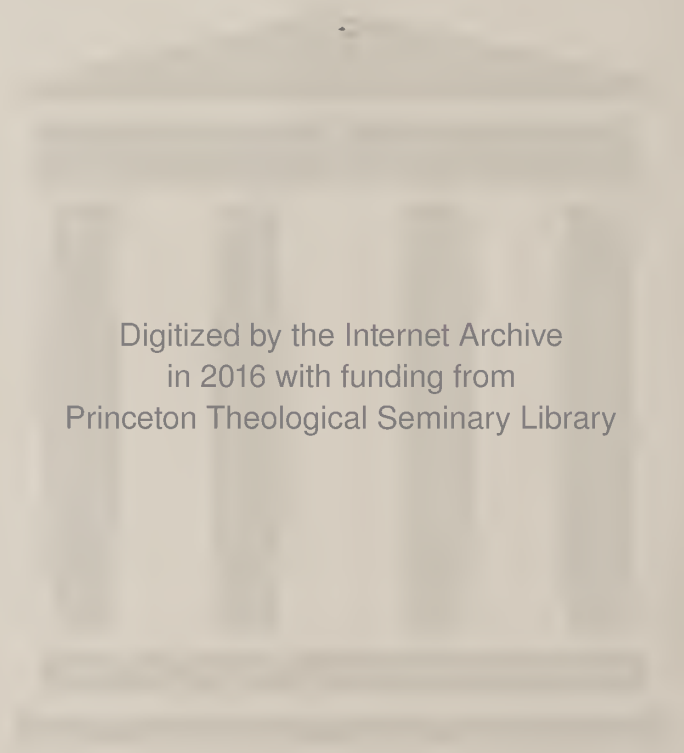

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ARTICLE I.—*A Half-Century of the Unitarian Controversy; with particular Reference to its Origin, its Course, and its prominent Subjects among the Congregationalists of Massachusetts.* With an Appendix. By GEORGE E. ELLIS. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. 1857.

THIS book deals with great topics. In form, it is an historic survey of Unitarianism, during the fifty years of its avowed existence, and distinct organic development, in New England. In substance, it is an elaborate and ingenious defence of rationalism, both abstract and concrete—as a principle, and in its actual workings and fruits among Unitarians and other parties in the Congregational connection. The principal chapters in the volume first appeared in a series of articles in the *Christian Examiner*, of which its author was editor. We have no doubt that their republication in this form was demanded by the general conviction of his brethren, that nothing could better subserve their cause. On nearly every page, we see the strategy of the dexterous polemic, familiar with the whole history of the conflict, the present position and attitude of his foes, and striking his keen and polished weapons, with consummate precision, at their tenderest points. He accomplishes much by his calmness, self-possession, and generally courteous and conciliatory style, which he seldom loses, except when he touches Old

Calvinism, or vents his impatience with his New School friends, for claiming to be (in distinction from the Unitarians) the only rightful successors of those Puritan forefathers, some of whose distinctive doctrines they so often in one breath apologize for, and in the next breath denounce. Indeed, so gracious is the tone, so sweet and delicious the decoction, in which he applies his caustic to this class, whom he treats now as allies, and now as foes, that they hardly suspect the poison until they feel its sting. His adulation is often so delicate and unctuous, that the progressive theologians, whom he makes alternately his friends and his adversaries, are scarcely conscious that the point of this two-edged sword has been pressed to the heart, until they find themselves faint from loss of blood.

This volume is significant in various ways. It is the most important and skilful contribution to Unitarian polemics which has appeared for a long time. The position of the author as editor of the chief organ of the denomination, and his recent elevation (as we are informed) to the Professorship of Theology in their divinity school, indicate that he is their recognized and trusted champion. The occasion of the work, and its special aim, also invest it with importance. It is occasioned by those "signs of conciliation" and reunion, which have been freely and gladly given and welcomed by certain parties, including the more "advanced minds" in both branches of the sundered Congregational communion. That some tendencies and foretokenings of this kind have appeared, is manifest to all competent observers. They have been hailed with delight by some, as signs of the conversion of Unitarians to orthodoxy. A large party, under the influence of this persuasion, have been fertile in devices to divest the ancient faith of the drapery in which the creeds present it, which they have conceived to be repellant to many Unitarians who were ready enough to embrace the substance of it. They have flattered themselves that it could be stripped of this repulsive dress, without sacrifice of its body and substance. Another class have feared that this promise of conciliation arises rather from the approaches of the New School party among the orthodox to Unitarianism, than from any retrocession among the Unitarians from their distinctive tenets; or rather their negation of the distinctive tenets of the Christian

faith. Liberal Christians too are not indifferent to the solution of these questions. How has their faith, or negation of faith, stood the test of fifty years' trial? Is the experiment a failure? Must they now make the humiliating confession, that the principles which ruptured their fellowship with the great mass of Congregationalists are vicious, and that the doctrines they so bitterly reviled and denounced are worthy of all acceptation? Or, on the other hand, as these two systems of doctrine have faced each other for two generations, has their own held its ground without wavering, and has the antagonist system been giving way and retreating before its assaults? And has this process been going on without any noteworthy accession of numbers to the Unitarian body, by a steady dilution of the theology current among their adversaries? Whichever doctrine any may espouse, these are questions of no slight interest, not only as they refer to the progress of truth and error in the ancient and honoured Congregational body, but as they touch the pride of success and consistency which is inbred in man. To the solution of these questions, Mr. Ellis devotes his strength in this work. In this line of inquiry, he brings out his subtle attacks of various severity, sometimes softened and disguised by felicitous compliments, upon various orders of antagonists, and types of obnoxious doctrine. He states his own purpose thus:

"Unitarianism stands in direct and positive opposition to orthodoxy on three great doctrines, which orthodoxy teaches, with emphasis, as vital to its system; namely, that the nature of human beings has been vitiated, corrupted, and disabled, in consequence of the sin of Adam, for which God has in judgment doomed our race to suffering and woe; that Jesus Christ is God, and, therefore, an object of religious homage and prayer; and that the death of Christ is made effectual to human salvation, by reconciling God to man, and satisfying the claims of an insulted and outraged law. Unitarianism denies that these are doctrines of the gospel, and offers very different doctrines, sustained by scripture, in their place.

"The rejection of these three orthodox doctrines, and the belief of those which Unitarians substitute for them, constitutes Unitarianism. All the rest of Christianity is common ground

between us and other denominations. On all other matters of Christian doctrine, a Unitarian may be in entire accordance with the general views of the orthodox, and yet be not one whit less a Unitarian. . . .

"Unitarianism defined a position in direct and complete antagonism to orthodoxy on these three points, and on no others. On these three points Unitarianism has resolutely held its ground, and intends to hold it firmly, and without a hair's breadth. Orthodoxy has been during the half-century, reconsidering its position as regards one or another of these three points, modifying, qualifying, and abating its dogmatic statement of its three primary doctrines.

"Now, if there has been any tendency to harmony and accordance of opinion, and reconciliation of differences between the two parties, it is to be referred either to a recognition of sympathies, and a common belief in the other doctrines of the gospel, in the realm of Christian truth and faith, which was not appropriated exclusively by the orthodox or by the Unitarians, or else to the fact that the orthodox have a better appreciation of the strength of our position, and of the dubiousness of their own position, on the three points of doctrine just stated.

"We propose in successive papers to deal with those three great doctrinal issues, and when we have disposed of these topics, we shall have to discuss a very important question relative to the proper view of the scriptures, and the mode of treