increased respect for its amiable, diligent, and pious author. Every portion of it bears marks of close observation, industrious research, sound judgment, and generous philanthropy. It is remarkably free from everything like chimera and extravagance. The effort is every where apparent to hold the balance even, among varying sects and conflicting parties. Throughout the book the spirit which predominates is that of a sound and liberal protestant catholicism. We are particularly warmed and comforted by the filial and patriotic vindication of our beloved country, against the calumnies which are rife in Europe. In this respect it is written in a truly American temper; equally remote on one hand from vulgar brag concerning "this great country," as on the other from truckling concession to the arrogant assumptions of European censors. Every day the balance of influence turns a little more in our favour, as to books, schools, churches and charities; but in no particular is this so manifest, as in those things which concern religious liberty and Church independence, topics concerning which this work will take rank as an authority. In all instances, and as well in person as by his authorship, Dr. Baird has been the tried defender of our Christian and national reputation in foreign lands, and we believe this work will crown his valuable services in this regard.

ART. IV. — *History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence*, (*Deceased Divines*,) containing the Master-pieces of Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon, Fléchier, Abbadie, Taylor, Barrow, Hall, Watson, McLaurin, Chalmers, Evans, Edwards, Davies, John M. Mason, etc. etc., with discourses from Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Augustine, Athanasius, and others among the "Fathers;" and from Wickliffe, Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Knox, Latimer, etc., of the "Reformers." Also sixty other celebrated Sermons, from as many eminent divines in the Greek, Latin, English, German, Irish, French, Scottish, American, and Welch Churches, a large number of which have now, for the first time, been translated. The whole arranged in their proper order, and accompanied with Historical Sketches of Preaching in the different countries represented, and Biographical and Critical Notices of the several Preachers, and their discourses. By Henry C. Fish, Author of Premium Essay, "Primitive Piety Revived." In two volumes. New York: Published by M. W. Dodd. 1856.

THIS long title-page gives a better conception of the general contents of the work, than any brief summary of them which we can frame. The author's design thus clearly and fully announced, must commend itself not only to all intelligent preachers, but to all who appreciate able exhibitions of moral and religious truth, along with the grandest flights of human eloquence. On the whole, we think the execution answerable to the design. We, of course, should not, in every instance, have made the same selection as our author, either of preacher or sermon. This, however, is only saying, that in going over a field so vast, no two men would see everything alike. Of the world-renowned masters of pulpit eloquence, nevertheless, he has not failed to select discourses of acknowledged preëminence, and permanent celebrity. In translating from other languages, he has enjoyed the aid of competent scholars. The critical and biographical observations add to the value of the book. While the best sermons of all ages and countries have an intrinsic literary value for all persons of liberal culture, and a still higher interest for the Christian, they have the highest interest and value for preachers. Familiarity with the best models in any art must increase skill and proficiency in the practice of

that art. Servile imitation, and whatever borders on plagiarism, of course, tends to moral and intellectual degeneracy. It only aggravates the impotence from which it proceeds. Such abuse is no argument against the proper use of the great master-pieces of sacred eloquence, any more than cases of literary aping or theft furnish a good reason why an original writer should keep himself ignorant of literature. As we think that the study of the great discourses in this compilation would be of great service to most preachers, so we know not where else most can have access to them, or their equivalent. The work, therefore, supplies an important desideratum.

We are glad that the author has not confined his selections to those preachers who have attained the highest distinction as rhetoricians and orators, in the more limited or technical sense of these terms. His range extends to those who have been distinguished for the strong and effective presentation of divine truth, and for working strong convictions and impressions in the minds of their hearers, whether according to the rules of rhetorical art or not. Many of the mightiest preachers have been neither elegant nor eloquent, according to a very common acceptation of these terms. That is, they have been distinguished for force of matter, but not for any graces of style or delivery. These graces are by no means to be disparaged. They do not weaken; they intensify what force otherwise exists. But, of themselves, they do not constitute it, any more than a beautiful dress makes a strong man. Ornament is feeble and disgusting, where there is nothing to adorn. We think the preacher may receive quite as much valuable instruction in studying the secret of the power of the great sermon of Edwards, found in this collection, entitled "Sinners in the hands of an angry God," and why, when calmly read from a fine manuscript, held up in the author's hand, it startled a congregation, before thoughtless, into tears, and sobbings, and audible shrieks, as in studying the magnificent funeral orations of Bossuet.

Within a recent period, there has been much earnest discussion relative to the manner of preaching, in distinction from the matter of it. To a certain extent, the matter and manner of preaching interpenetrate and determine each other. All mat-

ter sensuous and intellectual must exist in some form, and, while it remains unchanged, is inseparable from that form; which is only saying, that any substance remaining what it is, is inseparable from the qualities which make it what it is. So far, to determine the matter is to determine the form. To determine that the matter of the human body is an animal organism, is so far forth to determine its form. To determine that the matter of a book shall be moral philosophy, geometry, or chemistry, is so far to determine its form. To settle the point that preaching shall be scriptural, philosophical, doctrinal, practical, Pelagian, Calvinistic, topical, or expository in its matter, is, so far, to determine its form. The discussions in regard to the manner of preaching to which we allude, have had respect to it, not in points wherein it is implicated in the matter, but to points which are independent of it. They admit of indefinite variation in proclaiming essentially the same matter, the same truths, thoughts, reasonings, in the same order of arrangement. They relate to elocution, gesticulation, the use of manuscripts in the pulpit, and whatever in style or delivery affects the vivacity and impressiveness of a sermon, which in substance and matter is essentially what it should be. Manner, in this sense, and as separable from the matter of preaching, (while we by no means underrate its importance,) it is no part of our present purpose to investigate. We inquire rather *what* it is the minister's duty to preach, and *how* he shall do it, only so far as matter and form mutually interpenetrate and determine each other. This is the highest question for the preacher to decide. It is of great consequence how we preach. It is of still greater, what we preach, except so far as the former involves the latter.

But is it, after all, a question, or at any rate, an open question, among Christians, or if among Christians, among orthodox and evangelical Christians, who acknowledge that the preacher's commission is to preach the gospel, and that he fulfils his duty only so far as he preaches the word, the whole word, and nothing but the word? Can it be an open question among those who accept the Reformed confessions as faithful summaries of the teachings of revelation? In one sense, this is not an open question among any who can of right be called Chris-

tians. Still less room for debate remains among those who agree in that interpretation of Scripture which makes salvation wholly of grace. But even among these, there is a vast diversity, not merely in the style of their preaching, but in the matter or substance of it. This does not imply that they necessarily contradict one another. It does not necessarily imply that any impugn, or even that they do not confess and abide by every article of the Confession in their discourses. But it implies something more than that diversity of gifts, by which different men are endowed with special qualifications for commending the same gospel to different classes of minds. The difference lies in the different proportions, surroundings, applications in which they set forth the different elements of the same body of truth; in what they signalize by frequent and emphatic iteration, and what they omit or touch lightly and charily, and in the foreign matter with which they illustrate, obscure, or encumber it. How else shall we account for the fact that one preacher has power chiefly in the aptness and force of his appeals to the impenitent; another, in awakening devout feeling in the hearts of Christians; a third, in his lucid statement and unanswerable vindication of Christian doctrines; a fourth, in the enforcement of the moralities of the gospel; a fifth, in his extraordinary tact at working up occasional, miscellaneous, and semi-secular sermons? Even among those then, who acknowledge fealty to the great principle of preaching the word, it is still an open question, in what proportions, surroundings, applications, and other circumstances, this word and the various parts thereof shall be preached. And this question will bear long pondering by all who have assumed the awful, yet glorious office of watching for souls, and are bound to distribute to each a portion in due season. For who is sufficient for these things?

At the outset, we may safely postulate, 1. That the Scriptures themselves exhibit the various elements of divine truth, in the relative proportions in which it is the preacher's duty to teach and enforce them.

2. That they are also an infallible guide as to the mutual relations and practical applications of these truths; and that, while the manner of exhibiting and illustrating them requires

adaptation to the present circumstances and habits of thought among the people, they may not be intrinsically modified by alteration, suppression, or addition.

3. That the preacher fulfils his mission just and only as his preaching causes these truths to be known and, through grace, operative among his hearers.

4. That all other acquirements, attractions, graces, or means of power and influence in a preacher, are legitimate and valuable in proportion as they subserve this end; and any sources of power in the pulpit, aside of this, no way contribute to the discharge of his mission. Their tendency is to supersede, and thus, in various degrees, to hinder or defeat it.

Finally: The great end of preaching is to glorify God, and bless man, by bringing sinners to the "obedience of faith" in Christ, and promoting their sanctification, their knowledge, love, and adoration of God; their assimilation, conformity, and devotion to him, in thought, desire, word, and deed; their cordial and delighted communion with Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; their love, gentleness, meekness, patience, uprightness, and faithfulness towards their fellow-men. In a word, the great end of preaching, with respect to men, is to advance them "in all holy conversation and godliness."

Starting with these premises, which must be their own evidence to all who concede that our sole commission from Christ is to preach the word, it results:

1. That God should be the great, overshadowing object set forth in the preacher's message. All preaching that violates this precept must be vicious. This appears from every side and aspect in which the subject can be viewed. To say, as we shall say, that Christ should be the burden of the preacher's message, does not contradict, it re-affirms this principle. For Christ is God. In preaching Christ, we simply preach God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses. Whether we set forth the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost, either one of the Three, or the Three in One, we directly and immediately hold forth God, and none else. Now, if we look at the Bible or its inspired preachers as models, we find God always and everywhere in the foreground. Indeed, the highest evidence of its divinity is the radiance of God upon it. He is

the first and the last, shining in it, through it, and from it. Its words are not those which man's wisdom teacheth, and it speaks as never man spake. Another consideration is, that the word to be preached is the word of God. It emanates from him exclusively. It is to be enjoined in his name, and by his authority. It cannot be truly received, or produce its due saving effect, unless it be received, "not as the word of man, but as it is in truth, the word of God, which worketh effectually in them that believe." 1 Thess. ii. 13. So the preacher is the ambassador of God. Can he then truly deliver his message, unless He in whose behalf he pleads be the prominent object in his inculcations?

Still further: The truths which the Bible unfolds are truths relating to God, in his nature and attributes, his works and ways; or they concern us in our relations to him, as our Creator, Preserver, Sovereign, Redeemer, and Judge; or they respect the relations and obligations of men to each other, which in turn depend upon their common relation to the one God and Lord of all. Herein are contained all the doctrines, and hence arise all the duties of our religion. How then can they be adequately set forth in any form of sermonizing which does not make God all in all?

If we consider the duties or attainments required in the Bible, they all have God for their object and end. The love, the desires, the worship, the penitence, the sorrow, the self-renunciation, the devotion required, are no otherwise genuine than as they have supreme respect to God. Our duties to men have their strongest bond in his requirements, and are only acceptable when done as unto the Lord: "Not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart." What better then than a mere counterfeit of Christian teaching can we have, when God is not made its Alpha and Omega?

Besides, all disposition, ability, efficiency for attaining the favour or doing the will of God, are the gifts of his sovereign grace. Whatever we are, or have, or do, that is acceptable to God, or in the least meets his requirements, by the grace of God we are what we are. All is of God. All must come from God. To God belongs all the glory. To God we must look

for every good gift and every perfect gift. When he withdraws, our comforts droop, and all our graces die. Is it conceivable, then, that the religion of God can be inculcated, except as he himself is magnified? And is not this view thrice confirmed, when we consider that the declared end of the whole method of our salvation is that God may be glorified, the issue of the whole is to be, that God shall be visibly, as he is really, all in all?

Many, doubtless, will be ready to say that we have been vindicating a truism. We shall not dispute them. If it be so, it only proves our position the more impregnable. It is one of those truisms that very many need to single out of their neglected and forgotten common-places, and to brighten it into its due lustre, and swell to its due proportions, by surveying it afresh, in its deep grounds and infinite reach of application. Coleridge says, in the first, if not best aphorism of his Aids to Reflection, that we can seldom be more usefully employed, than in "rescuing admitted truths from the neglect caused by the very circumstance of their universal admission. Extremes meet. Truths, of all others the most awful and interesting, are too often considered as *so* true, that they lose all the power of truth, and lie bed-ridden in the dormitory of the soul, side by side with the most despised and exploded errors." That there is a difference as to the extent to which God is magnified, and the whole texture of discourse saturated with the divine element, by different preachers, is undeniable. With some, a sense of his excellency and our own littleness and vileness; of the blessedness of his favour and the terrors of his wrath; of the importance of being prepared to meet him; of living for his service and glory: of dependence upon him for grace, salvation, and blessedness: of the impossibility of finding true felicity, except in the enjoyment of him for ever, is the grand impression sought and effected. With others, the human, the worldly, the philosophic, social, and political, usurp the predominance. These are the great objective elements that loom up and secure an obtrusive, if not overshadowing prominence, in the preacher's unfoldings and inculcations. Man and the world appear so great, that God and heaven are scarcely greater. And in some cases the preacher himself is foremost

in the group, and could hardly say with the Apostle, "we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord."*

If, then, the foremost object to be set forth in preaching, is the Most High, in his being, infinitude, and perfection; in his works of creation, providence, and grace; in his relations towards us as our Maker, Preserver, Benefactor, our Sovereign, Saviour and Judge; then that preaching is neither biblical, christian, nor even religious, which is not so impregnated with this divine element, that God is not only its central, but pervading object; over all, in all, through all, of whom, and through whom, and to whom are all things, to whom be glory for ever.

2. We are thus prepared to understand the attitude in which man should be put by the preacher. As the Bible is addressed to man, and aims to bring him to the salvation it proffers, *i. e.* to spiritual life, holiness and bliss, this is a point of capital importance. But it is needless here to investigate anthropology. The great object of the preacher should be to make him know and feel that he is a dependent, rational, and accountable creature, owing fealty to his Maker—that he was made to love, serve, commune with, and enjoy him; that herein is life and bliss, and that alienation from God by sin is death and woe. These truths, the more earnestly they are pressed, find a responsive attestation in every conscience not seared as with a hot iron. And they are all the more felt, in proportion as God is apprehended in his goodness and holiness, his sovereignty and omniscience. But while this is fundamental and conditional to any religion whatever, it underlies another truth which is cardinal in Christianity. We of course refer to man's fallen state, including sin, guilt, misery, helplessness. In general, it may be affirmed, that men will realize all this, just

* We have been credibly informed that two distinguished living preachers, when formerly stationed in the same Western city, had, for an occasional auditor, an irreligious officer of the army. This gentleman said to our informant, that he listened to the one with the greater pleasure; to the other with less satisfaction, but with greater respect and reverence, if not profit. Being asked to explain himself, he said, "The former exalts the dignity of man, and I always come away pleased with myself. The latter so magnifies God, that I seem nothing, and I always seem oppressed with a sense of my own insignificance and unworthiness." If preaching is to be estimated by the crowds it draws, we believe this man-exalting divine is now *facile princeps* among American preachers.

in proportion as they see and feel what God is. But in order to set forth God effectually for this purpose, his law, which mirrors his perfections in his requirements of man, must be proclaimed in its spirituality and searching import, in its precept and penalty, line upon line, and precept upon precept. The express law of God is but a formal republication of the law written by nature on the heart, although often forgotten, disowned and obscured under the mists of sin. But still it is written there, although sin has blurred the record. And when it is proclaimed in its full import and awful sanctions, it finds an echo and witness in the conscience, that having been drowsed into oblivion of it, is awakened to behold it. The lightnings of Sinai bring out in visible distinctness the writing before invisibly traced on the conscience. For "the conscience meanwhile bears witness." They know the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death. With all the world they become consciously guilty (ὑπόδικοι) before God. We have reason to fear that too much of our current preaching is more or less emasculated by a deficiency here. We are no legalists. Neither are we antinomian. The law must be proclaimed, not for the purpose of showing us how we can, but that we cannot, obtain life, according to its requirements. It is the grand instrument for producing conviction of sin. "By the law is the knowledge of sin." It is only as the law, in its breadth of precept and awfulness of penalty, is apprehended and witnessed by the conscience, that conviction of sin is felt, that self-righteous hopes are extinguished, or that men are driven from all other refuges to Christ. None will thirst for or flee to the Saviour, till they see their case to be hopeless without him. The whole need not a physician, but they that are sick. But this conviction can be effected only by manifestation of the law which makes it evident that by violating its precept they are subject to its curse, so it becomes a schoolmaster which leads to Christ. Thus Paul was alive, *i. e.* confident of gaining eternal life, without the law once. But when the commandment came, sin revived, and he died. It slew him. Its manifestations under the light of the law were the death of all his hopes. And he further shows that this was accomplished only by a view of the spiritual and heart-

searching elements of the law. For he says, "I had not known sin but by the law; I had not known lust except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet." It is when the law gleams and thunders, that sinners in Zion are afraid, and fearfulness surprises the hypocrites. And it is only when thus "pricked in the heart" by the sword of the Spirit, that they will ask, What shall we do to be saved?

The law is no less indispensable, of course, as a rule of life to Christians. It is the standard of excellence to which they must aspire. They can neither have nor give evidence that they are Christians, unless they are striving after conformity to this perfect standard. The very end of their election, redemption, calling, is that they may be holy as God is holy—a peculiar people, zealous of good works. In proportion as their communion with God becomes perfect, they will be perfect in holiness. But holiness is nothing else than conformity to the law of God. It is true that we do not thus seek a title to eternal life. But thus alone can that life, gratuitously bestowed, exist or manifest itself. Thus alone can we become attempered to, or capable of, the joys of heaven. Although released from the law as a condition of life, yet the Christian joyfully embraces it as a rule of living. He does so, because by the instinct of his gracious nature, he loves the law of God after the inward man, and because the adoption to sonship, which is freely given him in Christ, enables and disposes him to obey it with filial freedom, love, and confidence. He is not without law to God, but under law to Christ. *Having these promises*, he cleanses himself from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.

These commonplaces only need stating, so far as the principle involved in them is concerned. The chief questions which arise, respect the manner of carrying it out. It is here, we judge, that the most serious deficiency will be often found in preaching—a deficiency which too often dulls its edge and destroys its penetrative power. Many insist strenuously on the law, as the standard of goodness which is evermore binding on all rational beings. They thunder its curses upon unbelievers. They insist upon all Christians making it the rule of life. Yet after all, it fails of its due effect in alarming the unconverted, and

purifying the hearts and lives of Christians. In short, it does not reach, enlighten, or awaken the conscience. Why? because it is not unfolded and defined in its import and applications to the manifold relations of our inner and outer life, and the modes of thinking, feeling, and acting therein required. No clear lines of discrimination are drawn, showing precisely where duty begins and ends, and where sin commences either in the form of omission or commission. It is one thing to denounce the curse of the law against the transgressor. It is another to denounce profaneness, or taking God's name in vain, as a heinous sin. But it is yet another, and a very different thing, to point out in clear and graphic delineation the various ways in which this command is violated in thought, word and deed, and to show the criteria which distinguish the lawful from the profane treatment of things divine. This cannot be done, without giving the knowledge of sins before unknown or unheeded, while it relieves the conscience of the sincere believer, not only by defining his duty, but by showing what is not sin, and thus loosing him from the fetters of morbid scruples and groundless despondency. The latter object is often scarcely less important than the former. Many Christians go limping and halting all their days, in the fetters of a Judaical, Pharisaic, or ceremonial spirit; or of a superscriptural strictness and severity on some one or more points of Christian morality. This may make them harsh, sour, censorious, dejected, uncomfortable to themselves and their brethren. But such weights and consequent besetting sins must be laid aside, before they can run with patience and joy the Christian race. Instead of mounting up on wings as eagles, they grow weary, and their soul cleaveth to the dust. Those who undertake to be more righteous than God's law, in any respect, will be sure to compensate their work of supererogation by greater license in some other form of sin. We once knew a candidate for the ministry who denounced as a sin, eating meat, and drinking tea and coffee, and, if we remember right, any violation of Professor Hitchcock's prescriptions for avoiding dyspepsia. He ended with becoming the hierophant of a conventicle of free-love Perfectionists, and doing what he might, to turn temples into brothels. Take the law of the Sabbath, in regard to supe-

riors and inferiors, indeed, the whole decalogue, and let it be so expounded, defined, and applied, that men must see not only what is, but what is not a violation of it—let the preaching of duty be clear, thorough, didactic, casuistic—and would it not oftener leave the arrows of the Lord sharp and rankling in the hearts of his enemies, and promote beyond measure the sanctification, the blamelessness, the usefulness of Christians? Is it not thus, and not otherwise, that the word becomes sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing to the dividing asunder of the joints and marrow, and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart? So is it, and not otherwise, that it becomes profitable not merely for doctrine, but "for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."

These principles with regard to the inculcation of the law, apply of course, *mutatis mutandis*, to the whole sphere of evangelical duty; *i. e.* of duty as amplified in its scope, as modified in its source, rule and end, by the gospel. This is only saying that in summoning men to do their duty, we ought to explain and define so clearly as to preclude all mistake, what duty is.* It is simply asserting the didactic element in preaching, which in the light of reason and scripture must needs be an integral and fundamental part of it. The commission given to preach the gospel to every creature, is given by another evangelist as a commission to teach all nations, to do and ob-

* It can hardly be necessary to enter a *caveat* against straining this maxim beyond the bounds of reason and even possibility. Even the applications of principles can be given by the preacher only in derivative principles of greater or less generality. He cannot go into the particular questions of fact, on which, in each case, the question of duty depends. To do so, would be to teach all knowledge, which is impossible, while the attempt to do it would be worse than ridiculous. Thus, that it is a duty to keep our promises, and to make none which are unlawful, or beyond our power to fulfil; and consequently that none ought to undertake the practice of law, medicine, statesmanship, or any calling, without competent qualifications to do aright, what they thus promise to do, is evidently within the province of the pulpit. But who will say, that it is within its province to teach law, medicine, politics, engineering, or bricklaying? Such knowledge, without which none can do their duty in these callings, must be learnt elsewhere. To lecture on Hydropathy and Allopathy, the merits of our various political parties, old line and new-line, straight and crooked, on the right method of tailoring, or plastering, is not to teach or preach the gospel, and if done under colour thereof, it is simply a desecration.

serve all Christ's commands. The instructions given to Timothy and Titus terminate very much in showing them whom, what, and how they shall teach.

We have dwelt the longer on this point, because we are persuaded that not a few are labouring under certain misconceptions regarding it, which impair their vigour and usefulness as preachers. It is a vulgar notion, that all didactic preaching is dry and uninteresting. Hence many have deep prejudice against what they style doctrinal preaching. They crave warmth and life. They want earnest, hortatory discourse. They deem this practical and profitable. But let practice be urged in an instructive way, which displays its grounds, reach, and limits; which produces not merely some vague excitement, but shows them what they ought to be and do, and they stigmatize it as dull, didactic, and doctrinal. We do not dispute that there may be instructive preachers, who by their jejune style and frigid manner, are obnoxious to this complaint. This might happen, whatever the matter of the sermon. But in many cases the objection is aimed at the things said, not the manner of saying them. It is related of the late Professor Stuart, that during his short but efficient pastorate, he dwelt much on certain doctrines of grace, which had been neglected or disparaged by his predecessor. The people were roused. Some said one thing and some another. The result, however, was that his preaching was in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power; his church was filled with eager listeners; and experimental piety was greatly and permanently promoted. Some of his hearers, restive under a tone of preaching to which they were unused, begged him to give them less doctrine, and more practical sermons. He complied with their request, and commenced delivering clear and thorough expositions of the divine law. In a short time, however, the same auditors waited upon him with a request that he would return to the doctrines. They had enough of practice. The truth is, aversion to legitimate preaching, whether of doctrine or practice, originates in one source. It is simple aversion to truth in its antagonism to corrupt nature, which, if doctrinal, requires a correspondent practice; if practical, has its roots in a correspondent doctrine. For truth is in order to goodness. Hence they prefer some

transient and blind excitement of feeling, to that discovery of truth which alone can awaken sound evangelical feeling; which purifies while it quickens the heart, because it gives light to the understanding, and thus makes permanently wiser and better. We have said that preachers are in danger of being influenced by this vulgar prejudice, and to flatter themselves that they can benefit a large class most by imparting to them heat without light. We apprehend that such heat can be but a momentary glow of sympathetic or animal excitement, as flashy as its cause. The rational soul can feel only in view of what it first perceives. Emotions must be founded on and determined by cognitions. Christianity is not a religion of blind feeling or capricious impulse. It is a religion of truth. It sanctifies by the truth. And the great duty of the preacher is, "by manifestation of the truth to commend himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God." Our religion is not, as some one has said, like the moon, giving light without heat, nor like the stove, giving heat without light, but like the sun, giving perennial light, and warmth, and life.

If there is any force in these views, they lead to the conclusion, that the true interest, life, and power of preaching, lie in the exhibition and enforcement of Christian truth and duty; in the justness and force of the answers it gives, to the great questions, What shall I believe, what shall I love, what shall I do, in order to lead a righteous, sober, and godly life; and that, when Christ appears, I also may appear with him in glory?—in a word, in the Christian light it sheds on the intellect and conscience, to the end that it may mould the heart. The feeling awakened by such preaching will be salutary, Christian feeling. The greater the clearness, fervour, and vividness with which such truths are set forth, and sent home, the better. And we may add, that all other sources of interest in a preacher and his sermons, are aside of, if not athwart, the true aim of preaching. That the preacher be admired; that he fascinate by poetry or oratory, by philosophy, or any excellency of speech or wisdom, may answer a great many purposes. But it may all be, without preaching the gospel, or disturbing the thoughtless, or guiding the anxious soul, or edifying the people of God. We by no means underrate a good report of them that are

without. We appreciate the importance of being in favour with all the people, and giving no offence in anything, that the ministry be not blamed. But we know, too, that a woe is upon those who preach not the gospel, and of whom all men at all times speak well. We should esteem the solemn awe, the deep thoughtfulness of the worldling, the alarm of the presumptuous, the ray of spiritual comfort stealing in upon the contrite soul, the devout feeling and holy purpose springing up in the breast of one and another, on leaving the sanctuary, a more precious testimony to the power and excellence of the discourse, than all the plaudits of graceless worldlings, and genteel professors, who are lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God. The self-searching, the humility, the tears of penitence, the sweet and confiding faith, the comfort of hope, the movement of the soul from self and the world, toward God in Christ, with which so many heard the preaching of a Nettleton or Alexander, are a thousand-fold higher attestations of pulpit power, than all the encomiums ever lavished upon merely magnificent oratory. It was a common question among the hearers of the famous Shepard of Cambridge, (who was wont to say that all his sermons cost him tears,) as they left church on the Sabbath, "Who was wrought upon to-day?" These are the best seals of the genuineness and apostolicity of a ministry: "By their fruits shall ye know them."

In the foregoing remarks, we have necessarily anticipated much that applies equally well to what follows. The effect of preaching the law faithfully, will not be to encourage men to attempt to gain life by keeping it, but to show them their utter inability to keep it, and their hopeless condemnation by it. Convincing them of their ruin, it fills them with a sense of their need of a Redeemer. This is the great central truth of revelation, and the foundation of true religion. For "other foundation can no man lay." Therefore, while, as we have shown, God must be set forth, first of all, and above all, in preaching, he must,

3. Be preëminently set forth as "God in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses." It were a poor and unworthy work to smite, and not to heal; to tear, and not bind up; to kill, and not make alive. Hence, since

He, who by death overcame him that hath the power of death, alone can deliver us from sin, our paramount office is to declare Him, who is the way, the truth, and the life. As for us, our mission is to "preach Christ and him crucified; to the Jews a stumbling-block, to the Greeks foolishness, but to them who are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God." We need not labour to prove to the Christian, that

"Christ and his cross are all our theme."

All else converges towards him, or radiates from him. It tends to lead us to him, or flows from our union to him. All unfoldings of God, in his perfections and glories; all exhibitions of the character, condition, and duties of man; all inculcations of doctrine and practice, if true and scriptural, lead the soul directly to the Lord Jesus Christ, for wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. "Ye believe in God," says Christ, "believe also in me." True faith in God involves faith in Christ, as soon as he is set before the soul; for in him all the fulness of the Godhead dwelt bodily. The first archangel never saw

"So much of God before."

We behold his glory in the face of Jesus Christ. Faith in God then is implicitly faith in Christ; it is a germ which will unfold itself as such, as soon as Christ is presented to it. The law slays, thus showing us that Christ is our only life. So every doctrine, every duty, all legitimate matter of preaching, of whatever sort, culminates in Christ, in whom all things shall be gathered into one, and who filleth all in all. All duty leads to him, to discharge the debt incurred by its non-performance, to obtain strength for its future fulfilment; while the wisdom, power, and love displayed in Christ, evoke the highest love and adoration, and incite, while they enable us to render, grateful and devoted obedience.

But upon this general view there is no cause to dwell. Few Christians will deny that Christ should be the centre and substance of all preaching. It is only upon some of the consequences and bearings of this truth, that there is occasion for remark.

1. We apprehend that preachers are in little danger of excess

in setting forth Christ objectively to their hearers. He, God in him, is the great object towards which their faith, love, hope, obedience, and devotion, are to be directed. They are Christians only as they thus bow to that name which is above every name. They are complete in Him who is the Head of all principality and power. Without him they can do nothing. Life, faith, love, hope, come of looking to him, not to themselves, or to anything which they or other men can spin out of themselves. It should never be forgotten that Christianity, although working an inward renovation by the immediate peration of the Holy Ghost, developes this change in accordance with the laws of our rational and moral nature. No Christian affections can arise except in view of their proper objects. These objects are found in Christ, the God-man, our Saviour, in his person, offices, and works. Of course, we do not mean to advocate any monotonous repetition of any single or isolated truth in regard to him. There is no need of this. One of the most remarkable treatises in our language, is that of Bell, showing how much of God is evinced in the human hand. A friend of ours has in contemplation a similar treatise in regard to the honey-bee. If these diminutive objects require volumes to show the extent of divine imprint upon them, can there be any lack of variety, any need of monotony, in exploring the infinite compass and relations of the Redeemer and his work? All life contains inexhaustible variety in unity which never tires by monotony. How much more He who is the Life, and combines in his own person a divine life, a human life, and the source of all life, out of whose fulness we all receive, and grace for grace! The endless sides and aspects in which he stands related to his people, enable us to view him in relations ever fresh and diversified, while yet he remains the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.

2. It hence follows, that the way and grounds of vital union to Christ should be thoroughly and abundantly set forth and cleared up in preaching. The nature of saving faith, as distinguished from all counterfeits of it; its simplicity, as distinguished from all the entanglements with which unbelief would embarrass it; its naked essence, as simple trust in Christ and his righteousness, should be, in one form and another, a fre-

quent theme of preaching, and habitually inwoven with the whole texture of our discourses. This must be done, even if it incur the danger of seeming repetitions. It is the grand requisite to to the birth of the soul into the kingdom of God. Simple and rudimentary as it is in Christian teaching, free justification is an article in which men born under the covenant of works are dull learners. There always are those in every congregation who are thinking and inquiring on the subject of religion, but who have never known what it is to believe on Christ to the saving of the soul. There are always babes in Christ, and weak believers, who tremble and stumble in their Christian walk, because they have no adequate view of the free, gratuitous, and full justification which faith embraces and insures merely for the taking. At this point, too, not a few older Christians, "when, for the time they ought to be teachers, have need that one teach them which be the first principles of the doctrine of Christ." Many ministers have been surprised, in conversations with the sick and dying, to find persons who have been their hearers all their days, in a mist on this simple and vital question, How can a sinner be justified before God? They know, indeed, in general, that it is not by their own, but by Christ's righteousness; yet, until the Spirit takes the scales from their eyes, they will be found, in some form, to be working up a righteousness of their own. They will think they must in some way make themselves better, before they can be fit to go to Christ, or he can receive them. Many believers often waver at this point. They doubt whether persons so unworthy have any warrant to appropriate to themselves the Saviour's righteousness. It is of great importance, that all inquiring, doubting, trembling souls be brought to see clearly the true nature of justification, which inures to those that believe on Him that justifieth the ungodly, that so they may stagger not at the promise, but be strong in the faith, giving glory to God. Nor can the preacher well expend too much of his strength here. All the liberty wherewith Christ maketh free; all filial confidence, love, and devotion; all holy strength and courage to serve God without fear, in holiness and righteousness, all the days of our lives; all that is sweet, genial, and buoyant, in our spiritual state, depend upon it. Thus there is peace and joy in believing.

Thus we obtain righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Thus alone can we be delivered from the spirit of bondage and slavish fear, or feel ourselves in such a relation towards God as enables us to serve him with a true heart and right spirit. To the carnal eye, it indeed seems impossible that free justification should not encourage licentiousness. To the spiritual eye, it is the purifying spring from which good works must flow, and cannot but flow. We are not to get life in order to come to Christ, but to come to Christ that we may have life.

There is a class of theologians and preachers who involve this whole subject in perplexity, by the theory that love precedes and is the spring of evangelical faith, and that none but penitents are warranted to trust in Christ. The effect of this is to make men feel that until they can find within themselves evidences of penitence and love, they must consider the mercies of the gospel, as Boston says, "forbidden fruit," which it is unlawful for them to touch. On this subject, confusion of mind is the easiest of all things, and the clear truth among the most important. It is true, that no faith is genuine without repentance and love. So faith without works is dead. It is also true, that faith, although in the order of time simultaneous with commencing love, repentance, and good works, is, in the order of nature, before, conditional to, and causative of them. Love can only arise from faith's perception and belief of the excellence and glory of Christ and his cross, and of God as shining through them. It arises, as they see

> "What wisdom, power, and love,
> Shine in their dying Lord."

But we must discern and believe in this loveliness before it can excite our love. And when we believe and see it, it cannot but draw the heart. Another consideration is, that until we are in that friendly relation to God in which justifying faith places us, we cannot confide ourselves to him. We feel that our sins subject us to his righteous displeasure, and that we merit and must receive vengeance at his hands. Now love is impossible towards those whom we dare not trust, because we are subjects of their righteous wrath. So faith is indispensable to love. And since all works not inspired by faith and love, are slavish, dead works, it follows, that although there be no

faith without repentance, love, and holiness, yet faith is their antecedent and cause, as truly as the sun of its beams, and life of breath. We apprehend that a clear view of this point is of great moment in guiding inquiring souls. He is paralysed in making the gospel offer, who cannot, without conditions, bid every thirsty soul come and welcome; who is constrained to tell sinners that they must get rid of their inward distempers and maladies before coming to Christ, instead of going to him at once for the removal of sin and guilt. This is preaching a fettered gospel, and it produces a fettered piety. It gendereth to bondage. It is alien from the sweet and simple faith, the filial confidence and freedom, the buoyant yet humble hope, the cordial love and genial devotion of the gospel; and which result from going at once to Christ for all, receiving all as a free gift from him, and thence giving all, in love and gratitude, to him. We think this view is sustained by the whole drift of scriptural representations. According to these, faith purifieth the heart: it works (exerts its energies) by love; it is the victory that overcometh the world. This view fully accords with the absolute necessity of love, repentance, humility, and good works, to salvation. Faith, which does not exert and evince itself in these, is not saving faith. Though we have all faith and have not charity, it profiteth nothing. Nor do the calls to repent, with the promise of pardon annexed, conflict with; they rather corroborate this view. On what is this pardon based? On Christ. How apprehended and applied? By faith. When the wicked are exhorted to forsake their way, and the unrighteous their thoughts, and turn to God, who hath mercy, and to our God who will abundantly pardon, it is only a form of teaching, that faith in God's pardoning mercy is prerequisite to true repentance. The definition of the Catechism is a true summation of scriptural teachings on this subject. "Repentance unto life is a saving grace, whereby a sinner, out of a true sense of his sin, *and apprehension of the mercy of God in Christ*, doth, with grief and hatred of his sin, turn from it unto God, with full purpose of, and endeavour after, new obedience."

The mistaken theory to which we have adverted, of deriving faith from love, and not love from faith, has, we are persuaded, a strong tendency to generate error on the subject of the sin-

ner's inability. The preacher does not see his way clear to direct the sinner immediately to Christ for deliverance from this, and all other evils and miseries of sin. If he cannot bid the sinner go out of himself at once to a strength which is made perfect in his weakness, nor till he has procured penitence, or love, or some other robe of clean linen with which to go, the question arises, How shall he get all this? How can he be incited to work and strive for it? The answer is, the preacher must be prepared to tell him he is able to accomplish it, or else he is hopelessly paralysed, and can do nothing, but leave the inquirer passively awaiting the sovereign afflatus of the Spirit. Hence various fictions of natural, and we know not what other, ability, have been devised to bridge over this chasm. But the inability of the sinner though moral, is real, and inconsistent with anything that can properly or safely be called ability. All modes of teaching which have any other effect than to lead men, under a sense of their own helplessness, to cast themselves on Christ for strength to lead a Christian life, are delusive and mischievous. We are not sufficient for anything, as of ourselves; our sufficiency is of God. When we are weak, then are we strong in the Lord and the power of his might. This is the whole theory of the Christian life. The just shall live by faith; not faith in their own ability, but of the Son of God, who loved us and gave himself for us. The whole may be summed up by adding to the article of the Catechism on repentance, those on faith and effectual calling. "Faith in Jesus Christ is a saving grace whereby we receive and rest upon him alone for salvation, as he is offered to us in the gospel." "Effectual calling is the work of God's Spirit, whereby convincing us of our sin and misery, enlightening our minds in the knowledge of Christ and renewing our wills, he doth persuade and enable us to embrace Jesus Christ, freely offered to us in the gospel."

3. A few words will suffice, after what we have already advanced, to show our views of doctrinal preaching. We can hardly conceive of a Christian discourse which does not implicitly contain, and, with greater or less explicitness, articulate a Christian truth or doctrine. Christian doctrines are but the truths of Christianity. The only real question then is, what

Christian truths shall be preached, and in what relative proportions? Here the word of God is our true model and guide. But shall not certain doctrines be suppressed, although taught in the sacred oracles? Here again our answer is, preach the word. "All scripture is profitable for doctrine," as well as other things, whoever may wish the ninth chapter of Romans, or any other part, expunged therefrom. Generally, the objection to preaching doctrines has reference to those doctrines which the objector dislikes. If he can prove them untrue or unscriptural, his objection is valid, not otherwise. All Christian affections and purposes are inspired by a view of Christian truth. They are otherwise impossible. And there is no Christian truth, which, presented in its due proportions and surroundings, does not tend to nourish some holy affection. There can be no doubt, therefore, that it is a fundamental part of the preacher's vocation, to make these truths clearly understood, as the very condition of true faith, holy living, whatever is involved in right practice. The inculcation of doctrine is sometimes stigmatized as dull and unprofitable; as offering the mere dry bones to souls craving the nutritive milk and meat of the word. We do not deny that there may be doctrinal preaching obnoxious to this charge. We do not think sermons should be theological lectures, didactic or polemic. We think doctrine being clearly defined and established, should always be developed in its practical and experimental bearings. So all Christian practice should be based on its correlate doctrines, and rooted in Christian principle, in order to be of that kind which accompanies salvation. As to fervid discourses which would stir the feelings without illuminating the understanding, we have already said enough. The attempt to edify the Church without doctrinal instruction, is like the attempt to build a house without foundation or frame-work. Let any in derision call the doctrines "bones," if they will. What sort of a body would that be which was flesh and blood, without bones? If any present them in skeleton nakedness, divested of their vital relations to life and experience, this is the fault of those who do it, not of true and proper doctrinal preaching, which on one of its sides is practical and experimental. In fact, the two should never be torn asunder, any more than the flesh and bones.

They should ever blend with and vitally interpenetrate each other, and be pervaded by the unction of the Holy One. No sane man will contend for mere dogmatic abstractions in the pulpit. Much less should it be a theatre for philosophic or metaphysical disquisitions. But it should be a theatre for unfolding, illustrating, enforcing divine truth proved by the testimony of Him for whom it is impossible to lie, to be apprehended by the intellect, and vouched for by the conscience of man. We do not believe this truth so devoid of interest as seems to be supposed by many, who on this account studiously shun it. We believe it to be the only material on which most ministers, who have no coruscations of genius, especially eccentric genius, with which to charm their hearers, can rely for awakening a permanent interest in their ministrations. While there is any religion in the world, he will hardly fail to interest his flock, who feeds them with knowledge and understanding. Dr. Emmons, whose sermons were in a remarkable degree clear and icy metaphysical reasonings, far less attractive than the plain truths of Scripture, read off in the most passionless manner, always had an audience of eager listeners. He said in his laconic way, "I have generally found that people will attend, if you give them anything to attend to."

Polemical and controversial preaching is doubtless to be avoided, except so far as the preacher is called to combat the lusts and errors of hearers. In this sense, faithful ministers will always be obliged, like the apostle, to "teach the gospel with much contention." All preaching is immediately or remotely an assault upon the deceits of sin, and the refuges of lies in which it entrenches itself. And it may happen, when errorists are stealing the hearts of the people, that, with heavenly wisdom and prudence, ministers must dispute daily, as did Paul, the things of the kingdom. This is one thing. To bring the *odium theologicum* into the pulpit; to be fond of holding up other bodies of Christians to reproach and derision; to appear more anxious to gain the victory over our adversary, who has no chance to defend himself, than to save the souls of them that hear; to display wrath, and bitterness, and clamour, and evil speaking, in a place that should be radiant with Christian benignity; or, even without this, to be always thrusting out the

horns dissevered from the body of Christian doctrine and practice, may accomplish a great many things. But we have never seen it productive of any signal fruits of faith, humility, penitence, love, and devotion. In general, it will be found, especially so far as the pulpit is concerned, that the positive and able inculcation of the truth is the best defence against error; and that the more completely impersonal and uncontroversial it is, the less likely is it to arouse those carnal and malevolent feelings which always grieve the Spirit of God. This is the general principle. Cases may arise in which duty requires another course; but they should be exceptional and emergent.

4. In combatting the errors and lusts of men, we do not believe that any great good is effected by abstract metaphysical and philosophical arguments. They are usually unintelligible to the common mind. They are the "wisdom of this world, which is foolishness with God," and which no preacher is commissioned to employ; and if he condescends to found his claims on his philosophy, one man's philosophy is as good as another's. He has a higher sanction for all that he proclaims, even the testimony of God, which shines in its own self-evidencing light throughout the Scriptures. Besides this, he has the witness of the consciousness of his hearers to attest what he affirms in regard to their moral state, their ill-desert, their need of a Saviour, and their chief duties as Christians. Thus, for the principal parts of his message, he has proofs more effective, and exercising a far higher convictive power, than any ingenuity of speculation. And here he has an advantage which largely compensates for the natural apathy and aversion of men to the gospel. He speaks by divine authority, and not as the scribes, if he is true to his trust. Their consciences meanwhile bear him witness. Any other basis of his teachings is of little efficacy in producing scriptural faith. For this is faith, not in any philosopheme or hypothesis of man, but in God and his word; and it must stand, not in the wisdom of men, but the power of God. It is beyond all doubt, then, that the preacher's discourse will be instinct with penetrating, convictive, spiritual, purifying energy, just and only in proportion as he appeals to the authority of God and the consciences of his hearers. This is wielding the sword of the Spirit; and when we use his sword, in devout

dependence on him, we may look for his presence to give it an ethereal temper and penetrant edge. Such preaching, though it come not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, declaring the testimony of God, will doubtless be in demonstration of the Spirit and of power.

As the Spirit works the new creation not by any violation of, but in unison with, the nature and laws of the rational soul, as he persuades while he enables us to embrace Christ, and does this by giving efficacy to the external persuasions of the word read and preached, so the true method of bringing men to the knowledge and belief of the truth, is, as in all cases, to proceed from the known to the unknown. All moral and Christian truths are concatenated and interdependent, like the members of a living organism. Each one either supposes or is confirmed by all the rest. Had we adequate faculties, we should doubtless see, in regard to all these truths, what we now see of some, that they involve all the rest; just as the zoologist will tell from a tooth or a bone all the other parts of the animal to which it belonged. To a very great extent, this mutual connection of the various portions of moral and Christian truth is, or ought to be, known to the preacher, and is a chief element in his reasonings and pleas with all classes of hearers. Few are so totally imbruted, as to be blind to the simplest moral truths. In the light of these, the evidence of higher truths to which they have been blind and indisposed, may be made to appear—as surely as from the letters of the alphabet we may syllable out words, sentences, discourses, all literature. The recognition of the distinction between moral good and evil, cannot be developed without revealing sin, guilt, the need of repentance and redemption, and from these first principles of the doctrine of Christ we must go on unto perfection. As sin is deceitful and blinding, so we must strive to dispel its bewilderments. As it is madness, we must use the fragments of truth and sanity still left, for the restoration of so much of reason as is shattered or lost. In this view, a sound and prayerful discretion is to be used, as to the time and circumstances for declaring the various portions of the counsel of God, the whole of which we may not shun to declare at a proper time. Otherwise, though we give each one his portion, we may fail to do it

in due season, and may oppress with meat, by them indigestible, those babes in Christ, who are not as yet able to bear it. It may indeed be the preacher's fault that they are such as have not their senses exercised to discern between good and evil, and are still such as have need of milk and not of meat; yet in forwarding their growth in knowledge, he must, like all other skilful teachers, adapt himself to their stage of spiritual attainment.

5. Here arises the question, as to the extent to which prudential considerations, and the principle of expediency are legitimate in determining the matter of preaching. We are met by two classes of scriptural instructions, which in sound are contradictory, but in sense are perfectly coincident. The first are those which demand the fullest regard to the dictates of prudence and expediency. They teach us to refrain from lawful things which are inexpedient, to please our neighbour in order to his edification, to become all things to all men, if by any means we may save some. Here the strongest sanction is given to the principle of expediency. We are taught with still greater emphasis, "though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel, let him be accursed;" that we may not shun to declare the whole counsel of God; that we may not do evil that good may come; that we must be faithful to the testimony of Jesus, and the truth of his word even unto death, if we would receive the crown of life. There is no question that our duty is to preach the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. All seeming discrepancy here disappears, if we have recourse to the familiar ethical classification of actions as good, bad, and indifferent. In regard to acts in themselves morally right or wrong, no license is given to neglect the one or do the other, out of regard to any considerations of expediency. We are not to lie or blaspheme, or refuse to confess Christ and his gospel, though we might thus save our own lives, or prevent the crush of worlds. No instance can be found in which Paul did or sanctioned such things, strenuous as he was for expediency. On the other hand, in regard to things indifferent, i. e., in themselves neither morally good nor evil, expediency is the governing principle. And, by expediency, we mean tendency to promote what is morally good, or

prevent what is morally evil. To give a familiar example. As to whether we shall worship God and abjure idols, there is no option. But as to the style of dress and equipage I shall adopt, this is a matter to be determined wholly by its relation to my ability to discharge my just obligations, and my influence for good or evil upon my fellow men. For intrinsically, linsey-woolsey and satin sparkling with diamonds are on the same moral footing. We think that the application of these principles to preaching is not difficult or obscure.

1. The minister has no discretion as to setting forth the whole body of divine truth in the course of his inculcations. He may not add to, or take from the word of God.

2. He may not, with a good conscience, when in any way questioned or put to the test, disown, or give it to be understood that he does not believe, what he does believe to be the truth in Christ, on any consideration or pretext whatsoever.

3. But since he cannot, in any one discourse, or in any limited period, traverse the whole circle of divine truth, he must exercise his own conscientious discretion as to the times and occasions, when each respective part is to be so brought forth as to divide to each his portion in due season.

4. As to all matters indifferent, whether of act or word, private and public, they are to be regulated by the single aim of giving the truth more facile and effective access to the souls of men; whether we eat or drink, or whatsover we do, all must be done to the glory of God and the edification of souls.

5. With regard to rightly dividing the word of truth, in the foregoing cases, as well as all others, much must doubtless be left to Christian prudence; a want of which, more frequently than any other fault, impairs the usefulness of clergymen, and ejects them from their positions. Dr. Dwight says, that by far the larger part of the forced dismissions of pastors within his knowledge were attributable to this cause. There is, however, a general principle in regard to the distribution of the different portions of divine truth, which results from all that we have advanced, is plainly enunciated in the Bible, is enforced by the example of prophets, apostles, and Christ himself, and which no man can safely disregard. In a religion in which mercy and truth, righteousness and peace, are met together,

men must be made to behold both the goodness and severity of God. Great evil results from the disproportionate or exclusive exhibition of either the stern and awful, or the benignant and alluring aspects of the divine character. One class should not be suffered to overshadow the other. The soul's welfare requires that neither should be forgotten or ignored: "For the better understanding of this matter, we may observe, that God, in the revelation that he has made of himself to the world by Jesus Christ, has taken care to give a proportionable manifestation of two kinds of excellencies or perfections of his nature, viz. those which specially tend to possess us with awe and reverence, and to search and humble us; and those that tend to win, draw, and encourage us. By the one, he appears as an infinitely great, pure, holy, and heart-searching judge; by the other, as a gentle and gracious father, and loving friend. By the one, he is a pure, searching, and burning flame; by the other, a sweet, refreshing light. These two kinds of attributes are, as it were, admirably tempered together in the revelation of the gospel. There is a proportionable manifestation of justice and mercy, holiness and grace, gentleness, authority, and condescension. God hath thus ordered that his diverse excellencies, as he reveals himself in the face of Jesus Christ, should have a proportionable manifestation, herein providing for our necessities. He knew it to be of great consequence, that our apprehensions of these diverse perfections of his nature should be duly proportioned one to another. A defect on the one hand, viz. having a discovery of his love and grace, without a proportionable discovery of his awful majesty, his holy and searching purity, would tend to spiritual pride, carnal confidence, and presumption; and a defect, on the other hand, viz. having a discovery of his holy majesty, without a proportionable discovery of his grace, tends to unbelief, a sinful fearfulness, and a spirit of bondage."*

We shall bring these observations to a close, by a few suggestions relative to the extent of the preacher's obligations to give instructions to men in respect to worldly relations and interests, economic, social, and political.

* Edwards's Works. New York edition, vol. iv., pp. 224–5.

1. With regard to all that is commonly understood by the moral and worldly virtues; i. e. virtues which often exist without piety, and are commanded by the natural conscience, and the code of worldly respectability, as well as by the gospel, such as temperance, chastity, honesty, veracity, fidelity, kindness, &c., it is needless to say that they are of self-evident obligation; that if they may exist without piety, piety cannot exist without them; and that they should be enjoined, as they are in the Bible. They should be enforced, not merely by natural and worldly, but by spiritual and evangelical motives. Yet they ought not to fill any large or overshadowing place in preaching. This should be mainly occupied with the glorious gospel of the blessed God, and its heavenly truths and requirements; and with these subordinately, as its subordinate though indispensable fruits. Such is the uniform course of the New Testament preachers; such is the most effective way of promoting morality. It makes the tree good; so the fruit must be good. Unless it be a very distempered and unevangelical type of religion, the most religious men are the most moral individuals and communities, in all countries and all ages. Those who have laid out their chief strength in preaching worldly morality, have had but slender success. Without the fascination of genius, they can seldom keep a congregation together. The mightiest preachers of the everlasting gospel, who have done most to bring men to the obedience of faith, have produced the greatest moral reformations. Dr. Chalmers's experience is a remarkable instance of "philosophy teaching by example." He relates, that in his earlier ministry, he plied his congregation with enthusiastic discourses on the moral virtues, and made it his chief labour thus to effect a reformation of their morals. They loved the preacher, and were charmed with the magic of his eloquence. But they did not reform their morals. He at length felt the hollowness of mere morality, and was brought to the cross for pardon and peace. He at once altered the whole matter of his preaching. In place of splendid moral essays, he gave them clear and fervid discourse on sin, guilt, and retribution; on salvation by the Redeemer's blood, and righteousness; on spiritual regeneration, faith, repentance, holy living, heaven, and hell. Multitudes were awakened, and converted to the

Lord. And not only so, but there was a thorough, wide-spread, and permanent reformation of morals. *Ex uno disce omnes.* The pools of worldly morality will stagnate, unless vitalized by streams from the fountain of life.

As we have said that morality should be taught not so as to crowd into the supremacy of the gospel, but as its necessary subordinate fruit, so the less immediate and direct, the more distant and inferential the duty, the more distant and chary should the pulpit be in treating it. "At the last extremity of a branch, it is difficult to retain a view of the stem. Represent to yourself, for example, sermons on neatness, politeness, &c. Some topics of this sort, doubtless, may be approached, but it must be done incidentally; they should never furnish the subject for a sermon."*

2. With respect to the social and civil relations, and all interests merely worldly, Christianity insists on the exercise of religious principle, and all the virtues of our holy religion in every sphere of life and action. There can be no doubt that God will honour those that honour him in all the spheres and offices of life. They will be blessed in their basket and store, their going out and coming in. Society is elevated and purified, individuals and families are prospered, every worldly interest of man thrives in proportion as religion pure and undefiled before God and the Father prevails. This is its inherent tendency, as it exalts the whole man, and restrains those corrupt passions that blight the body as well as the soul, and destroy both in hell. It is a blessing also often conveyed in honour of his religion by the undercurrents, and secret prospering gales of his gracious providence. But it is often withheld in his wisdom, or prevented by counteracting causes. How often has persecution hunted the people of God to the dens and caves of the earth, while faith has enabled them to take joyfully the spoiling of their goods, and to count not even their own lives dear, knowing that in heaven they have a better and more enduring substance? In all cases, they that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution, and endure chastening. The promise will be fulfilled, that through much

* Vinet's Homiletics, translated by Dr. Skinner, pp. 82, 3.

tribulation they shall enter the kingdom of God. Their worldly prosperity, so far as it is vouchsafed, follows their religion as the shadow follows the substance. But it is not the substance, it is not that with which religion concerns itself, otherwise than in ways incidental and subordinate. On the contrary, its effort is to raise the soul to a sublime superiority above the transient and worldly. It puts no value upon these further than as they may be linked with and subserve our eternal welfare, than as the scaffolding to the edifice. We are surely not mistaken here. We are charged to take no thought what we shall eat, what we shall drink, or wherewithal we shall be clothed; to look not at things seen and temporal, but at things not seen and eternal; if we are called, being servants, to care not for it, but, if we may be free, to choose it rather; but always to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, with the promise that all other things shall be added unto us, which our true well-being demands. Of the whole doctrine of Scripture on this subject the Apostle gives the following beautiful summation. "But this I say, brethren, that the time is short. It remaineth, that both they that have wives be as though they had none; and they that weep, as though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; and they that buy, as though they possessed not; and they that use this world as not abusing it; for the fashion of this world passeth away."

In correspondence with all this, it is evidently no part of the preacher's commission to make the promotion of men's worldly interests any prominent object of his inculcations. On the contrary, such a course is clearly discountenanced in the Bible as not only repugnant to religion, but suicidal; for, by displacing the divine and eternal element, it fails of its benignant fruits for this world. For these bear not the root, but the root beareth them. So far as we have observed, those who most signalize worldly interests in preaching, so far from eternizing the temporal, merely secularize the spiritual. "No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this world." With respect to those who would encourage servants to be restive under the yoke, or contemptuous of their masters, Paul denounces them as "men of corrupt minds, sup-

posing that gain is godliness; from such withdraw thyself. But godliness with contentment is great gain. For we brought nothing into the world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out." We think that the same principle holds in this matter, which Christ propounds in regard to individuals. "He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it." Preachers who spend their strength in efforts at worldly amelioration, usually spend their strength for nought. Those who spend it in promoting godliness, usually build up every interest of man, temporal, spiritual, eternal, individual, and social. "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and that which is to come." All forms of mistaking gain for godliness, betray a radical misconception of the whole nature and scope of the gospel. Says John, "they are of the world, therefore speak they of the world, and the world heareth them. We are of God. He that heareth God, heareth us; he that is not of God, heareth not us. Hereby know we the spirit of truth, and the spirit of error."

It being thus clear that worldly amelioration, however it may be a consequence, is not the direct object of the preacher's inculcations, it follows, that the pulpit, in proportion as it is engrossed with interests less than those of the soul, God, and eternity, usually suffers loss itself, and thus indirectly damages what it undertakes to promote. Let a preacher devote his pulpit to any questions social or civil, which respect simply their better or worse condition in regard to the good things of this life, and he will generally accomplish less for their temporal, to say nothing of their eternal welfare, than if he had devoted himself to the promotion of that godliness which, with contentment, is great gain.

As, however, religion has its development and sphere of action in the world, and includes all social and relative duties, simply because it includes all duty, and requires us to do all things to the glory of God; it of course requires us to act in all good conscience in reference to our country and government; to do what we may consistently with paramount obligations, to make our officers peace, and our exactors righteousness; to procure just and salutary laws; to sustain their authority and

execution; so there can be no question as to the propriety of inculcating these great, and (among Christians) undisputed principles, from the pulpit. Indeed, as Christ taught us to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's; as Paul enjoined obedience to the powers that be, not only for wrath, but for conscience' sake, so he expressly charges ministers to "put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work." Of course this means a real, an authorized magistrate, not a pretender or usurper; and demands obedience to laws enacted by a competent authority, not by a mob, or any unauthorized assemblage. And it further means obedience to real rulers, as to all other superiors, so far, and so far only, as they do not require us to disobey God. In this case we are clearly taught we ought to obey God rather than man. To obey a magistrate who requires us to blaspheme, is simply to abet him in his rebellion against God. In such a case our only course is to sustain the law, not by obeying its precept, but, if need be, by enduring the penalty. It is no strange thing, to be required to witness a good confession at the cost of martyrdom.

We have no reference here to those great and abnormal emergencies which speak for themselves, when the people, in the exercise of their own *vis medicatrix naturæ*, by the sudden violent throes of revolution, cast off a government intolerable or outgrown, for one suited to their wants. We only mean to say, that the foregoing principles are proper, and at times necessary to be inculcated in the pulpit. But when we pass from these principles, which must commend themselves to every enlightened conscience, to the details of their concrete application, in actual politics, other considerations have place. There is no question that men ought to regard it, and to be taught to regard it, as a duty to promote the elevation to office of the most faithful and competent men, as well as the enactment of just and equal laws. But few sane men would deem it safe or edifying for the pulpit to discuss the respective merits of different candidates; or whether the tariff, or sub-treasury, or statutes enfranchising and making voters of foreigners were just and salutary. Similar embarrassments may exist, however

firm the preacher's personal convictions, as to whether a given man, or set of men are the legal officers they claim to be. It is not so much on first principles, which few men possessing a moral sense will dispute, as the application of these principles to the vast and complex affairs of nations and communities, that the angry questions of party politics arise. And here, imperfect knowledge, interest, prejudice, party predilections so distort and bewilder, that however strong our own personal convictions, we see vast numbers earnestly enlisted on opposite sides, whose piety cannot be questioned. We do not undertake to say that these questions may not sometimes have an ethical or religious side too obvious and urgent for the pulpit to neglect. But we do say, as the result of considerable observation, that we never knew the pulpit throw itself into the issues that divide political parties, without contracting a stain and a wound upon its sanctity and spiritual power. It inevitably soils itself by such association with the unworthy passions which embitter and disgrace political conflicts. We have not known any instance in which political harangues from the pulpit aided the party espoused, or gained a voter, or did anything more than give intolerable offence to partisans of the opposite side. Others may have witnessed better results. "As to patriotic and political sermons, they are rather to be avoided, and yet in certain grave circumstances, we may be obliged to touch upon such subjects in the pulpit. . . . We must beware, lest we inflame on this hearth, the passions of the natural man. How shall we now speak of politics without taking a side? We must remark, also, the utilitarianism which for the most part is concealed in these subjects. It is better for the preacher, as it is for the navigator, to keep himself in the high sea; it is in the neighbourhood of coasts that shipwrecks are most frequent."—*Vinet's Homiletics*, pp. 86–7. And it may be added, that with the ample sources of political information afforded by a free press, exigencies can rarely occur which call for its dissemination from the pulpit. Its office should rather be to moderate the fierceness of these violent conflicts, by holding up the contrasted greatness of the Infinite and Eternal.

Charles Hodge

Art. V.—*The Church—Its Perpetuity.*

The Church is perpetual. Of this there is, among Christians, neither doubt nor dispute. But as to what is meant both by the subject and predicate of this proposition, there exist radically different views. By the Church, Romanists understand the external visible society united in the profession of the same faith, by communion in the sacraments, and subjection to bishops having succession, especially to the Roman Pontiff. The perpetuity of the Church, therefore, must on their theory include the continued existence of an organized society, professing the true faith; the continued legitimate administration of the sacraments; and the uninterrupted succession of prelates and popes.

Anglicans* understand by the Church an external society professing the true faith, united in the communion of the same sacraments, and in subjection to bishops canonically ordained. Perpetuity with them, therefore, must include perpetual adherence to the truth, the due administration of the sacraments, and the uninterrupted succession of bishops.

Protestants hold that the true Church is the body of true believers; and that the empirical or visible Church is the body of those who profess the true religion, together with their children. All therefore that the perpetuity of the Church, according to the Protestant theory, involves, is the continued existence on earth of sincere believers who profess the true religion.

It is obvious that everything depends on the definition of the Church. If you determine the nature of the subject, you determine the nature of its attributes. If the Romish or Anglican definition of the Church be correct, then their view of all its attributes, its visibility, perpetuity, holiness, and unity, must also be correct. And, on the other hand, if the Protestant definition of the Church be accepted, so must also the Protestant view of its attributes. It is also obvious that the consideration

* By *Anglicans* is meant the Laudean, or Oxford party, in the Church of England.

of any one of these points involves all the others. The perpetuity of the Church, for example, brings up the question, whether external organization is necessary to its existence; whether the Church may depart from the faith; whether the prelatical office is necessary, and whether an uninterrupted succession of ordination is essential to the ministry; how far the sacraments are necessary to the being of the Church; whether Peter was the head of the College of the Apostles; whether the bishop of Rome is his successor in that office; and whether submission to the Roman Pontiff is essential to the unity, and, of course, to the existence of the Church. All these points are involved in the Romish theory on this subject; and all, except the last two, in the Anglican doctrine. It would be impossible to go over all this ground in less compass than that of a volume. On each of these topics, ponderous tomes have been written. We propose simply to present, in a series of propositions, a brief outline of the Protestant answer to the question, In what sense is the Church perpetual?

The predictions of the Old Testament, and the promises of the New, it is universally conceded, secure the existence of the Church on earth until the second advent of Christ. Our Lord said to his disciples, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world." He promised that the gates of hell should never prevail against his Church. As to the fact, therefore, that the Church is to exist on earth as long as the world lasts, there is and can be no dispute among Christians. The only question is, How are these promises to be understood?

The first proposition which Protestants maintain in answer to the above question, is, that the promise of Christ does not secure the continued existence of any particular Church as an organized body. By a particular Church is meant a body of professing Christians, united by some ecclesiastical organization, as the Church of Antioch, of Jerusalem, of England, or of Holland. The proposition is, that, from all that appears in Scripture, any such Church may apostatize from the truth, or cease to exist even nominally. This proposition is almost universally conceded. Many of the apostolic churches have long since perished. The Churches of Antioch, of Ephesus, of Corinth, of Thessalonica, have been blotted out of existence.

Romanists teach that the Eastern Churches, and those of England, Scotland, Holland, &c., have so far departed from the faith and order of the true Church, as no longer to belong to the body of Christ. Anglicans teach, that all societies which have rejected the office, or lost the regular succession of the episcopate, have ceased to be Churches. Protestants, with one voice, deny that any particular Church is either infallible, or secure from fatal apostacy. All parties therefore agree in asserting that the promise of Christ does not secure the perpetuity of any one particular Church.

The great majority of Papists do indeed make an exception in favour of the city of Rome. As the bishop of that city is regarded as the vicar of Christ, and as all other Churches are required to recognize and obey him as such on pain of exclusion from the body of Christ, so long as the Church continues on earth, that bishop must continue worthy of recognition and obedience. Any member of the body may die, but if the head perish, the whole body perishes with it.

But since there is no special promise in Scripture to the Church of Rome, it can be made an exception to the general liability to defection only on the assumption, 1. That Peter was made the head of the whole Church. 2. That the recognition of him in that character is essential to membership in the body of Christ. 3. That he was the bishop of Rome. 4. That the Popes are his legitimate successors in the bishopric of that city, and in his headship over the Church. 5. That the recognition of the supremacy of the Pope is an essential condition for all ages of the existence of the Church. Every one of these assumptions, however, is false.

The second proposition is, that the promise of Christ does not secure his Church from all error in matters of faith. The Protestant doctrine is that a particular Church, and even the whole visible Church, may err in matters of doctrine, and yet retain their character as Churches. "The purest Churches under heaven," says the Westminster Confession, "are subject to mixture and error." By the profession of the truth, therefore, which is declared to be essential to the existence of the Church, must be understood the profession of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. This distinction between essential and

non-essential doctrines is one, which however it may be denied, is in some form admitted by all Christians. Sometimes the distinction is expressed by drawing a line between matters of faith and matters of opinion; at others, by distinguishing between truths which must be received with explicit faith, and those which may be received implicitly. In some form the distinction must be acknowledged.

What we are concerned to show is, that the existence of the Church does not depend on its absolute freedom from error. This may appear too plain a point to need proof; and yet it is one of the fundamental doctrines of Romanism, that the Church cannot err in matters of faith. That the Church may thus err, is proved, 1. Because nothing can be necessary to the existence of the Church which is not necessary to salvation. Freedom from error in matters of doctrine, is not necessary to salvation, and therefore cannot be necessary to the perpetuity of the Church.

That nothing can be necessary to the existence of the Church which is not necessary to salvation, is so nearly a self-evident proposition, that its terms cannot be understood without forcing assent. Salvation involves union with Christ; union with Christ involves union with the Church, for the Church is his body; that is, it consists of those who are united to Him. Therefore, nothing which is compatible with union with Christ, can be incompatible with union to the Church. Consequently, the Church exists so long as true believers exist. It is a contradiction, therefore, to say that anything is necessary to the being of the Church, which is not necessary to salvation.

That freedom from error in matters of faith is not necessary to salvation, is scarcely less plain. By "matters of faith" are meant those truths which God has revealed in his word, and which all who hear the gospel are bound to believe. Perfect faith supposes perfect knowledge; and such perfection cannot be necessary to salvation, because it is not necessary to piety. It is of course admitted that knowledge is essential to religion, because religion consists in the love, belief, and obedience of the truth. It is therefore conceded, that all religious error must be injurious to religion, in proportion to the importance of the truths concerned. If such errors are so grave as to pre-

sent a false object of worship to the mind, or to lead men to rest on a false ground of confidence, they must be fatal. But it must be admitted that a very limited amount of knowledge is absolutely essential to faith and love. A man may be ignorant of much that God has revealed, and yet receiving with humble confidence all he does know, and acting in obedience to what he has learned, he may be accepted of Him who judgeth according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not. As religion may consist with much ignorance, so it may consist with error. There is indeed little practical difference between the two. In both cases the proper object of faith and love is absent from the mind; and when absent its place is of necessity supplied by some erroneous conception. If a man know not the true God, he will form to himself a false god. If he know not that Jesus Christ is the Lord of glory, he will conceive him to be a man or angel. If he know not the true method of salvation, he will build his hope on some wrong foundation. But if perfect knowledge is not necessary to religion, freedom from error cannot be essential. And if not essential to the individual Christian, it cannot be essential to the Church, which is only a company of Christians. The Romish and Anglican doctrine, therefore, that all error in matters of faith is destructive to the being of the Church, or that the promise of Christ secures the Church from all such error, is contrary to the nature of religion, inasmuch as it supposes freedom from error to be necessary to its existence.

This view is confirmed by daily observation. We constantly see men who give every evidence of piety, who are either ignorant or erroneous as to many matters of faith. The Bible also, in various ways, teaches the same doctrine. It distinguishes between babes in Christ, and those who are strong. It recognizes as Christians those who know nothing beyond the first principles of the doctrines of Christ. It teaches that those who hold the foundation shall be saved, (though so as by fire,) although they build on that foundation wood, hay, and stubble. It recognizes great diversity of doctrine as existing among those whom it treats as being substantially one in faith. It is not true, therefore, that a Christian cannot err in matters of faith; and if one may err, all may; and if all may, the Church may.

The perpetuity of the Church consequently does not imply that it must always profess the truth, without any admixture of error.

2. The historical argument in opposition to the Romish doctrine that the Church must be free from error in matters of faith, is no less decisive.

There are two ways in which the Church may profess its faith. It may be done by its public authorized confession or creed; or it may be done by its individual members. The former is the more formal and authoritative; but the latter is no less real. The Church of any age consists of its members for that age. What the members profess, the Church professes. The apostacy of the Church of Geneva was not the less real, because the old orthodox Confessions were allowed to remain. The Churches of Germany were universally considered as sunk in Rationalism, even though the Augsburg Confession was nominally their standard of faith. The lapse of the Romish Church into infidelity and atheism in France was complete, although the Apostles' Creed continued to be professed in the Church services. If no Church could be considered as having lapsed into error, so long as its standards remain orthodox, then no Church can ever become erroneous, so long as it professes to believe the Scriptures. By the faith of a Church is properly meant the faith of its actual members; and by a Church professing error is meant that error is avowed by its members. The doctrine, therefore, that the Church cannot err in matters of faith, must mean that the mass of its members cannot thus err; for they constitute the Church, and if they err the Church errs.

There is no historical fact better established than that no external organized body has ever existed free from error. Even during the apostolical age the Churches of Jerusalem, of Corinth, and of Galatia, were infected with serious errors, and yet they were Churches. During the first three centuries, errors concerning the Trinity, the person and work of Christ, the person and office of the Spirit, and the nature of man, were almost universal. From the fourth to the tenth century, no organized body can be pointed out whose members did not profess doctrines which are now almost universally pronounced

to be erroneous. Since the Reformation, the Lutherans and the Reformed differ in matters of doctrine. The Church of England differs from the Greek and Latin Churches. So that it is impossible to maintain that freedom from error is essential to the perpetuity of the Church. No Church is absolutely pure in doctrine; and even if the standards of the Church should be faultless, still the real faith of its members is not. The promise of Christ, therefore, securing the perpetuity of the Church, does not secure the constant existence on earth of any body of men who are infallible in matters of faith and practice.

The third proposition is, that the perpetuity of the Church does not involve the continued existence of any visible organized body professing the true religion, and furnished with regular pastors.

At the time of the Reformation it was constantly urged against the Protestants that they were bound to obey the Church. To this they replied, that the Church to which the obedience of the faithful is due, was not the Romish, or any other external organization, for they had all departed from the faith, and taught for doctrines the commandments of men. To this, Romanists rejoined, that if that were true, the Church had perished, for no organized visible society could be pointed out which professed the doctrines avowed by Protestants. To this again the Reformers replied, that the perpetuity of the Church, which all parties admitted, did not require the continued existence of any such society; the Church might exist, and at times had existed in scattered believers. Calvin says: "In his cardinibus controversia nostra vertitur: primum quod ecclesiæ formam semper apparere et spectabilem esse contendunt: deinde quod formam ipsam in sede Romanæ Ecclesiæ et Præsulum suorum ordine constituant. Nos contra asserimus, et ecclesiam nulla apparente forma constare posse, nec formam externo illo splendore quem stulte admirantur, sed longe alia nota contineri: nempe pura verbi Dei prædicatione, et legitima sacramentorum administratione. Fremunt nisi ecclesia digito semper ostendatur."*

* Preface to the Institutes, p. 15. Had Calvin lived in our day he would hear with surprise zealous Protestants, and even Presbyterians, crying out against the doctrine that visible organization is not essential to the Church.

In support of what Calvin thus calls one of the cardinal doctrines of Protestants, that the Church may be perpetuated in scattered believers; or, in other words, that the apostasy of every visible organized society from the true faith is consistent with the perpetuity of the Church, it may be argued,

1. That the definition of the Church necessarily involves that conclusion. If the true Church consists of true believers, and the visible Church of professed believers, then the true Church continues as long as true believers exist on earth; and the visible Church so long as professors of the true religion exist. It is only by denying the correctness of these definitions that the necessity of a continued visible organization can be maintained. Accordingly Romanists and Anglicans have been obliged to depart from the scriptural view of the nature of the Church, and to make external organization an essential element of its definition in order to have any ground on which to stand. They maintain that the Church is something more than a company of believers, or a collective term for a number of believers. They insist that it is a visible organization, subject to lawful pastors—something that can be pointed to with the finger. If to such an organization the promise of perpetuity was originally given, then Protestants were schismatics, and their Churches are apostate. But if their view of the nature of the Church be correct, then their view of the sense in which it is perpetual must also be correct.

2. The promises of the word of God which secure the perpetuity of the Church, require nothing more than the continued existence of professors of the true religion. Thus, when our Lord says, the gates of hell shall never prevail against his Church; if by Church he meant his people, his promise only renders it certain that he shall always have a seed to serve him, or that there shall always be true followers and worshippers of Christ on the earth. Thus, also, the declaration of Christ, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world," holds good, even though all the temples of Christians should be destroyed, their faithful pastors scattered or slain, and they forced to wander about, being destitute, afflicted and tormented, hiding in dens and caves of the earth. Nay, his presence will only be the more conspicuous in the sight of saints and angels,

in sustaining the faith and patience of his people under all these trials, and in causing them to triumph through suffering, and become great through weakness. The presence of God was more illustriously displayed with the three confessors in the fiery furnace, than with Solomon in all his glory. Protestants believe with Tertullian—"*Ubi tres sunt, etiamsi laici, ibi ecclesia est.*"

The predictions in the Old Testament, which speak of an everlasting covenant which God was to form with his people, (Isa. lxi.) and of a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, (Dan. ii. 44,) do indeed clearly establish the perpetuity of the Church, but not of an external organization. The kingdom of God consists of those who obey him; and as long as there are any who recognize Christ as their king, so long will his kingdom continue. His promise renders it certain that such subjects of the heavenly King shall never entirely fail from among men; and also that their number shall ultimately so increase, that they shall possess the whole earth. More than this these predictions do not render necessary. They do not preclude the possibility of the temporary triumph of the enemies of the Church, dispersing its members, and causing them to wander about, known only to God. Nor do they preclude the occurrence of a general apostasy, so extended as to embrace all the visible organizations calling themselves churches. Whether such an apostasy has ever actually occurred, is not now the question. All that is asserted is that these promises and predictions do not forbid its occurrence. They may all be yea and amen, though the faithful for a season be as few and as unknown, as the seven thousand who did not bow the knee unto Baal.

Further, when St. Paul says, "Then we who are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the air, and so shall we be ever with the Lord," (1 Thess. iv. 17,) the only inference is, that there shall be Christians living on the earth when Christ comes the second time. The parable of the wheat and tares proves that until the consummation there will be true and false professors of the religion of the gospel, but it proves nothing more.

Such are the leading scriptural arguments urged by Bellarmine* and Palmer† for the Romish and Anglican view of the perpetuity of the Church. They prove what Protestants admit, but they do not prove what their opponents assert. That is, they prove that the people of God shall continue to exist on the earth until the second coming of Christ, but they do not prove the continued existence of any visible organization professing the true faith, and subject to pastors having succession. If it be granted that the word *Church*, in Scripture, is a collective term for the people of God, then the promises which secure the continued existence of a seed to serve God as long as the world lasts, do not secure the continued fidelity of the visible Church, considered as an organized body.

3. A third argument on this subject is, that there is no necessity for the continued existence of the Church as an external visible society. That is, there is no revealed purpose of God, which involves such existence as the necessary means of its accomplishment. Bellarmine's argument on this point is, "If the Church should ever be reduced to such a state as to be unknown, the salvation of those out of the Church would be impossible. For no man can be saved unless he enters the Church, but, if the Church be unknown, it cannot be entered, therefore, men cannot be saved."‡ Mr. Palmer's argument is to the same effect. "If the Church as an organization were to fail," he says, "there would be no way to revive it, except by a direct and immediate interposition of God; which would prove the gospel to be a temporary dispensation, and all living subsequently to its failure would be deprived of its benefits."

The answer to this is that the argument rests on the unscrip-

* De Ecclesia, cap. 12.

† Palmer on the Church, part i. ch. i. sec. 1. Mr. Palmer's chapter on this subject is one of the most illogical in all his elaborate work. Without defining his terms, he quotes promises and predictions which imply the perpetuity of the Church, and then quotes from Protestant writers of all denominations, passages to show that the continued existence of the Church is a conceded point. Every step of his argument, throughout his book, and all his important deductions, rest on the assumption that the Church, whose perpetuity is thus proved or conceded, is an external organization, consisting of those who profess the truth, without any error in matters of faith, and who are subject to pastors episcopally and canonically ordained. Everything is founded on this chapter, which quietly takes for granted the thing to be proved.

‡ De Ecclesia, lib. iii. c. 13.

tural assumption, that we become united to Christ by being united to the Church as an external visible society; whereas union with Christ in the divine order precedes, and is entirely independent of union with any visible society. "That our union with some present visible Church," says Dr. Jackson, one of the greatest divines of the Church of England, "is a native degree or part of our union with the Holy Catholic Church, [i. e., the body of Christ;] or, that our union with some present visible church is essential to our being, or not being members of the Holy Catholic Church," is what "we utterly deny."*

That such union with the visible Church as the argument of Bellarmine supposes, is not necessary to salvation is plain, because all that the Scriptures require in order to salvation, is repentance towards God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. Baptism has indeed the necessity of precept, as something commanded; but even Romanists admit that where the desire for baptism exists, the mere want of the rite works no forfeiture of salvation. And they also admit the validity of lay baptism; so that even if the necessity of that ordinance were conceded, it would not involve the necessity of an external organized Church, or an uninterrupted succession of the ministry. If, therefore, the whole visible organized Church should apostatize or be dispersed by persecution, the door of heaven would be as wide open as ever. Wherever Christ is known, men may obey and love him, without the intervention of a priest.

Mr. Palmer's idea, that if the Church as a society should fail, it could only be revived by a new revelation or intervention of God, rests on the assumption that the Church is a corporation with supernatural prerogatives and powers, which if once dissolved perishes entirely. The Church however is only the people of God; if they should be scattered even for years, as soon as they assemble for the worship of God, the administration of the Sacraments, and the exercise of discipline, the Church as a society is there, as good as ever; and a thousand times better than the fossil churches which have preserved

* Treatise on the Church, p. 143.

their organic continuity only by being petrified. Should the succession of the ministry fail, no harm is done. The validity of the ministry does not depend on such succession. It is not the prerogative of prelates to make ministers. A minister is made by the inward call of the Spirit. The whole office of the Church in the matter is to sit in judgment on that call, and, if satisfied, to authenticate it. The failure of the succession, therefore, works no failure in the stream of life, as the Spirit is not confined to the channel of the ministry. The apostacy or dispersion of the whole organized Church, is not inconsistent with its continued existence, or incompatible with the accomplishment of all the revealed purposes of God. Men may still be saved, and the ministry and sacraments be perpetuated in all their efficiency and power.

Again, Bellarmine presents the following dilemma. "Either," he says, "those secret men who constitute the invisible Church, continue to profess the true religion or they do not. If they do, the Church continues visible and conspicuously so, in them. If they do not confess the truth, then the Church in every sense fails, for without confession there is no salvation."

This is an illustration of the impossibility of errorists avoiding lapsing into the truth. Here is one of the acutest polemics Rome ever produced, surrendering the whole matter in debate. These secret confessors are not a society of faithful men, subject to lawful pastors and to the Pope. It is precisely what Romanists deny, and Protestants affirm, that the Church may be perpetuated in scattered believers, each in his own narrow sphere confessing the truth, and this is here conceded. This is what Protestants affirm of the Church before the Reformation. Every conspicuous organization had lapsed into idolatry, and yet the Church was continued in thousands of God's chosen ones who never bowed the knee to Baal.

4. A fourth argument on this subject is derived from the predictions of general apostasy contained in the Scriptures. Our Lord foretold that false Christs should come and deceive many. He warned his disciples that they should be persecuted and hated of all nations; that iniquity should abound, and the love of many wax cold; that false prophets should arise and show signs and wonders, insomuch that, if it were possible,

they would deceive the very elect. He intimated that faith should hardly be found when he came again; that it will be then as it was in the days of Noah, or in the time of Lot, only a few here and there would be found faithful. The apostles also are frequent and explicit in their declarations that a general apostasy was to occur. The Spirit, says Paul, speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith. 1 Tim. iv 1. In the last days, perilous times were to come; (2 Tim. iii. 4.) times in which men would not endure sound doctrine, (iv. 3.) The day of Christ, he says, was not to come before the rise of the man of sin, whose coming was to be attended by the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, when men (the professing Church generally) should be given up to believe a lie. Peter foretold that in the last times there should be false prophets and scorners, who would bring in damnable heresies. 2 Pet. ii. 1; iii. 3. And the apostle Jude reminds his readers of the words which were spoken by the apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ, how they told you that in the last time there should be mockers, walking after their own lusts. Jude 18.

Although these passages do not go the full length of the proposition above stated, or render it necessary to assume that no organized body was to exist during this apostasy, which professed the true faith, yet they are entirely inconsistent with the Romish and Anglican theory. That theory is that the catholic Church, or the great body of professing Christians united under lawful pastors, can never err in matters of faith. Whereas these passages foretell an apostasy from the truth so general, that true believers are to be few and scattered, driven into the wilderness, and in a great measure unknown to men.

5. The history of the Church before the advent of Christ, proves that its perpetuity does not involve the continued existence of any organization professing the true religion. The Church has existed from the beginning. We know, however, that there was, before the flood, an apostasy so general that Noah and his family were the only believers on the face of the earth. Soon after the flood the defection from the truth again became so far universal, that no organized body of the worshippers of God can be pointed out. Abraham was, there-

fore called to be the head of a new organization. His descendants, to whom pertained the law, the covenants, and the promises, constituted the visible Church; nevertheless they often and for long periods lapsed into idolatry. All public celebration of the worship of the true God was intermitted; altars to Baal were erected in every part of the land; the true children of God were scattered and unknown, so that under Ahab, the prophet complained: "Lord, they have killed thy prophets, and digged down thine altars, and I am left alone." Where was then the visible Church? Where was then any organized society professing the true religion. The seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal, were indeed *the* Church, but they were not an organized body. They were unknown even to Elijah.

To this argument Bellarmine answers, that the Jewish Church was not catholic in the sense in which the Christian Church now is, because good men existed outside the pale of the Jewish Church: and therefore, although all within the Jewish communion had apostatized, it would not follow that the whole Church had failed. This is very true on the Protestant theory of the Church, but not on his. Protestants hold that the Church consists of true believers, and therefore so long as such believers exist, the Church exists. But according to Romanists the Church is a corporation, an external, visible, organized society. It is very clear that no such society existed except among the Jews, and therefore if the Jewish Church lapsed into idolatry, there was no Church on earth to answer to the Romish theory.

Another answer to the above argument is, that the complaint of Elijah had reference only to the kingdom of Israel; that although the defection there had been universal, the true Church as an organized body was continued in the kingdom of Judah. To this it may be replied, that the prophet probably intended to include both kingdoms, because he complains of digging down the altars of God; but there were no altars of God except at Jerusalem. Besides, the prophet could hardly have felt so entirely alone, and wished for death, if the worship of God were then celebrated at Jerusalem. What, however, is more to the purpose is, that it is plain that the apostle

in Rom. xi. 2, evidently uses the word Israel not in its restricted sense for the ten tribes, but for the whole theocratical people. He appeals to the words of the prophet for the very purpose of proving that the rejection of the Jews as a body involved no failure of the divine promise. As in the days of Elijah there were an unknown few who, in the midst of general apostasy, did not bow to Baal; so notwithstanding the general defection and rejection of the Jews at the time of Christ, there was still a remnant according to the election of grace. Paul's design was to teach that the Church might be perpetuated, and in fact had been perpetuated in scattered unknown believers, although the visible Church as a society entirely apostatized.

Admitting, however, that the complaint of Elijah had exclusive reference to the kingdom of Israel, it still proves all that the argument demands. It proves that the Church as visible in that kingdom had apostatized and was continued in the seven thousand. This proves two points: first, that scattered believers, although members of no external society, may be members of the Church; and second, that the Church may be continued in such unknown believers. This is precisely what Romanists and Anglicans deny, and what Protestants affirm; and what Calvin declares to be one of the cardinal or turning points in our controversy with Rome.

Besides, whatever may have been the condition of the Church in Jerusalem at the period to which the prophet referred, it is certain that idolatry did at other times prevail contemporaneously in both kingdoms; and that after the captivity of the ten tribes wicked kings set up idols even in the temple. Thus we read in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 4, 5, that Manasseh built altars in the house of the Lord, whereof the Lord had said, In Jerusalem shall my name be for ever. And he built altars in the two courts of the house of the Lord. . . And he set up a carved image, the idol which he had made, in the house of God . . . made Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to err and to do worse than the heathen. It is plain that the public worship of God, all the institutions of the Jewish Church, all sacrifices and service of the temple were abolished under this and other wicked princes. And when at last the patience of

God was wearied out, Jerusalem itself was taken, the temple was destroyed, and the people carried away. During the seventy years of the captivity the visible Church as an organized body, with its priests and sacrifices, ceased to exist. It was continued only in the dispersed worshippers of the true God. Subsequently to the return of the people and the restoration of the temple, under the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes the public worship of God was again suppressed. Idols were erected in the temple, and altars dedicated to false gods were erected in every part of the land. It must be remembered that under the old dispensation the visible Church had, as it were, a local habitation. It was so connected with Jerusalem and the temple, that when those sacred places were in possession of idolaters, the Church was, for the time being, disorganized. No sacrifice could be offered, and all the functions of the priesthood were suspended.

There is another consideration which shows that the perpetuity of the Church does not depend on the regular succession of a visible society, and especially on the regular succession of the ministry, as Romanists and Anglicans assert. By the law of Moses it was expressly ordered that the office of High Priest should be confined to the family of Aaron, and descend in that family by regular descent. Even before the captivity, however, the priesthood was changed from one branch of that family to another, descending first in the line of Eleazar, (Num. iii. 32. Deut. x. 6;) from Eli to Solomon in that of Ithamar; then returning to that of Eleazar, (1 Sam. ii. 35. 1 Kings ii. 35.) From the latter passage it appears that Solomon displaced Abiathar and appointed Zadok. Under the Maccabees the office was given to the hero Jonathan, of the priestly family of Joiarib, (1 Macc. xiv. 35, 41;) after his death it was transferred to his brother Simon; and under Herod the office was sold to the highest bidder, or given at the discretion of the king. (Josh. Antiq. xx. 10.) Caiaphas was made High Priest by Valerius Gratus, the Procurator of Judea, and soon after the death of Christ he was displaced by the Proconsul Vitellius. (Joseph. xviii. 4, 3.) If then, notwithstanding the express injunction of the law, the priesthood was thus changed, men being introduced into the office and dis-

placed from it by the ruling powers without legitimate authority, and still the office continued, and the actual incumbent was recognized as high priest even by Christ and his apostles, it cannot be supposed that the existence of the Church is suspended on the regular succession of the ministry under the New Testament, where there is no express law prescribing the mode of descent. The Old Testament history, therefore, distinctly proves that the perpetuity of the Church involves neither the perpetual existence of an organized body professing the true religion, nor the regular transmission of the ministerial office. In other words, the apostolical succession in the Church or in the ministry, which is the great Diana of the Ephesians, is a mere figment.

Another illustration on this subject may be derived from the state of the Church during the time of Christ. The Jews were then divided into three sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. Of these the Pharisees were the most correct in doctrine, and yet they made the word of God of no effect by their traditions, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. They asserted the doctrine of justification by works in its grossest form; they attributed saving efficacy to external rites; and they were great persecutors of Christ. The people in their organized capacity, through their official organs, the priesthood and the Sanhedrim, rejected and crucified the Lord of glory. The Christian Church, as distinguished from the Jewish, was not organized until after the resurrection of our Lord. Where then, during the period referred to, was there any organized body which professed the true religion? The Protestant theory provides for this case, the Romish theory does not. The one theory is consistent with notorious historical facts; the other theory is inconsistent with them.

To all this, however, Bellarmine and others object that the privileges of the Christian Church are so much greater than those of the Jewish, that we cannot infer from the fact that the latter apostatized that the former may depart from the faith. To this we answer that the promises of God are the only foundation of the security of the Church. The promises addressed to the Jewish Church were as explicit and as comprehensive as those addressed to the Christian Church. If those promises

were consistent with the apostasy of the whole organized body of the Jews, they must be consistent with a similar apostasy on the part of Christians. God promised to Abraham to be a God to him and to his seed after him; that though a woman might forsake her sucking child, he would never forsake Zion. But he did forsake Zion as an organized community; he did permit the seed of Abraham as a body to lapse into idolatry, to reject and crucify their Messiah; he permitted Jerusalem to be destroyed, and the people to whom were given the covenants, the law, and the promises, to be scattered to the ends of the earth. These promises, therefore, as Paul argues, were not intended to guaranty the continued existence of Israel as a society faithful to the truth, but simply the continued existence of true believers. As the Jews argued that the promises of God secured the continued fidelity of the external Israel; so Bellarmine and Mr. Palmer, (Rome and Oxford,) argue that his promises secure the continued fidelity of the visible Church. And as Paul teaches that the rejection of the external Israel was consistent with the fidelity of God, because the true Israel, hidden in the external body, continued faithful; so Protestants teach that the apostasy of the whole external organized Church is consistent with the promises of God, provided a remnant, however small and however scattered, adheres to the truth. The argument from the history of the Church under the old dispensation is therefore legitimate and scriptural. Nothing is promised to the Church now, that was not promised to the Church then. Whatever happened to the one, may happen to the other.

6. The history of the Church since the advent of Christ is no less conclusive against the Romish theory. It is not necessary to assert that the whole visible church has at any time been so far apostate, that no organized body existed professing the true faith. All that is requisite is to prove that the Church, in the sense in which Romanists and Anglicans understand the term, has at times denied the faith. By the Church they mean the multitude of professed Christians subject to Prelates or to the Pope. This body has apostatized. There have been times in which the Church has officially and by its appropriate and acknowledged organs, (as understood by

Ritualists,) professed doctrines universally admitted to be heretical. Romanists and Anglicans say that this Church is represented by the chief pastors or bishops, and that the decisions of these bishops, either assembled in council, or each acting for himself, are the decisions of the Church, to which all the faithful are bound to submit. The decision of the three hundred and eighty bishops assembled at Nice, in favour of the proper divinity of the Lord Jesus, is considered as the decision of the whole Church, notwithstanding the fewness of their number, and the fact that they were not delegates or representatives, and the further fact, that they were almost entirely from the West, because that decision was ratified by the silent acquiescence of the majority of the absent bishops. The fact that a great many of the Eastern bishops dissented from that decision and sided with Arius, is not allowed to invalidate the authority of the council. By parity of reasoning, the decisions of the contemporaneous councils, that of Seleucia in the East, and of Ariminum in the West, were the decisions of the Church. Those councils together comprised eight hundred bishops; they were convened by the Emperor, their decisions were ratified by the Pope or bishop of Rome, and by the vast majority of the bishops of Christendom. Yet the decisions of these councils were heretical. They denied the proper Divinity of our Lord.

It cannot be pretended that the acquiescence in these decisions was less general than that accorded to those of the orthodox council of Nice. The reverse was notoriously the fact. Jerome in his Dialogue "Contra Luciferianos," says: "Ingemuit orbis terrarum, et se Arianum miratus est." In his comment on Psalm cxxxiii.—"Ecclesia non in parietibus consistit, sed in dogmatum veritate; ecclesia ibi est, ubi fides vera est. Ceterum ante annos quindecim aut viginti parietes omnes ecclesiarum haeretici possidebant; ecclesia autem vera illic erat, ubi fides vera erat." Athanasius himself asks: "Quæ nunc ecclesia libere Christum adorat? . . . . . Nam si alicubi sunt pii et Christi studiosi (sunt autem ubique tales permulti) illi itidem, ut magnus ille propheta Elias, absconduntur, et in speluncas et cavernas terræ sese abstrudunt, aut in solitudine

aberrantes commorantur." *Lib. ad solitar. vitam agentes.* Vincentius Lirinensis says: "Arianorum venenum non jam portiunculam quandam, sed pene orbem totum contaminaverat; adeo fere cunctis Latini sermonis episcopis partim vi partim fraude deceptis caligo quædam offunderetur." *Adv. hæres. novationes.* Thus according to Jerome the heretics were in possession of all church edifices; according to Athanasius the worshippers of Christ were hidden, or wandered about in solitude; and according to Vincent, the poison of Arianism infected the world. "After the defection of Liberius," says Dr. Jackson, "the whole Roman Empire was overspread with Arianism." If therefore the Church was orthodox under Constantine, it was heretical under Constantius. It professed Arianism under the latter, more generally than it had professed the truth under the former. For the bishops were "forty to one against Athanasius."

It will not avail to say that these bishops were deceived or intimidated. First, because the point is not why they apostatized, but that they did apostatize. This, the Romish and Anglican theory teaches, the representatives of the Church cannot do, without the Church perishing and the promise of God failing. And secondly, because the same objection might be made to the validity of the decisions of the council of Nice. Many bishops feigned agreement with those decisions; many signed them from fear of banishment; many because they thought they could be interpreted in a sense which suited their views. If these considerations do not invalidate the authority of the orthodox councils, they cannot be urged against the authority of those which were heterodox. Every argument which proves that the visible Church was Trinitarian at one time, proves that it was Arian at another time; and therefore the Church in the Romish and Anglican sense of that term, may apostatize.

So undeniable is the fact of the general prevalence of Arianism, that Romanists and Anglicans are forced to abandon their fundamental principles, in their attempts to elude the argument from this source. Bellarmine says, the Church was conspicuous in that time of defection in Hilary, Athanasius,

Vincent, and others.* And Mr. Palmer says the truth was preserved even under Arian bishops.† Here they are on Protestant ground. We teach that the Church is where the truth is; that the Church may be continued in scattered individuals. They teach that the Church, as an organized body, the great multitude of professors under prelates, must always profess the truth. The facts are against them, and therefore their doctrine must be false.

7. The only other argument in favour of the position that the external Church may apostatize, is the concession of opponents. So far as the Anglican or Oxford party of the Church of England are concerned, they are estopped by the authority of their own Church and by the facts of her history.

Before the Reformation, that Church, in common with all the recognized Churches of the West, and the great body also of the Eastern Churches, held the doctrines of transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, subjective justification, the priestly character of the ministry, the invocation of saints, the worship of images, extreme unction and purgatory. These doctrines the English Church rejected, pronouncing the mass idolatrous, and the other errors heretical. According to her own official declaration, therefore, the whole Church embraced in the Oxford definition of the term, had apostatized from the faith, and become idolatrous. To say, with the Anglican party, that the points of difference between Rome and England are matters of opinion, and not matters of faith, is absurd. Because both parties declare them to be matters of faith, and because they fall under the definition of matters of faith, as given by the Anglicans themselves. Any doctrine which the Church at any time has pronounced to be part of the revelation of God, they say is a matter of faith. But the doctrines above mentioned were all for centuries part of the faith of the whole catholic Church, and therefore cannot be referred to matters of opinion. It is, therefore, impossible that the Church of England can deny the proposition that the catholic Church, as a visible organization, may apostatize. All the great divines of England, consequently, teach that the Church may be perpetuated in scattered believers.

* De Ecclesia, lib. iii. cap. 16. † Palmer on the Church, vol. ii. p. 187.

The concessions of Romanists on this point are not less decisive. They teach that when Antichrist shall come, all public worship of God shall be interdicted; all Christian temples shall be occupied by heretics and idolators, the faithful be dispersed and hidden from the sight of men in caves and dens of the earth. This is precisely what Protestants say happened before the Reformation. The pure worship of God was everywhere forbidden; idolatrous services were universally introduced; the true children of God persecuted and driven into the mountains or caves; false doctrine was everywhere professed, and the confession of the truth was everywhere interdicted. Both parties agree as to what are the consequences of the coming of the man of sin. The only difference is that Protestants say he has come already, and Romanists say his coming is still future. But if the promise of Christ that the gates of hell shall never prevail against his Church, consists with this general apostasy in the future, it may consist with it in the past. If the Church hereafter is to be hidden from view and continued in scattered believers, it may have been thus continued in times past. Romanists and Anglicans spurn with contempt the idea that the Lollards were the true Church in England, and yet they admit that when Antichrist shall come, the faithful will be reduced to the same, or even to a worse relative position. That is, they admit the external visible Church may become utterly apostate. Thus Bellarmine says: "Certum est, antichristi persecutionem fore gravissimam et notissimam ita ut cessant omnes publicæ religionis ceremoniæ et sacrificia. . . . . Antichristus interdicturus est omnem divinum cultum, qui in ecclesiis Christianorum exercetur."* Stapleton says: "Pelli sane poterit in desertum ecclesia, regnante Antichristo, et illo momento temporis in deserto, id est, in locis abditis, in speluncis, in latibulis quo sancti se recipient, non incommode quæretur ecclesia."† During the reign of Antichrist, according to the notes to the Romish version of the New Testament, 2 Thess. ii. "The external state of the Romish Church, and the public intercourse of the faithful with it, may cease; yet the due honour and obedience towards the

* Rom. Pontiff. lib. iii. c. 7. † Princip. Doctrin. cap. 2.

Romish see, and the communion of heart with it, and the secret practice of that communion, and the open confession thereof, if the occasion require, shall not cease." Again, in verse 4, it is said: "The great Antichrist, who must come towards the world's end, shall abolish all other religions, true and false; and put down the blessed sacrament of the altar, wherein consisteth principally the worship of the true God, and also all idols of the Gentiles." "The oblation of Christ's blood," it is said, "is to be abolished among all the nations and churches in the world."

These passages admit that as great an apostasy as Protestants have ever asserted has occurred. The public exercise and profession of the true faith is everywhere to cease: idolatry, or the worship of Antichrist, is to be set up in every church in the world; the only communion of the faithful is to be in the heart and in secret; believers are to be scattered and hidden from the sight of men. Romanists, therefore, although the admission is perfectly suicidal, are constrained to admit that the perpetuity of the Church does not involve the continuance of an external visible society, professing the true faith, and subject to lawful pastors. They give up, so far as the principle is concerned, all their objections to the Protestant doctrine, that the true Church was perpetuated during the Romish apostasy, in scattered believers and witnesses of the truth.

8. The last proposition to be sustained, in vindicating the Protestant doctrine, is included in what has already been said. The Church is perpetual; but as its perpetuity does not secure the continued existence or fidelity of any particular Church; not the preservation of the Church catholic from all error in matters of faith; nor even the preservation of the whole visible Church as an organized body, from apostasy—the only sense in which the Church is necessarily perpetual, is in the continued existence of those who profess the true faith, or the essential doctrines of the Scriptures.

The perpetuity of the Church in this sense is secured, 1. By the promises made to Christ, that he should see of the travail of his soul, (Isa. liii.;) that he should have a seed to serve him as long as sun or moon endured, (Ps. lxxii.;) that his kingdom was to be an everlasting kingdom, as foretold by all the pro-

phets. 2. By the promises made by Christ, that the gates of hell should never prevail against his Church; that he would be with his people to the end of the world; that he would send them his Spirit to abide with them for ever. 3. By the nature of the mediatorial office, Christ is the perpetual teacher, priest, and ruler of his people. He continues to exercise the functions of these several offices in behalf of his Church on earth; and therefore the Church cannot fail so long as Christ lives: "If I live," he says, "ye shall live also." 4. The testimony of history is no less decisive. It is true, it is not the province of history to preserve a record of the faith and knowledge of all the individuals of our race. The best men are often those of whom history makes no mention. And therefore though there were whole centuries during which we could point to no witnesses of the truth, it would be most unreasonable to infer that none such existed. The perpetuity of the Church is more a matter of faith, than a matter of sight; and yet the evidence is abundant that pious men, the children of God, and the worshippers of Christ, have existed in all ages of the world. There is not a period in the whole history of the world, and especially of the world since the advent of the Son of God, which does not in its literature retain the impress of devout minds. The hymns and prayers of the Church in themselves afford abundant evidence of its continued vitality. The history of the Church of Rome has been in great measure a history of the persecution of those who denied her errors, and protested against her authority; and therefore she has by the fires of martyrdom revealed the existence of the true Church, even in the darkest ages. The word of God has been read, even in the most apostate churches; the Psalter, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, have always been included in the services of the most corrupt churches; so that in every age there has been a public profession of the truth, in which some sincere hearts have joined.

This is not a point which needs to be proved, as all Christians are herein agreed. If, however, the Church is perpetual, it follows that everything necessary to its preservation and extension must also be perpetual. The Scriptures teach that the word, sacraments, and the ministry, are the divinely appointed means for that purpose; and on this ground we may be assured,

prior to any testimony from history, that these means have never failed, and never shall fail. The word of God has never perished. The books written by Moses and the prophets are still in the hands of the Church. The writings of the apostles have been preserved in their integrity, and are now translated into all the important languages of the globe. It is impossible that they should perish. Their sound has gone into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world. So too with the sacraments. There is no pretence that baptism in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, has ever ceased to be administered agreeably to the divine command. And the Spirit of God has never failed to call men to the ministry of the word, and duly to authenticate their vocation. Whether there has been a regular succession of ordinations, is a small matter. Ordination confers neither grace nor office. It is the solemn recognition of the vocation of the Holy Ghost, which may be effectually demonstrated to the Church in other ways. The call of Farel and of Bunyan to the work of the ministry, though unordained by man, (if such were the fact,) is abundantly more evident than that of nine-tenths of the prelates of their day. In perpetuating his Church, God has therefore perpetuated his word, sacraments, and ministry, and we have his assurance that they shall continue to the end.

On the principles above stated, it is easy to answer the question so often put to Protestants by Romanists, "Where was your Church before the time of Luther?" Just where it was after Luther. *Ubi vera fides erat, ibi ecclesia erat.* The visible Church among the Jews had sunk into idolatry before the time of Hezekiah. That pious king cast down the idols, and restored the pure worship of God. Did that destroy the Church? The Christian Church at Jerusalem was long burdened with Jewish rites. When they were cast aside, did the Church cease to exist? The Church in Germany and England had become corrupted by false doctrines, and by idolatrous and superstitious ceremonies. Did casting away these corruptions destroy the Church in those lands? Does a man cease to be a man, when he washes himself?

Or, if Bellarmine and Mr. Palmer may say that the Church was continued during the Arian apostasy in the scattered pro-

fessors of the true faith, why may not Protestants say that it was continued in the same way during the Romish apostasy? If the Jewish Church existed when idolatry prevailed all over Judea, why may not the Christian Church have continued when image worship prevailed all over Europe? Truth alone is consistent with itself. The Protestant doctrine that the true Church consists of true believers, and the visible Church of professed believers, whether they be many or few, organized or dispersed, alone accords with the facts which Romanists and Protestants are alike forced to acknowledge. And that doctrine affords a ready answer to all objections derived from the absence of any conspicuous organization professing the true faith and worshipping God in accordance with his word. Admitting, therefore, that such witnesses of the truth as the Albigenses, Waldenses, and Bohemian brethren, do not form an unbroken succession of the visible Church, the doctrine that the Church is perpetual is none the less certain, and none the less consistent with Protestant principles. A man must be a Romanist in order to feel the force of the arguments of Romanists. He must believe the Church to be a visible society subject to the Pope, before he can be puzzled by the question, Where was the Church before the Reformation?

In like manner, if the above principles be correct, it is easy to see that the charge of schism cannot rest against Protestants. Schism is either separation, without just cause, from the true Church, or the refusing to commune with those who are really the children of God. If the Church consists of true believers, the Protestants did not withdraw from the fellowship of the Church; neither did they refuse to admit true believers to their communion. They did not form a new Church; they simply reformed the old. The same body which owned Jesus Christ as Lord, and professed his gospel from the beginning, continued to worship him and to confess his truth after the Reformation, without any solution in the continuity of its being. The fire which sweeps over the prairie may seem to destroy everything, but the verdure which soon clothes the fields with new life and beauty is the legitimate product of the life that preceded it. So the Church, although corruption or persecution may divest it of all visible indications of life, soon puts forth new flowers

and produces new fruit, without any real discontinuance of its life. The only schismatics in the case are the Romanists, who denounce and excommunicate the Protestants because they profess the truth.

ART. VI.—*Egypt's Place in Universal History: an Historical Investigation, in Five Books.* By Christian C. J. Bunsen, D. Ph. and D. C. L. Translated from the German, by Charles H. Cottrell, Esq., M. A. London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans.

MATERIALS for the history of Egypt have, by the research of scholars and antiquarians, of late years accumulated to a large amount. Especially is the internal life of the nation expounded with great variety of detail and unmistakable certainty. But one thing is lacking, without which the mass can never be history. Amid all their labour and devices to transmit a record of their achievements to future time, the authors of the Egyptian monuments forgot to furnish a system of dates. Consequently, clear as the subjects of many of the monuments are, the periods of time to which they belong have to be determined, if at all, by a criticism, which derives its data from various quarters. This is the one grand difficulty which embarrasses the history of that interesting country. Had their book narratives been preserved, no doubt much of our difficulty would have been prevented. But, unfortunately, nothing of the kind is known to be extant, except a dry list of kings, taken from their historian Manetho, and existing in several partial and undoubtedly corrupt copies, the dates in which are not harmonious with each other.

Greek writers on Egypt also conflict; the dates of Herodotus with those of Eratosthenes, and those of Diodorus Siculus with both, while it is notorious that the Greeks themselves had no certain chronology prior to 776 B. C., and the difficulties in Egyptian history pertain to an earlier time.

The Hebrew Scriptures alone approach to what the historian demands as a basis for his structure. Yet, there are questions

of no little embarrassment even in the carefully recorded chronology of Scripture; and Egyptian history it touches only at distant points. Moreover the Hebrew writers never mention the proper name of an Egyptian king, until a comparatively recent period. Had they recorded the name of the Pharaoh, under whom Abraham visited Egypt, or of him, whom Joseph served, or the king of the Exodus, it might have furnished a key to the reconciliation of much that seems now contradictory. But such is not the case. The first undoubted synchronism between Hebrew and Egyptian royal names belongs to the latter part of the reign of Solomon.

We might have a tolerably fair history of Egypt, could we only determine how the extant materials are to be distributed among the years prior to the tenth century before Christ. The object of Dr. Bunsen's work is to settle this question, from a critical comparison of all the available data, and thereby to assign to Egypt her proper place in the general history of civilization.

The work consists of five books. The first treats of the sources of information concerning Egyptian chronology, in which the ancient history of the country is found to divide itself into three periods, designated the old, the middle, and the new. The second book aims at settling the chronology of the old monarchy, the third that of the middle and the new. In the fourth book, the results of these investigations are submitted to the tests of astronomy and synchronism with the history of other countries. And the fifth consists of a survey of general history, and the relation that ancient Egypt holds to it, and points out the development of strictly Egyptian history, as it appears upon a review of the results.

It is the author's aim, throughout this work, to present his readers with proofs of every doctrine which he maintains. The book is really a history preceded and accompanied by demonstration of its facts. Differently as his critics may estimate the results of his investigations, there can be but one opinion as to their thoroughness and perfect honesty. Great as are the merits of Lepsius, and in the field of original inquiry he has few equals in Egyptology, he is a bold speculator, whose argumentations are liable to be biased by an enthusiastic

pursuit of a foregone conclusion; the caution and laborious erudition of Bunsen spreads out before his readers the data whereupon his structure is built, and furnishes the means of ascertaining the soundness or unsoundness of the whole. To such a length is this carried, that he actually furnishes a grammar and dictionary of hieroglyphic writing, more complete and better digested than are elsewhere to be found. Every known source of Egyptian history passes under review and is put to trial before his searching criticism. Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks, arts, sciences and statistics, all persons and things professing to hold any testimony on the subject, are brought separately to the stand and interrogated with the closest scrutiny.

The chief sources are, naturally, native Egyptian books and monuments. The former are unfortunately very few and brief, owing to the wholesale neglect to which the literary productions of that nation were long abandoned. Yet the accounts which remain of some of them give us reason to believe that invaluable historical material has perished in their loss. It needed less direct testimony than actually exists to assure us that literature must have flourished in Egypt at a very ancient date. The hieroglyphic sign of the papyrus roll is found upon monuments as early as the twelfth dynasty, a period considerably anterior to that of Abraham; the figure of the inkstand and writing implement, upon those of the fourth dynasty, and the monumental characters can be traced upon contemporary records above a century earlier. Tradition consistently asserted that chronological registers of the kings from Menes down had been kept by the priests, of which tradition Bunsen remarks that none of antiquity admits of being better authenticated. One thing, at least, is certain; that there is not a period in Egyptian history to which we can point as being antecedent to that of books. The earliest extant writing belongs to the same system with the later, and presents characters entirely similar. And if, as Herodotus remarks, no Egyptian omitted to take accurate note of extraordinary or striking events, there can be no doubt that tradition is also correct in representing their books as very numerous.

According to Clement of Alexandria, the Egyptians had, in

his time, forty-two sacred books. These were arranged into six different classes. The first class consisted of two books of sacred poems, one containing hymns in honour of the gods, and the other a description of royal life and its duties. Four astronomical treatises composed the second class, of which the first treated of the fixed stars; the second and third of the sun and moon; and the fourth, of the risings of the heavenly bodies. The third class contained books called, Of the Hierogrammatist or sacred scribe. Of these the first taught the hieroglyphic art, including the rudiments of writing. On this subject there was "a royal author of primeval times, the elder Sesostris, in the beginning of the third dynasty." The next book treated of cosmography and geography. The two following were of the sun and moon and the five planets; but wherein they differed from the astronomical books of the second class is not known. The fifth and sixth books were of the topography of Egypt, and the delineation of the course of the Nile, within the limits of the Egyptian territory. The four succeeding books contained a "description or inventory of each temple, of its landed property, (the estates of the priests,) of its weights, measures, and other utensils."

Ten books, devoted principally or entirely to religious worship, constituted the fourth class. Clement quotes, among the contents of the separate books, "regulations concerning sacrifice, first fruits, hymns, prayers, festive processions, and the like." To which, most probably, may be added ceremonies in honour of the dead.

Other ten books, concerning "the laws, the deities, and the entire education of the priests," formed a fifth class, wherein were contained also instructions as to the apportionment of the taxes, one of the sacerdotal privileges, as well as their system of mythology, upon which their laws were based. The civil laws, according to Diodorus, were treated in eight books. "In these was recorded the name of each king, by whose judgment in any particular case a point of law had been finally established, or who was the author of any general enactment." The same author gives also a list of the most celebrated legislators, in their chronological order. "The oldest is Mnevis, probably the third successor of Menes, who received from Hermes his

written laws, the first the Egyptians possessed. Bocchoris, the unfortunate reformer of the eighth century before our era, who lost his throne and life in the war with the Ethiopians, is the first legislator of the new empire. The oldest of those fundamental laws may have been contained in the sacred books of the Prophets, and also have been introduced into the civil code. This code, therefore, was not unlike the digests of Justinian, and perhaps in form had still more resemblance to Colebrooke's Indian Pandects on the rights of inheritance, without, however, being like them confined to one branch of jurisprudence. Such a work must have contributed, doubtless, materially to fix the historical chronology of the kings, and in part also of the history of Egypt."

The last class of canonical Egyptian books consisted of six on the art of medicine, one of which was attributed to the authorship of Athothis, a son of Menes, their first king. Although we have no evidence that a single section of those books was of such a nature that it could be justly called a history, yet their loss has deprived us of much that might have "imparted fulness and substance to the dry lists of kings," as well as rectified the traditions collected by the curiosity of the Greeks. The records of the kings was a work separate from their sacred canon.

Of the above-mentioned books we are not aware that any are now extant, except the celebrated "Book of the Dead," which Bunsen believes to be one of the fourth class. A copy of it exists in the Museum of Turin, another was found by the French expedition in the tombs of the kings at Thebes, and others, in whole or in part, have been discovered since. No translation of it has yet been completed; but the numerous pictorial illustrations distributed through its whole length, as well as the Phonetic writing which has been read, leave no ground of doubt that the subject of which it treats, is the departure of a human soul from its earthly habitation, together with its trial and various adventures beyond the grave. There can be no dispute of its very great antiquity. The papyrus of Turin must itself belong to the best days of Egyptian graphic art. In the opinion of Lepsius it was written in the 18th or 19th dynasty, and consequently some fifteen hundred years

before the Christian era. It is to be remarked also of this work that, while in all other extant remains of Egyptian literature the hieratic character is used, it is written in the pure monumental hieroglyphics; a feature which very likely distinguished the sacred canon from books of secular production.

Of ancient manuscripts in the hieratic character there are quite a number, but generally more or less mutilated. One of the most important is the Papyrus of Sallier, in which Champollion discovered a "Narrative of the expeditions and campaigns of the great Rameses, written not long after that conqueror's death." This work is now in the British Museum. Several others of a similar nature are preserved at Berlin. "They all offer precisely the same palæographical character common to other records of the 18th and 19th dynasties." As yet, however, the philological branch of hieroglyphic study has not advanced far enough to admit of their translation. There is also extant a papyrus manuscript, of the times of the Rameses, containing a chronological register of the previous dynasties. It was brought to Europe by the French consul-general Drovetti; but is now in the possession of the Turin Museum. It lay neglected as a mere mass of illegible fragments, until discovered by Champollion in 1824. He immediately perceived its value, and undertook to arrange its principal fragments; but did not complete the work. To Professor Seyfarth belongs the merit of reuniting the whole in a durable manner, and "with scrupulous fidelity." It has also been examined with the utmost care by Lepsius, in whose "Records" it is now presented to the public.

In addition to the dynasties of gods, this manuscript presents a list of one hundred and nineteen mortal kings, fifty-four of whom belong to the old monarchy, and sixty-five to the Hyksos period. But not a single name of the eighteenth, or of any succeeding dynasty, occurs in it.

But the most extensive remains of ancient Egyptian records, as well as the best preserved, are those which are inscribed upon the rocks, many of them extending to very great length. They are of various classes, but chiefly designed to commemorate the achievements in war and peace of the kings by whom they were erected, as well as the elaborate ceremonies connected with

their sepulture. Of these monuments two are especially worthy of remark in connection with the last mentioned papyrus. Like it they contain lists of the ancient kings; and the three taken together "mutually illustrate and restore each other in the most satisfactory manner."

One of these monumental records was found by Burton, in a chamber of the temple-palace of Karnak, erected by Tuthmosis III. It consists of a series of sixty-one kings, the predecessors of Tuthmosis, who are represented as receiving offerings at his hands. Over the head of each figure is inscribed his royal title. Here also not a single name as late as the eighteenth dynasty appears, except that of Tuthmosis himself. Consequently these kings belong to the same period which is covered by the Turin manuscript. The other was found upon the walls of a chamber within the temple built or restored by Rameses the Great, in the city of Abydos. It consists of a similar series of fifty Egyptian kings represented as receiving offerings from the hand of "their son, the king Rameses." In this list, the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, as well as those of the old monarchy, are arranged in regular order down to Rameses himself, while those of the Hyksos period are omitted, without the indication of a blank.

Other monuments present battle scenes, triumphal processions, funeral ceremonies, operations of art, industrial occupations, festivities, and so forth, both by means of pictorial delineation and phonetic description.

Upon movable articles, also, as mummy cases, pieces of furniture, and so forth, the Egyptians contrived to perpetuate some information of themselves, by means of writing.

Materials for the internal history of Egypt are thus very largely supplied; but much has yet to be done before these can be fully turned to historical account. For, after all the wonderful achievements of critical ingenuity, the language of the inscriptions is still but partially mastered. The method of writing—in other words, the alphabet—is now known; but the ancient Egyptian tongue being dead, when the words are spelled correctly, a further inquiry is needed in order to ascertain their meaning. From various sources, about five hundred, chiefly

independent roots, with their grammatical system, have been determined. But many passages of extant Egyptian writing still defy interpretation. Hence the object of Egyptian scholars is now to enlarge their vocabulary. For this purpose they are applying to the further study of the Coptic, a language which holds such a relation to the ancient Egyptian as the Italian or French to the Latin.

The information obtained from the monuments and manuscripts, however, extends considerably beyond the limits of the above mentioned vocabulary; in the first place, because all proper names, hieroglyphically written, can be read with facility; secondly, because a very numerous class of hieroglyphic signs are ideographic, and of meaning ascertainable without a knowledge of the Egyptian words which correspond to them; and, thirdly, because the historical pictures to a great extent tell their own story, independently of written description.

Of history proper, the golden age of Egyptian refinement presents no specimen; nor even a hint that any such work was then in existence. The earliest historian of Egypt was not born until long after the glory of his nation had passed away, and Greek literature had established her dominion in the land of the Pharaohs. Manetho, the priest of Sebennytus, flourished in the days of the first and second Ptolemies, and consequently in the end of the fourth and beginning of the third century before Christ. He wrote in Greek, with the obvious design of making the history of his country accessible to the reading world of his time—a work similar to that which Josephus, at a later period, accomplished for the Jews. "Manetho," says Eusebius, "not only reduced the whole Egyptian history into a Greek form, but also their entire system of theology, in his treatise entitled 'The Sacred Book,' as well as in other works." Theodoret, in the second quarter of the fifth century, describes him as also the author of a mythological work, or works, "concerning Isis and Osiris, Apis and Serapis, and the other Egyptian Deities." And through Diogenes Laertius we learn that he had also written a compendium of Natural Philosophy. Other books are also ascribed to him, and quoted by subsequent authors as unquestionable authorities on Egyptian matters. His "Three Books of Egyptian History" were compiled,

according to his own statement, from genuine records, and were held in the highest esteem.

The first book of this work contained the ante-historical or mythological period, together with the first eleven dynasties of mortal kings. The second book began with the twelfth and ended with the nineteenth dynasty; and the third contained the remainder, to the end of the thirtieth. "It is impossible to overlook, in the arrangement of Manetho, the character of a genuine, historical, and artistic plan." Although a purely historical division of the thirty dynasties into three books of ten dynasties each, might seem, on external grounds, the most natural, Manetho had abundant reason for adopting a different method. "The last brilliant epoch of the old empire was the twelfth dynasty. The king, in whom the historian recognized the hero of the Sesostrid legends, belonged to it. The third king of the thirteenth dynasty lost Memphis and his throne by the irruption of the shepherds. Then succeeded a period of national degradation, extending over a long series of ages. Royal Egyptian houses, indeed, continued to reign at Thebes and Choïs, but tributary and powerless. A long and arduous struggle ensued after this period of humiliation and oppression; but the holy city of the empire was not reconquered and the empire restored till the eighteenth dynasty." "From the nineteenth dynasty sprang, finally, Sesostris Rameses, the hero of the new empire, who avenged the shame of Egypt on Asia. As Manetho began his second book with the twelfth dynasty, its narrative opened with the glorious exploits of Sesostris, and closed with those of the king he calls the great Ramesside. The third book opened with the twentieth dynasty, the commencement of which is a comparatively flourishing epoch, and closed with the thirtieth, the last king of which, Nectanebo, is the last indigenous ruler of Egypt."

This great work of Manetho has been suffered to perish. But epitomized lists of the dynasties have been preserved in the chronological treatises of Africanus and Eusebius, the former a writer of the third century of the Christian era, and the latter the eminent ecclesiastical historian of the days of Constantine. The list of Eusebius has come to us through two channels, the Armenian Latin version of his chronicle,

and the comparative Manethonian dynasties in Syncellus. These three copies present a number of discrepancies; and yet, after all, they constitute the principal clue to the chronology of ancient Egypt. As compared with the other more partial lists they form a guide to the general arrangement, while receiving occasional correction of their errors.

Other Egyptians of later time followed the example of Manetho; but still fewer fragments bear testimony to their labours. The earliest of these writers was Ptolemy of Mendes, who composed three books on chronology, in which he endeavoured to harmonize the history of the kings of Egypt with the primitive Greek annals, and also, in some points at least, with the Hebrew. The antiquarian Apion occupies a prominent place among them, but is treated by Bunsen with scanty reverence. He lived in the first century of the Christian era. Somewhat earlier, Chaeremon had also written a history of Egypt, from which a few fragments are preserved by Josephus and Eusebius. None of them, however, seem to have commanded such general respect as Manetho.

In addition to the native authorities we have also some valuable material for Egyptian history, woven in with that of the Hebrews. The synchronisms, which have been settled therewith, furnish the earliest secure footing for the Egyptian chronologist. The king Shishak, who was reigning in the latter part of the life of Solomon, has been identified both in the lists and upon contemporaneous monuments. The antiquities of those two nations mutually throw light upon each other. While the manners and arts of the Egyptians illustrate the life of the Hebrews, the clearer history of the latter must be adopted as a valuable guide to the chronology of the former.

To the Greek, Egypt was, of all countries, except his own, the most interesting, the land of mysterious antiquity, the discoverer of the sciences and mother of the arts he loved. But that Egyptian custom, whereby the principles of the arts were carefully shut up as secrets within the respective fraternities that practised them, opposed an insurmountable barrier to all investigations from abroad. The most ancient traditions connected the early days of Athens and of Argos with colonies from Egypt; Homer wove the country of the Nile into his

beautiful romance of Helen; productions of Egyptian art had kindled up the superior genius of Greece; and many of the elements of Egyptian social order had been planted among the mountains of Hellas, to grow and ripen into a fuller and more liberal existence; but direct information concerning Egyptian life and history was not to be obtained in Greece, until the older nation had reached its decline. The most ancient Greek, who presented his countrymen with any historical knowledge of Egypt was Herodotus. The mass of the material which he collected on this subject he digested into the second book of his history. Defective as his information necessarily was, the fidelity with which his report is made confers upon it a most honourable distinction. His information was, however, obtained at second hand, not from the national records immediately; but from the reports of the priests concerning them, and the chronological discrepancies, which these involved, he had not the means of reconciling.

A few scattered remarks upon Egyptian affairs are to be found among the writings of Plato, and of Aristotle; to which may be added some fragments of Theophrastus and Dicæarchus. The Alexandrian scholars, under the Ptolemies, first, second, and third, naturally devoted much attention to the subject; but there are "few more bitter sources of regret to the modern student, than that the profound historical and critical labours of those remarkable men should—to a few trifling fragments—have utterly perished." One of the most valuable of those fragments is the list of Theban kings from the works of Eratosthenes. Beginning with Menes, it covers a period of 1076 years, embracing thirty-eight royal names, with their Greek translations and the number of years attached to each reign.

It is in this fragment that Bunsen finds what he believes to be the true series of the old monarchy. The preservation of it is due to George Syncellus of Byzantium, a writer of the eighth century, who has introduced it into his Introductory notice of Egyptian Chronology. It is to be observed, however, that he did not receive the passage directly from Eratosthenes; but as a quotation found by him in a work of Apollodorus, a writer from whom we have also a brief but valuable fragment pertaining to this subject.

The only Greek author who ventured to grapple with the whole "subject of Egypt, in its integrity," was Diodorus Siculus, who visited the country about 58 years before Christ. The first book of his Historical Library is devoted to Egyptian affairs. Unfortunately he brought to the task a "mere acquaintance with books, without either sound judgment, critical spirit, or comprehensive views." His simple honesty alone recommends him, and renders his collection of facts and legends, uncritical as it is, a valuable addition to the sources of Egyptian history.

Diodorus is the last of the ancients who conducted systematic inquiry into the subject. The remarks of Tacitus and Pliny, in respect to it, are of but little value.

A new life was given to the study of Egyptian antiquity by the spread of Christianity. To Tatian, who flourished about A. D. 180, we are indebted for some valuable extracts, and still more to Clement of Alexandria, the fifth book of whose work called Stromata, contains a description of the hieroglyphical manner of writing.

"As early as the beginning of the third century, Julius, the African priest or bishop of Emmaus-Nicopolis in Judea, and founder of the Library of Cæsarea, which was enlarged by Eusebius, compiled a chronological work in five books," of which some scanty fragments remain. These fragments awaken the greater regret for the loss of the complete work, inasmuch as they "exhibit throughout the man of judgment, integrity, and information, zealous in collecting and examining the oldest Chaldee and Egyptian records, those especially of Berosus and Manetho. His object was not the arrangement of a system of annals with regular notation of synchronisms—an attempt fraught in other cases with so much perversity and fraud. He gave the traditions unadulterated, just as he found them, contenting himself with proving from their own internal evidence the extravagance of those myriads of years admitted in the computation of his pagan opponents." His edition of the lists of Manetho is justly regarded as the most reliable of those now extant. This remark must, however, be qualified by the probability that he did not copy immediately from the original work, but from some previous epitome.

The next, as far as we know, who gave any attention to this

subject, was the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine, in the earlier part of the fourth century. "He had undertaken a comprehensive scheme of adjustment between the Scripture dates and those of all the other ancient nations." This plan was executed upon the basis of the chronology of Africanus, in the work, still extant, called the Chronicon. For a long time it was known to exist only in a fragmentary state; but was discovered entire in an Armenian version at Constantinople, and published at Milan in A. D. 1820. There is also a Latin translation of the work by Jerome. It contains a copy of Manetho's lists, which, in addition to the royal names and dates, gives brief annotations appended here and there to the different reigns.

Succeeding writers added nothing to the stores of information on the subject, if they did not impair their value by injudicious criticism, until the time of Syncellus, who, about the year 800, prepared a new and really valuable work on chronology. Syncellus constructed his *Chronographia* upon the *Chronicon* of Eusebius; but criticised his predecessor without mercy. The compilations relating to Egypt are the most valuable additions he made. To him are we indebted for the extracts from Eratosthenes and Apollodorus. At the same time he added no little to the embarrassment of later scholars by the introduction of passages which have recently been detected as spurious. Among these are to be enumerated extracts from the "Book of Sothis," or the Dog Star, a forgery upon Manetho, and the so-called Old Egyptian Chronicle. He also embodied in his synchronistic tables an anonymous list of Egyptian kings, which is now regarded with equal distrust.

Such are the materials out of which the historian has to reconstruct the narrative of Ancient Egypt. And when we consider their fragmentary character, their chaotic disorder, scattered about and inwoven in so many different works, subjected to so many causes of corruption, and their manifold contradictions, it is cause of astonishment that so much reliable fact should have been obtained from them as recent scholarship has elicited.

The Egyptologers of modern times belong to two different series: the earlier consisting of those who preceded the disco-

very of the hieroglyphic alphabet, while the later have been formed by it. The former began with the illustrious Joseph Scaliger, who, in the end of the sixteenth century, published his great work upon general chronology. In respect to Egypt, he had not the means of going much beyond a mere re-editing of the chronological lists. Notwithstanding the labours of Petavius, Goar, and Marsham, Scaliger cannot be said to have had any worthy successor in this field, until the end of the seventeenth century, when Zoega published his learned work on the Obelisks, which may be regarded as an anticipation of a more recent style of scholarship. In 1711, Jacob Perizonius published his *Origines Egyptiacæ*, one of the most profound and ingenious productions of that century in the department of historical research, and which Bunsen describes as the "last critical analysis of Egyptian chronology, before the late discoveries in hieroglyphics. From that period, the inquiry passed from the province of the philologer into that of the general historian." In this light it was ably pursued in the end of last century by Heyne and Heeren, whose example and principles laid the foundation of a new and superior school of historical criticism, constituting the transition period to that which was ushered in by the discovery of the hieroglyphic system.

This brilliant triumph of ingenious scholarship was first announced by Champollion in 1822. It had been suggested to him, and, even at an earlier date, to Dr. Young of England, by a study of the Rosetta stone. This celebrated monument had been found by the French soldiers when in Egypt, and afterwards captured by the English and deposited in the British Museum. It consists of a slab of basalt, having its length divided into three portions, each containing an inscription in a different character. One of these was in Greek, from which it appeared that the other two were of the same meaning, in the hieroglyphic and demotic, or common writing of the country. For, being a decree connected with the coronation of Ptolemy Epiphanes, it closed with the following order, "And that it may be known why in Egypt, he is glorified and honoured, as is just, the God Epiphanes, most gracious sovereign, the present decree shall be engraved on a stela of hard stone, in sacred characters (that is, hieroglyphics,) in writing of the

country, and in Greek letters: and this stela shall be placed in each of the temples of the first, second, and third class existing in all the kingdom."

It was immediately perceived that this inscription might be of great value, and fac similes of it were distributed to the learned throughout Europe. De Sacy, Akerblad, and Dr. Young early made observations upon the Demotic; but it was not until 1819 that any step was taken towards deciphering the hieroglyphic portion. In that year, Dr. Young, in an article contributed by him to the Encyclopædia Britannica, announced his discovery that some of the hieroglyphic signs were also used alphabetically. He did not, however, prosecute the subject farther than to the spelling of a few proper names. And when, three years later, Champollion came forward with his paper on the subject, it was to present the same view, most likely originating also with himself, but unfolding a much more complete and comprehensive system. The truth of his method was soon admitted by the ablest minds, that bent to the labour of examining his evidence. A new life was thus given to Egyptian studies, and many rivals, of the highest learning and talents, entered the field. In a few years, England, Germany, and Italy, as well as France, could boast their hieroglyphic scholars. But the ardour and genius of Champollion not only led the way, but outstripped all competition in subsequent attainment. In 1828, he went at the expense of the French government to Egypt, accompanied by professor Rosellini of Pisa, who was sent out by the government of Tuscany. Four artists attended each.

These two expeditions proceeded jointly and harmoniously with their investigations, which resulted in an almost complete exposition and extensive illustration of the hieroglyphic system.

At the very time of Champollion's visit to Egypt, several eminent Englishmen, who had learned his method, were at work in the same country in a similar manner. Some of those have, since, obtained great distinction, among whom may be mentioned Burton, Wilkinson, Prudhoe, and Felix.

The materials brought to Europe by Champollion and Rosellini were designed for two immense works, to be published,

the one in Paris, under the care of Champollion, and the other in Florence by Rosellini, the former consisting of the historical monuments and the grammar of the hieroglyphic system; the latter the civil monuments and a hieroglyphical dictionary. Champollion lived only to finish his grammar. He died in 1832, in the forty-second year of his age. By his death the whole task of publication was thrown upon Rosellini, who also died before it was completed. The plates, amounting to four hundred in folio, were issued during his lifetime; the text of the historical monuments, amounting to five volumes, in octavo, appeared from 1832 to 1841, that of the civil monuments, in three volumes, from 1834 to 1836, while two other volumes, one on the religious monuments, and another, containing general indices to the whole, remained to be published at his death.

To the distinguished names already mentioned must now be added those of Bunsen and Lepsius of Prussia, and Birch of England, and several others, who equal if they do not excel their predecessors in Egyptian learning.

An expedition to Egypt under the direction of Dr. Lepsius was in 1842 sent out by the king of Prussia, to "investigate and collect, with an historical and antiquarian view, the ancient monuments in the Nile valley, and upon the peninsula of Sinai." It consisted, besides Lepsius, of seven artists and a dragoman, together with a large number of servants. The government of the country favoured their enterprise; and for three years it was prosecuted with most cheering success. The result is a magnificent work, "surpassing everything that has hitherto appeared on the subject, not only in the truthfulness and accuracy of the drawings and inscriptions, but also in its systematic historical arrangement. The same may be said as to the completeness of its contents, although it gives no monuments previously published, except in cases where the inscriptions were so inaccurate that the corrections could not be marked in any other way." It consists of more than eight hundred lithographed plates in imperial folio, accompanied by descriptive letter press.

Thus, by the industry of recent scholars a vast mass of material has been collected among the ruins of ancient cities and temples, in tombs, and from hitherto illegible manuscripts,

hidden in various European collections. The chief object of Egyptology is now to complete the work of deciphering, and to determine the system of dates according to which the materials are to be arranged. Dr. Bunsen conceives that he has found the key to the chronological problem of the old monarchy, in a critical comparison of the lists of Eratosthenes with existing monuments, in a similar treatment of the fragment of Apollodorus and of Manetho for the middle, and of Manetho for the new. The value of this method and of the conclusions thereby reached, it is not our purpose at present to discuss. Whatever they may amount to, the persevering toil and honest purpose which have attended ingenuity in the effort to attain a true result, merit unqualified approbation.

The student of Biblical history, especially, owes a debt of gratitude to Egyptologers, for the amount of material thus laid to his hands. It remains for him, not superciliously to reject the gift, as is too often done, but with docility to bend to the work of discriminating investigation of its contents. Truth is truth wherever found, and there are eternal principles, whereby it can be distinguished from error, and whereby the certain can also be separated from the doubtful. No mind, properly prepared for the study of Scripture history in other lights, will find, in these recently collected stores, anything to dread which he has not encountered in other secular sources, unless it be some additional toil. And, whether they admit of chronological arrangement or not, the isolated facts are themselves of incalculable value for the elucidation of a phase of ancient life and manners, with which Hebrew civilization was most intimately connected. Erroneous interpretations have undoubtedly been given to some of them; but empty declamation will not afford the corrective. It is to be expected that in matters so much and so long entangled, some mistakes will be made in the earlier efforts to unravel them; but when so many points have been already satisfactorily cleared up, surely the effort to accomplish more is deserving of approbation and encouragement. At all events, works of the gravity, learning, ingenuity, and patient research of those of Rosellini, Wilkinson, Burton, Lepsius, and Bunsen, not only claim, but have a right to demand a serious examination at the hand of every

one who pretends to offer a judgment upon the subject of which they treat; and, though they may embrace more that is still matter of doubt, can no more be set aside by a sneer than can the works of Newton or Laplace.

ART. VII.—1. *The Old Testament, translated into Arabic*, by Eli Smith. Beirut. 8vo. pp. 160.

2. *The New Testament, translated into Arabic*, by Eli Smith. Beirut. 8vo. pp. 16.

THE Arabic language is one of the most interesting and important in existence. It claims the honour due to venerable age; for though its extant literature is comparatively recent, its use as a vernacular dialect runs back to a remote antiquity. We have little reason to doubt that the language of Arabia has been as permanent and uniform as her population and her manners. It is also interesting from its affinities to other tongues, belonging to the great Semitic family, and holding a distinguished place between its Hebrew and its Aramaic branches. Its internal structure is marked by a rare combination of simplicity and richness. Though destitute of compounds, and of that variety of moods and tenses, to which the Greek owes so much of its exquisite expressiveness and flexibility, the Arabic possesses a surprising variety of what grammarians call *conjugations*, but what might have been more accurately designated *voices*, in which, by a slight change of vowels, or the simplest consonantal addition, the most delicate distinctions, of a certain kind, may be expressed with all precision. This, with the almost fabulous extent of its vocabulary, entitles it to a conspicuous position in the foremost rank of dead or living languages. But over and above this venerable age and these intrinsic qualities, the Arabic possesses an historical interest, not only as the instrument by which invaluable stores of ancient learning were preserved, when Europe was involved in

darkness, but also as the vehicle and depository of a strange religious faith, the living force of which, for good or evil, has as yet been scarcely weakened. The Arabic language is essential to Islam, or as it is the fashion now to call it, *Islamism*, a form to which *Christianityism* would be a fair equivalent. The Koran, as a sacred book, exists in Arabic exclusively, every translation used by Moslems, if we err not, being always accompanied by the original; a vast advantage, which the Christian Church might almost envy, and which she may hereafter emulate. To this and other causes may be traced a further distinction of this noble tongue, that while it has preserved itself astonishingly free from all admixtures, it has entered as an element into the formation of so many others, we may say of all, in which the Mohammedan faith is professed or its worship offered. The chief examples of this fact are those afforded by the Persian and the Turkish languages; as unlike Arabic in their ultimate basis and original structure as they are to one another, and yet each exhibiting not only an Arabian dress, or alphabetic character, but an immense mass of Arabic vocables, incorporated with or without modification into the body, both of the written and the spoken language. Another interesting circumstance connected with this language, at the present moment, is its prevalence around the old historical centres of the world, and more especially the mastery which it has now maintained for ages over Palestine and Egypt, and the whole coast of North Africa, as well as in its proper and original domain. As to its actual extent as a vernacular, we venture no assertion, but we might quote high authorities in favour of the statement, that it is spoken over a wider surface, although not by greater numbers, than any other language. The local variations of its dialects are proved by philological comparison to be far less than they appear, when clothed in the discordant and empirical notation of unlearned travellers. A striking illustration of this fact, as well as of the one previously mentioned, is the recent announcement, among other signs of progress and new means of influence in the rescued and resuscitated Turkish empire, of a newspaper to be published at Constantinople, but designed for the most distant circulation, and therefore to be printed in the Arabic language—which must consequently be regarded as

a more effective and far-reaching instrument than any other of the tongues conventionally known as "oriental."

But while we watch with interest the subsidizing of this noble ally in the service of mere civilization, we feel still more deeply the importance of employing it to circulate divine and saving truth. There is no other form of living human speech, in which a version of the Bible seems so much a matter of course, or rather of necessity. On looking back to see what has been done in former times, it seems at first sight as if nothing more were needed. But a closer inspection shows that of the many Arabic versions which are spoken of in books, a very large proportion are without immediate value, as mere versions of versions, and a large proportion of what still remains is in the shape of partial limited translations. Thus the famous version of Saadia Gaou, so far as printed, is confined to Isaiah and the Pentateuch, and even in manuscript, so far as we know, extends only to Hosea and the book of Job. Out of many partial versions, and some mediate ones, a whole Bible may be and has actually been compiled. But such a book must be unequal and devoid of that homogeneous unity, which is nowhere more desirable than in translation. For this and many other reasons we regard a new and masterly translation of the Bible into Arabic, as one of the most useful and most interesting projects that can be proposed, both in a literary and religious point of view, but at the same time one of the most difficult and dangerous. We should tremble to see it in the hands of a smatterer or a sciolist, however zealous or devout; but in the same proportion we rejoice to know that it is actually in the hands of the only man perhaps now living, to whom it could be safely and implicitly entrusted.

These remarks have been occasioned by the first sheets of a new Arabic version of the Pentateuch, and a single sheet of Matthew, printed at Beirut, in Syria, under the eye of the translator, Eli Smith. The advantages possessed by Mr. Smith for this important task, are various in kind and extensive in degree. Unusual strength of mind, and soundness of judgment, a thorough early education, long experience as a working missionary, intimate acquaintance with the language, both as written and as spoken, unlimited command of native counsel

and assistance, a position in the midst of oriental habits and of Arabic associations, are combined in his case with access to the exhaustless stores of European learning. Not the least of Mr. Smith's advantages and qualifications for a work like this, is his long familiarity with literary labour of other kinds. The Bible ought not to be translated by a man who can do nothing else, and who has trained himself, if he is trained at all, for this exclusively. The more varied his experience, the wider the sweep of his acquirements and his culture, the more likely is he to succeed in this most arduous and delicate of all employments. To say nothing of the other fruits of Mr. Smith's exertions, we may specify his essential aid in two important services of exploration—one in Armenia, and the other in the Holy Land—because, for some inexplicable reason, perhaps from the vagueness of his surname, he is now seldom mentioned in connection with his two associates; and yet they have themselves borne witness to his large share both in their bodily and mental labour. The Arabic philology of Dr. Robinson's great work on Palestine belongs exclusively to Mr. Smith; and no man could have handled it with more acuteness, judgment, and precision. At the present moment, he is prominent among the first of living Arabic scholars. While his knowledge of books can scarcely be inferior to that of any French or German Orientalist, it must be combined, in larger proportions than in any of that class, with experimental knowledge of the spoken language. When to these philological accomplishments, we add the moral and religious qualities belonging to this veteran in the new crusade against Mohammedan and pseudo-Christian error, we have said enough to justify our strong expressions as to his preëminent fitness for the great work of translating the whole Bible into Arabic. Besides all this, it is to be remembered that Mr. Smith holds a high place among that distinguished corps of labourers in the East, who have done so much honour to themselves and to their country, in the eyes of the most watchful, not to say most jealous, representatives of Christian Europe; so that even English generosity and candour have, in high and public places, awarded them the first rank among modern missionaries.

Of the version itself we shall not presume to speak as critics.

We can only say, that by a simple and empirical comparison of what we have before us with the Arabic of lexicons and printed books, we have been strongly impressed with the simplicity and purity of its diction, which affords a grateful evidence, not only of the writer's learning, taste, and judgment, but of the wonderful extent to which the old Koranic Arabic is level to the comprehension of the modern oriental reader. The only outward circumstance with which we are disposed to quarrel, is the almost too complete assimilation of the work to an English Reference or Family Bible, with its figures in the text and citations in the margin. Even as to this question, which is one of usefulness, and not of show, we would not for a moment weigh our judgment against that of the translator; but we candidly confess that, as a matter of mere taste, we much prefer the aspect of the specimen of Matthew, which is free from these useful but disfiguring encumbrances.

We sincerely hope that this great work may be continued and completed by the same hand, without interruption or undue delay, from loss of health or any other providential hinderance. There are no lives more precious to the Church, than those of competent translators of the Bible, whose places every day of fresh experience makes it harder and harder to supply, and for whose preservation, therefore, the whole Christian world is bound to pray.

SHORT NOTICES.

Preach the Word. A Discourse delivered at the opening of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, May 15th, 1856, by the Rev. N. L. Rice, D. D., Moderator. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 530 Broadway.

This sermon was so widely diffused through the newspapers, and so generally read and admired soon after its delivery, as to render any extended notice here unnecessary. The form in which it is issued by the Carters is one peculiarly attractive and convenient.

Missions needful to the higher blessedness of the Churches. A Discourse at the Anniversary of the Society of Inquiry of the Union Theological Seminary, on Sabbath evening, May 4th, 1856, by William R. Williams. Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway, New York.

This discourse, issued in the same style as the above, is fairly characterized by its title. The truth announced in the title, and well argued and illustrated in the discourse, is one of profound importance.

Memoirs of John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A. Author of "Daily Bible Illustrations," and editor of the "Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature," etc. Compiled chiefly from his letters and journals. By. J. E. Ryland, M. A. Editor of "Foster's Life and Correspondence," etc. With a critical estimate of Dr. Kitto's Life and Writings, by Professor Eadie, D. D., LL.D. Glasgow. In two volumes. Pp. 404 & 352. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

This work is essentially an autobiography. It details, by selections from the journals and letters of Dr. Kitto, the labours, the struggles, the misfortunes, the experiences, and travels of a singularly laborious scholar and author. All forms of biography are interesting and instructive, and Christian biography is doubly so, as showing not only what men are in themselves, but what they become under the power and influence of the gospel. They are examples of the life of Christ in men. The editor seems to have executed his task with skill and judgment.

Africa's Mountain Valley; or the Church in Regent's Town, West Africa. By the author of "Ministering Children." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Pp. 259.

This is designed to be a consecutive history, founded upon materials drawn from the "Memoir of the Rev. W. A. B. Johnson," containing the diary and letters of that remarkable missionary. It is divided into thirteen chapters, being not only a statement of the historical facts, but a series of discourses upon them.

Notes on the Gospels, Critical and Explanatory; incorporating with the notes, on a new plan, the most approved harmony of the four Gospels. By Melancthon W. Jacobus, Professor of Biblical Literature in the Western Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pa. *John*, pp. 348. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

The lateness of the time at which this volume of the series of Dr. Jacobus on the Gospels, has been laid on our table, prevents such an examination of it as would warrant an extended notice in this number. It completes the series, with the previous volumes of which biblical scholars in this country are already well acquainted, and which may justly be regarded as a valuable addition to the means of understanding and illustrating the New Testament by the minister and the student of the Bible. The good taste, the correct and varied scholarship, the sound judgment, and the attractive piety exhibited in them, make it not only a duty but a pleasure to commend the work to those who desire to study the record of the Saviour's earthly life.

The Martyr of Sumatra: a Memoir of Henry Lyman. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Pp. 437.

This tragic story of the death of two American Missionaries by the hands of the cannibal Battahs of Sumatra, June 28, 1834, in an attempt to explore the country, is told in this beautifully printed book. It has a most touching and melancholy interest.

The Victory Won. A brief Memorial of the last days of G. R. By the Author of the Memoir of Captain H. Vicars. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. Pp. 106.

An account of the conversion and death-bed experiences of an English Physician.

Trade and Letters: their Journeyings round the World. Three Discourses, delivered before the Mercantile Library Association of San Francisco, and published at the request of the Association. By W. A. Scott, D.D. New York: Carter & Brothers. Pp. 168.

These discourses touch directly and incidentally on a great variety of topics, and they possess not merely the local interest of place and occasion, but the general interest of matter and treatment. It is good for young empires to have such men as Dr. Scott in their bosom.

Elements of Moral Philosophy: Analytical, Synthetical, and Practical. By Hubbard Winslow, author of Intellectual Philosophy. New York: D. Appleton & Co. London: 16 Little Britain. 1856.

The author's skill and tact in writing works of this description, have been evinced in the success of a previous work on

Intellectual Philosophy, which has gone through several editions. The present volume is clearly the product of extensive reading and patient thinking. He has spared no efforts to do justice to his high theme. He unfolds moral science in its psychological, theoretical, and practical aspects. After tracing it up to its union with Christianity, he developes the ethical code in the light of the Bible, thus giving us a system of practical Christian morality, not only in its outline, but in considerable detail. This portion of the work is exceedingly well done. We rarely notice any deliverance here from which we should dissent, and, all in all, it is uncommonly just, discriminating, clear, and felicitous.

Throughout the whole book the author adopts a style more perspicuous, free, and lively, than is usual in books of this description. Indeed, he signifies that one part of his purpose has been to render these subjects intelligible and interesting to the popular mind.

With regard to the theoretical and psychological part, in which are discussed the nature and faculties of moral agency, together with the principle or idea of morality itself, the author goes into an analysis which is strict and thorough, and, now and then, distinguishes things which do not differ; *e. g.* we see no distinction between appetite and the desires to which it gives rise, which Mr. W. signalizes, (p. 32,) unless it be the difference between a principle and its exercises. Per contra, he says, (p. 22,) "We use the terms *power* and *faculty* as syonymous, and, in accordance with established usage, to indicate what is strictly a *state* or exercise of mind, as well as a constitutional ability. A desire or volition is a power," &c. We think that to make a mere state, much more an exercise, a faculty, must cause great confusion. If we do not misinterpret the author, he deems the fact that any quality or act is natural, sufficient to divest it of moral quality. "When our affections, desires, emotions, volitions, are simple spontaneous outbursts, such as mere nature designs and prompts, they are as characterless as nature herself." (p. 27.) It is possible that the author means less than we suppose in these and some similar passages. But on their face, how do they consist with original sin and righteousness, and with the moral excellence of the qualities imparted in regeneration by the Holy Spirit? We had marked a few other passages for critical comment. But they are so few, and his position on the minor points is so satisfactory and so ably maintained, that we are not inclined to make minor differences between him and ourselves obtrusive. We would rather rejoice in the great result he reaches, that regeneration

is "not merely a change of appetite, or of affection, or of desire, or of volition, so that one of these, being itself renovated, may rectify the others. Neither is it a change or refining of mere taste, nor a quickening or exaltation of emotion. It extends to and embraces all these, but is restricted to neither. Deeper, more thorough and generic, it is a change of the *man himself*. He is 'born again.'" (pp. 273–4.)

The Words of the Lord Jesus. By Rudolf Stier. Vol. Fourth. Translated from the German, by William B. Pope, Hull. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke. 1856. Pp. 478.

This is the eleventh volume of the new series of Clarke's Foreign Theological Library, which we have so often commended to our readers. The same house has also this year published the second volume of the translation of the new edition of Hengstenberg's Christology, by far the most important of that distinguished writer's works.

An Elementary Treatise on Logic. Including Part I. Analysis of Formulæ. Part II. Method, with an Appendix of Examples for Analysis and Criticism, and a copious Index of Terms and Subjects. Designed for the use of Schools and Colleges, as well as for Private study and use. By W. D. Wilson, D. D., Trinity Professor of Christian Ethics, and Professor of Logic, of Intellectual Philosophy, and of History, in Hobart Free College, at Geneva, Western New York. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1856.

On the whole, this is the most thorough and exhaustive work on Logic, which has appeared for a long time. The author has incorporated into his treatise all the real improvements which recent writers have made in the different branches of the science. We are glad to see that he properly estimates and therefore repudiates certain alleged discoveries which have obtained a consequence from the celebrity of their authors, which they never could have gained upon their intrinsic merits. We allude to Professor Dr. Morgan's attempt to reduce the syllogism to a sort of arithmetical process, and Sir William Hamilton's scheme for the quantification of affirmative predicates. We do not believe that either of these will add anything of permanent value to the science, much less, as their authors suppose, serve as a *novum organum* for it. Dr. Wilson confines logic within its true sphere, as the science of inference and proof. He adopts for its basis the Aristotelian syllogism as amplified and improved by the schools. He supplements it by the addition of whatever is valuable in recent investigations, and by original suggestions. The whole bears evidence of having been thought out and digested by his own mind. The part on Method may be studied with great advantage. Thorough as the work is in its matter, it is rather stiff

in style. Invaluable as it must be to those who wish to become proficient in the science of logic and art of reasoning, it seems to us rather unwieldy, as a manual for rudimentary learners in schools and colleges. The efforts to produce such a manual have been many, and of various success. But there is ample room for more.

Elements of Logic: together with an Introductory View of Philosophy in general, and a Preliminary View of the Reason. By Henry P. Tappan. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1856.

This book is, in all essential features, in sharp contrast with that of Dr. Wilson. In style it is more elegant and classic. Here its superiority ends. Instead of being entitled a treatise on "Logic, with an Introductory view of Philosophy in general," it would be more proper to style it a Treatise on Philosophy with an Appendix on Logic. Logic has about as much to do with making the substance of this volume, as stone in making the stone broth, which its inventor explained that he could make by adding sufficient meat and vegetables. It is no excuse for this to say that as logic has for its object to test the validity of our knowledge, it therefore includes "philosophy in general." The province of logic is to ascertain and prove the validity of our knowing, by means of deduction and argument from premises, neither more nor less. Great confusion and mischief result from extending it beyond this definite sphere, and absorbing into it Metaphysics, Ontology, Psychology, and "Philosophy in general." As a work on these subjects, it contains much that is profound, acute, and instructive, set forth in a style of considerable force and felicity. Dr. Tappan's Pelagian theory of the will, however, occasionally crops out. His whole vein is too transcendental. He attributes to gravitation, the centrifugal force, affinity and repulsion, the characteristics of ideas having "universality and necessity." pp. 198–9. If this be so, then, on the same principle, whatever is, cannot but be. Is not this a sort of transcendental Fatalism?

Western Africa: its History, Condition, and Prospects. By Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, eighteen years a missionary to Africa, and now one of the Secretaries of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1856. Pp. 527.

Many of our foreign missionaries are very much like other ministers, and even a residence of years among the heathen, and the not unfaithful prosecution of the missionary work, do not, in many cases, seem to result in the formation of a higher grade of character than the prosecution of the ministry at home. At other times, however, they do. The separation from

the world, from its business and contests, the singleness of object, and frequently the constant exercise of self-denial, which it demands; the absence of those aids and appliances on which we are prone indolently to rely, the necessity of living near to God in order to live at all, involved in the foreign missionary work, certainly do sometimes, by the grace of God, issue in the formation of a character such as we have never seen produced in any other sphere. There is something so unearthly, so unselfish, so translucent and single in many veteran missionaries, whom it has been our happiness to know, that we feel ready to kiss their feet, and wish for those dearest to us no higher destiny than to be devoted to so sanctifying a work. Not less remarkable in many cases, is the development of the intellectual character effected by the labours of a foreign missionary. See what it made of the shoemaker Carey, of Ashmun, and of many others living and dead. We believe some of the ablest men now living, devoted to the service of the Church, are to be found in the ranks of our foreign missionaries. The missionary is often placed in circumstances which tax all his resources of intellect and will to the utmost, and that for years. He has to devise and execute new plans, to control other minds, to grapple with formidable systems of error defended by acute and cultivated intellects, to master difficult languages, and sometimes, as in the case of the author, to reduce those languages to writing, to discover their laws, and to create their literature.

The work before us is a monument of this kind of labour. We know no other work in which so comprehensive, philosophical, and condensed exhibition of the topography, of the ethnology, of the languages, of the present state and future prospects of Western Africa, can be found. It cannot fail to excite intelligent interest in that important portion of the globe, and to exalt the missionary work in the estimation of men of science and of business, as well as in the view of Christians. Mr. Wilson is one of the men over whose missionary life and their results the Church has reason to rejoice.

The Wedge of Gold; or, Achan in El Dorado. By Rev. W. A. Scott, D. D. Philadelphia: Board of Publication. pp. 162.

This volume, written in San Francisco, the modern Ophir, is commended by its origin and adaptation to the state of things in that thronged temple of Mammon. Few men occupy a more important or a more difficult position than the author of this little work; and we rejoice to see that he is employing, not only the pulpit, but also the press, in the energetic prosecution of his work.

Discourses on Special Occasions, and Miscellaneous Papers. By C. Van Santvoord. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1856. Pp. 456.

The author of this volume is pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church, Saugerties, New York. It is made up principally of contributions to various periodicals. It is evidently the production of a cultivated and able man.

The old Chest and its Treasures. By Aunt Elizabeth. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1856. Pp. 304.

A collection of anecdotes and incidents, mostly religious, making an interesting and useful book.

Kindling; or, A Way to do it. By a Sabbath-school Teacher. With an Introductory Note, by Rev. R. S. Storrs, Jr., D. D. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1856. Pp. 384.

The author of this book is "a thoughtful, earnest Christian merchant, who has been for many years energetically engaged in efforts to extend the kingdom of Christ in the world, especially by Sabbath-school instruction; and who eagerly desires to awake a fresh sense of responsibility among Christians, in regard especially to the use of the same vital, effective, and useful Christian agency."

Hints on Missions to India: With Notices of some Proceedings of a Deputation from the American Board, and of Reports from it to the Missions. By Miron Winslow, Missionary at Madras. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1856. Pp. 236.

"On the passage home, by the way of England," says the author, "this little book was composed, as a sort of digest of experience and observation, for nearly thirty-seven years; with the double hope of assisting those who may be considering the question of personal devotement to a mission in India, and of aiding the supporters of such a mission in its intelligent support and direction." As Mr. Winslow is one of the oldest and most distinguished of the band of American missionaries, the record of his experience and his counsels will be received with grateful reverence by all those who either contemplate the work of missions, or who are interested in its successful prosecution.

The Faith of Christ's Ministers an Example for his People. A Discourse Commemorative of Benjamin Holt Rice, D. D. Preached in the First Presbyterian Church, Princeton, N. J., on Sabbath morning, July 20th, 1856, at the request of the Session. By Rev. William Edward Schenck, Corresponding Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Publication, formerly Pastor of that Church.

Ths, in the language of the Session of the church, in their vote of thanks to the preacher, is "a just and appropriate" tribute to the memory of a distinguished and beloved servant

of God. Dr. Benjamin H. Rice was a man of singular excellence. In a long and intimate acquaintance with him, we never heard him speak evil of any man. We never knew him to give, or to take offence. He never, so far as we know, ever made an enemy, and he was an enemy to no man. This did not arise from insipidity or mere harmlessness of character, but from principle; for he was a man of strong feelings, as well as of strong mind. He was devout and zealous as a Christian, and fervent in his preaching. He never failed to secure the confidence, respect, and affection of any community in which he lived, and his memory is cherished with tenderness by every church to which he ministered. At least, we know that it is so in this community. We never heard a word from any one who knew him, that did not evince both respect and love. The record of his services to the Church, presented in this discourse, though necessarily brief, is sufficient to show that he was among our most useful ministers.

The Sower and the Seed. By John Hall, D. D. Philadelphia: Board of Publication. pp. 127.

This exposition of the parable of the sower, is not only judicious, but pointed and forcible, having a directness of application well adapted to render it useful.

An Exposition of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. By the Rev. Thomas Vincent. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. No. 265 Chestnut Street.

This work, recommended nearly two centuries ago by Owen and Calamy, is still perhaps the best body of divinity, in the same compass, (excepting of course such formularies as the Helvetic and Westminster Confessions, and the Heidelburg and the Shorter Catechisms,) that we know in the English language.

Plantation Sermons: or, Plain and Familiar Discourses for the Instruction of the Unlearned. By Rev. A. F. Dickson, Charleston, S. C. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 170.

The Rev. J. L. Kirkpatrick, of Charleston, South Carolina, has prefixed an introduction to this volume, on the responsibility of the Southern churches, touching the instruction of the coloured people around them. He commends these discourses as well adapted for that object. They are, however, adapted for a wider sphere. It is very difficult to find sermons suited for congregational or family reading, and we should judge that this volume will prove very useful for that purpose.

The following books are also among the recent publications of our Board.

Lizzie Ferguson, or the Sabbath-school Scholar. A narrative of Facts. Written for the Presbyterian Board of Publication. By S. S. Egliseau.

God's Word to Inquirers, compiled by Rev. J. H. Bocock. pp. 56.

This is a simple yet original work in its idea. It consists of passages of Scripture arranged under such heads as these:—The character of your heart by nature. The awakened heart's view of sin. God's view of sin. The object of faith, &c., &c.

Aunt Sarah's Stories. By Minnie Woodruff.

Ellen Sinclair, or The Earnest Inquirer. A True Narrative.

Sermons, Doctrinal and Practical. By Rev. William Archer Butler, A. M. late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. First Series. Edited, with a Memoir of the Author's Life, by the Very Rev. Thomas Woodward, M. A., Dean of Down. First American from the third Cambridge edition. Philadelphia: Parry & McMillan. 1856. Pp. 446.

The *North British Review* for February, 1856, in speaking of the author of this volume says: "Few men ever brought to the service of the Christian ministry such a junction of needful qualities, and few sermons in our language exhibit the same rare combination of excellencies: imagery almost as rich as Taylor's; oratory often as vigorous as South's; judgment as sound as Barrow's; a style as attractive, but more copious, original, and forcible, than Atterbury's; piety as elevated as Howe's; and a fervour as intense at times as Baxter's."

The Bible Hand-Book: an Introduction to the Study of Sacred Scripture. By Joseph Angus, D. D., member of the Royal Asiatic Society. Philadelphia: William S. & Alfred Martien, No. 144 Chestnut Street. 1856. Pp. 660.

This, for condensation and for the amount of matter compressed into a single volume, is really a wonderful book. The labour which it must have cost is beyond estimate. It goes over all the ground included in the heavy volumes of Horne's Introduction, and presents the student with an outline of Scripture History, Chronology, Botany, Geography, Interpretation, Prophecy, &c., &c. It will probably meet the wants of a large class of readers, and be found a useful book of reference to have constantly at hand.

The Book of Ecclesiastes Explained, by James M. McDonald, D. D. 1856. 12mo. Pp. 414.

Ecclesiastes has long been regarded as one of the most puzzling books of the Old Testament. Its difficulties, however, concern the theologian more than the exegete or the philologist. They do not, for example, like those of Hosea or a part of

Isaiah, arise from elliptical or obscure expressions, bold and unusual constructions, or words of rare occurrence and doubtful meaning. The sentences are for the most part individually plain; the style has been charged with being diffuse rather than too concise; and yet it has proved no easy task to expound the book as a whole, to exhibit its plan, the relations of its several parts, its general scope, and the position which it occupies in the scheme of Old Testament revelation. That these difficulties were not first felt in modern times appears from the statement in the Talmud, that some of the wise regarded this book as favouring heretical or immoral sentiments. And Jerome speaks of a slight having been cast upon it by some of the Jews, in consequence of its taxing the creatures of God with vanity, and commending earthly pleasure, though, as he adds, the solemn close of the discussion "fear God and keep his commandments" is of itself sufficient to redeem it from any such reproach. The Fathers generally gave to its exhibition of the vanity of earthly things, with Augustin, the aim of awakening desires after what was heavenly, or used it with Jerome as an argument for the renunciation of the world, and for a life of asceticism. In more modern times, Grotius cut the knot, by denying the existence of any consistent plan or unity of design in the book, and maintaining that the word "preacher" meant rather a collector of various opinions. In the judgment of others, conflicting views are expressed in different parts of the book, but its unity is defended by the supposition that it is the aim of the author to sustain the one and refute the other. This hypothesis has been variously modified by assuming that we have here the debates of a society met for philosophical disputation, or the views of Solomon during his career of sin, as well as in his after repentance, or the words of various objectors in reply to the lessons of the preacher, or the rash views of an earnest but impatient inquirer, perpetually interrupted by the sage admonitions of his aged and experienced teacher, or that the book was begun by the writer while still in a tumult of doubt, from which he gradually, as he proceeded, argued himself into settled convictions. Others ascribed these supposed discrepancies to interpolations and errors of the text, and sought to remove them by critical emendations. Those who assert the harmony of all the views which it contains, are still disagreed as to its main scope. By some it has been censured as the production of a skeptic, a fatalist, or an Epicurean. Umbreit thinks its design was to show that the chief good was unattainable by man on earth; Hengstenberg, that its aim was to teach wisdom in general; others, that its main intent was

to exhort to the fear of God, or to resignation to God's inflexible will, or to a moderate and thankful enjoyment of the pleasures of life. Desvœux, in his philosophical and critical essay on Ecclesiastes, takes the ground, that "the author's design is to prove the immortality of the soul, or rather the necessity of another state after this life, from such arguments as may be afforded by reason and experience." This is the view also taken of the book by Dr. McDonald. That the doctrine of a future state and a coming judgment underlies the whole Old Testament, and that it is asserted in this book, as well as more or less distinctly in passages found elsewhere, are clearly shown in the volume before us. But that it is the aim of this book to reason out this doctrine from natural considerations, is not so convincingly made out. Many will feel, we presume, that the argument belongs to the commentator, rather than to the sacred writer.

The composition of Ecclesiastes by Solomon, which it has been the fashion recently to call in question, is ably maintained by Dr. McDonald. The only objection which has any appearance of force, is derived from the character of the language. There are considerations enough, however, if not to account entirely for this, at least to show the precarious nature of the argument which is based upon it. It is affirmed, that the Aramaeisms are so numerous, and of such a character, as to infer a composition after the exile, and that the diction and style are so unlike the other writings of Solomon, that this cannot have proceeded from the same author. But the abbreviated relative, which is the most frequent of its alleged Aramaeisms, is not only found occasionally in writings of much earlier date—*e. g.* Genesis and the Song of Deborah—but the only other book of the Old Testament in which it occurs with anything like the same frequency, is the Song of Solomon. And Hävernick (Einleitung I. p. 235) has pointed out such a community of words and expressions between Ecclesiastes and Proverbs, as constrained him, though denying their identity of authorship, to assume an intentional imitation of the latter by the writer of the former. And when, in addition, proper allowance is made, on the one hand, for the differences of subject, and in the character of the compositions, for the change of style from early life to old age, and for the various modes of thought and expression which are within the compass of such a genius as that of Solomon: and then, upon the other hand, for the fact that many of the alleged Chaldaeisms are not really such; that many of the forms alleged to belong to the later Hebrew are gratuitously assumed; that the paucity of Hebrew remains

makes our knowledge of the language, in its different epochs, limited and uncertain; that Aramaeisms, so called, may be induced by the poetic character of a composition in the earliest periods, as well as by the deterioration of the language in a later period; and that there may be special reason for their occurrence in the writings of Solomon, from his intercourse with Phœnicians and Syrians, and his association with foreign wives. When proper allowance has been made for all these considerations, there will be no such force remaining in the argument, as can weigh against the stringent reasons which point to Solomon as the writer of this book, and which are mainly derived from the positive statements of the book itself, confirmed by uniform tradition, by its reception into the canon, and by the infallible sanction given to that canon by our Lord himself. When, however, an argument of genuineness is based on the assumption, that the poor and wise child who comes out of prison to reign, (iv. 13, 14,) means Jeroboam returned from Egypt, and the old and foolish king means Solomon, we fear that it is not at bottom much more reliable than Hitzig's fancy, that the king a child (x. 16) is Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was but five years of age when his father died, from which and similar grounds he concludes that this book could not have been written before B. C. 204.

The devout student of Ecclesiastes will find much in this volume that is interesting and instructive; and though the digressions are suffered to run to a greater extent than is ordinarily desirable in an exposition, it may perhaps on that account prove more acceptable to the general reader.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

E. Purdue, Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.

A. S. Patterson, A Commentary expository and practical on the Epistle to the Hebrews. 8vo. pp. 570.

P. Fairbairn, Prophecy viewed in respect to its distinctive nature, its special function, and proper interpretation. 8vo. pp. 542.

W. Gillespie, The Truth of the Evangelical History of our Lord Jesus Christ proved in opposition to Dr. D. F. Strauss. 8vo. pp. 200.

T. Smith, Zaphnath-Paaneah; or the History of Joseph viewed in connection with Egyptian Antiquities. 8vo. pp. 266.

J. W. Etheridge, Jerusalem and Tiberias; Sora and Cordova; a survey of the religious and scholastic learning of the Jews, designed as an introduction to the study of Hebrew literature. 12mo. pp. 507.

E. A. Litton, The Mosaic Dispensation considered as introductory to Christianity. 8vo. pp. 362. Bampton Lectures for 1856.

P. E. Dove, The Logic of the Christian Faith, being a dissertation on Scepticism, Pantheism, the *a priori* Argument, the *a posteriori* Argument, the Intuitional Argument and Revelation. 8vo. pp. 424.

J. Macnaught, The Doctrine of Inspiration, being an inquiry concerning the infallibility, inspiration, and authority of Holy Writ. 8vo. pp. 314.

A. P. Stanley, Sinai and Palestine in connection with their history. 8vo. pp. 580.

The History of the Church in the first three centuries, by Rev. J. J. Blunt, is in press.

C. M. Kennedy, The Influence of Christianity upon International Law. 8vo. pp. 158.

J. B. Marsden, History of Christian Churches and Sects from the earliest ages of Christianity. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 930.

J. B. Owen, Business without Christianity, with some statistics and illustrative facts. 12mo. pp. 34.

The fourth volume of C. Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire has appeared, and the fifth is announced.

Grote's History of Greece has been completed by the publication of the twelfth volume.

The fifth volume of Alison's History of Europe brings down the history of France to 1837, of Turkey and Greece to 1841, of England to 1834, and of Germany to 1848.

The seventh and last volume of the Life of James Montgomery is announced.

The "Diary of Luttrell," so frequently referred to by Mr. Macaulay, and which has so long remained in MS., is about to be published by authority of the University of Oxford. The MS. occupies seventeen volumes, in small thick quarto.

The Political Life of Sir Robert Peel, by Thomas Doubleday. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1036.

J. Wilson, The Lost Solar System of the Ancients discovered. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 961.

T. T. Meadows, The Chinese and their Rebellions. 8vo. pp. 656.

S. C. Malan, The threefold San-Tsze-King, or the Triliteral Classic of China, in English, with Notes. 8vo. pp. 78.

The late Samuel Rogers bequeathed to the British Nation three well-known pictures from his collection, the Titian "Noli me tangere," the Gorgione, a "small picture of a Knight in Armour," and the Guido "Head of Christ crowned with thorns."

FRANCE.

G. Meignan, The Messianic Prophecies of the Old Testament. 8vo. pp. 664. The Prophecies of the Pentateuch preceded by proofs of the authenticity of the books of Moses.

P. E. Baillif, The design of the Gospel of John. 8vo. pp. 38.

J. Berger de Xivrey, On the Text and Style of the New Testament. 8vo. pp. 168.

F. J. Biet, Historical and Critical Essay on the Jewish School of Alexandria. 8vo. pp. 352.

H. Vernet, Opinion upon certain relations between the dress of the ancient Hebrews and that of the modern Arabs. 8vo. pp. 24.

Abbé Guettée, History of the Church of France, from original and authentic documents. Vol. 12. 8vo. pp. 472.

J. Garnié, Dissertation on the Polemics of the Pagans in the fourth and fifth Centuries. 8vo. pp. 80.

Behr, Researches into the History of the Heroic Times of Greece.

M. Guizot, History of the Protectorate of Richard Crom-

well and of the Re-establishment of the Stuarts. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 960.

C. de Remusat, England in the 18th Century. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1076.

An important series of works, comprising a collection of the Latin inscriptions of the classic ages, has been commenced at Paris, at the expense of the French Government; the first, "Inscriptions Romaines de l'Algérie," by M. Léon Renier, will contain about 5000 inscriptions, which, with the letter press, will form two volumes in the largest quarto. The second collection, "Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule, antérieures au huitième siècle," by M. Leblant, is in print. The third series will include all Latin inscriptions of old Gaul to the sixth century. Upwards of 100,000 francs is annually expended upon this undertaking.

A Collection of old French Poetry, from the earliest periods, and extending to forty volumes, is about to appear under the authority of the French government.

The number of books, pamphlets, etc. published in France in the course of last year, in French, Greek, Latin, and other languages, was 8235; that of musical productions was 1105; and of engravings, lithographs, etc., 2857. The number of books and pamphlets was larger than has been known for the last forty-four years, with the solitary exception of the year 1825, when 8265 productions were brought out. The total number of printed publications in France, since the 1st of November, 1811, when a regular account first began to be taken, to the 31st of December last, was 271,994. In Russia, the number of works printed in 1854, was about 1300.

The works of Galileo have been published for the first time, complete in 15 volumes, edited by Professor Alberti.

GERMANY.

The only commentary which has reached us from Germany, since our last issue, is one on Malachi, by Dr. Laurenz Reinke, professor of theology and of the oriental languages in a Roman Catholic institution at Munster. 8vo. pp. 629. There have appeared from the same source, since 1851, four volumes of a somewhat miscellaneous character, entitled Contributions to the Explanation of the Old Testament, and at an earlier period (the first in 1836) three extended essays upon important messianic passages in Isaiah, and one upon Jacob's prophecy of Shiloh; all these are accompanied with the *imprimatur* of competent authority, giving assurance that they contain nothing contrary to the Catholic faith. Reinke is one of that class of

German Romanist theologians, whose acquaintance Protestants may cultivate with profit. Though diffuse and tedious, he is a man of learning, and in the battle with Rationalists and Sceptics, will be found always occupying the right ground. The only points where we must part company with him, are where the dogmas of his own Church are concerned—*e. g.* when he finds the unbloody sacrifice of the eucharist predicted, (Mal. i. 11.) Bade, the author of the Christology of the Old Testament; Welte, the editor and annotator of Herbst's Introduction, and the author of an independent defence of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, as well as other productions; Schegg, (bolder and more original in his views than the former,) the commentator upon Psalms, Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, and the Latter Prophets, may be mentioned as other representatives of the same class.

A second edition is publishing of Hävernick's Introduction to the Old Testament, revised by Professor Keil.

E. Meier has published a History of the Poetic National Literature of the Hebrews, (8vo. pp. 584,) which takes the palm for paradoxes and absurdities, even from his own previous productions. We presume no one will be in haste to infringe upon the right, which he ostentatiously reserves to himself, of translating the book into other languages. Our readers may judge how much they would be likely to learn on the subject of Hebrew poetry, from one who assigns the blessings of Jacob and Moses to the period of the judges; who alleges that the elegies over Saul and Abner are all that can with certainty be ascribed to David, though possibly one psalm, and part of another, and the song in Ex. xv. may be his; and that not a single proverb can with any confidence be attributed to Solomon.

C. H. Weisse, The Question of the Gospels in its present Stadium. 8vo. pp. 292.

W. Mangold, The False Teachers of the Pastoral Epistles. 8vo. pp. 135.

H. Messner, The Doctrine of the Apostles. 8vo. pp. 421. The author, who is only known to the public from his having revised a portion of De Wette's Commentary on the New Testament, and who is a follower of Neander and of Lücke, has undertaken to develope distinctly the forms of Christian doctrine presented by James, Jude, Peter, Peter's Second Epistle, (which is attributed to another,) Stephen, Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, John, and the Revelation, (which is held not to be John's.) Whatever propriety or advantage there may be in such discussions, under any circumstances, it is plain that erro-

neous views as to the authorship or genuineness of apostolic writings vitiate all conclusions from the start.

A new and cheap edition is publishing of Neander's Church History, in which the eleven volumes of the original edition will be comprised in two. The price is to be ten thalers.

Five volumes of Herzog's Encyklopædie have appeared, reaching to Hermeneutik. The work is to be completed in twelve volumes, the whole to be published by the close of 1859. The first number of the sixth volume contains an article on Hiob (Job) from the pen of Delitzsch, in which we see with pain that he denies the genuineness of the discourse of Elihu, and maintains that another passage though genuine has been removed from its proper place. It seems that the course begun in his commentary on Genesis is to be followed out in the rest of the Old Testament. The adoption of the principles of an unbelieving criticism by a believing interpreter is an experiment as dangerous as it is novel.

E. Nägelsbach, Hebrew Grammar. 8vo. pp. 248.

The Koran translated from the Arabic into the Hebrew by H. Reckendorf.

T. Nœldeke, De origine et compositione Surarum Qoranicarum ipsiusque Qorani. 4to. pp. 102.

Luther's Shorter Catechism was printed first at Wittenberg in 1529, then again in 1529 "enlarged and improved," and modified still farther in 1531. This last with some slight alterations chiefly in the texts of Scripture, which were made to correspond with Luther's own translation, continued to be the standard for all subsequent editions. Professor Harnack of Erlangen, has been for some time engaged in investigating the history of this catechism and collecting its oldest editions. He has published the results of his researches in The Shorter Catechism of Dr. Martin Luther in its primitive form. 4to. pp. 91. So far as is known, not a single copy of the first edition is now in existence. Professor Harnack, however, found two editions published at Erfurt and at Marburg, in 1529, which do not contain the additions of the second Wittenberg issue, and probably are reprints of the first. A Low Dutch translation was also found, which seems to have been freely made from the second Wittenberg. The treatise of Harnack contains an account of the various editions and their relations to each other, so far as this can now be ascertained, reprints of the Erfurt edition of 1529 with antique letters resembling the original, and of the second enlarged Wittenberg edition of 1529, with the lines though not the paging preserved, and a fac-simile of the Wittenberg edition of 1539.

Satires and Pasquils from the Times of the Reformation, edited by O. Schade, vol. i. pp. 245. A collection of the fugitive pieces and pamphlets, which constituted the popular polemics of the Reformation, on both the Protestant and Romanist sides. The present volume contains fifteen, some of them with very quaint and curious titles.

A. F. Pott, The Inequality of Human Races, principally from a philological point of view. 8vo. pp. 275. This is in reply to a work by the Duke de Gobineau bearing the same title, and takes earnest ground against its position that the white is the only historical race, and is by nature unconditionally superior to the yellow and black races, which therefore were designed to be for ever subject to the first as the dominant race. Besides the physiological and historical grounds on which the argument is conducted, special attention is devoted by the great etymologist to the languages of the various races, and to the mental capabilities and powers which their inner structure and organism infer, though from lack of favourable circumstances these may have remained undeveloped. Pott weakens his cause to a most unfortunate extent by his disbelief in the unity in origin of the human race. He inclines to the opinion that each continent originated a distinct race.

A new edition of Hesychius is to be issued at Jena, in from 16 to 20 numbers, to be completed within two years. The editor is M. Schmidt.

H. Brugsch, New Researches on the division of the ancient Egyptian year, followed by a memoir on the planetary observations recorded on four Egyptian tablets in the demotic character. 8vo. pp. 64.

The same distinguished Egyptologist has promised a work to be issued the present autumn, upon The Geography of Ancient Egypt and of contiguous countries, particularly Palestine, according to the ancient Egyptian monuments, for the first time collected, and compared with the geographical statements of the Holy Scriptures and of Greek, Roman, Coptic and Arabian writers. It is to consist of two quarto volumes and will cost about 25 thalers. The contents are given as follows, viz. Vol. I. Part 1. Ancient Egypt. 1. Egypt's situation and boundaries in the different epochs of its independent political existence in antiquity. 2. The nomes of Egypt according to the monuments, and its division into northern and southern. 3. The ancient Egyptian nomes according to the monumental lists in the different periods of the kingdom. 4. The deities of the nomes. 5. The principal cities of the nomes and their political and theological significance. 6. The other cities of

Egypt in lexical order. Part 2. The ancient world from the Egyptian point of view. 7. The neighbouring people and states in the south of Egypt. 8. The same in the north of Egypt. 9. Historical deductions from the geographical relations of Egyptian antiquity. Vol. II. Parts 1 and 2. Facsimiles of inscriptions from the monuments, illustrative of both parts of Vol. I. Part 3. Maps of 1. Egypt under the Pharaohs. 2. The ancient world according to Egyptian monuments. 3. Egypt under the Greeks and Romans. 4. Egypt with Coptic nomenclature. 5. The modern country.

De Wen, of Naples, is about to publish the second part of Fiorelli's important work on Pompeii, containing fac-simile copies of the inscriptions at Pompeii, as large as they actually exist.

Twelve newspapers and four reviews are now published in Constantinople. Twenty-four journals and reviews are published at Athens.

NOTE.

The Rev. Edwin Cater, of South Carolina, writes to us, that he thinks the remark made on page 581, of our last number, in reference to the debate on the "Corporation for the relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen," although his name is not mentioned, may be applied to him. As the views referred to are repudiated by Mr. Cater, he feels that injustice has been done to him, and asks "that reparation which is due." We know not how to make reparation for an injustice of which we were entirely unconscious, otherwise than by referring our readers, as he refers us, to his speech as reported in the "Presbyterian Magazine," for a correct exhibition of his opinions.

END OF VOL. XXVIII.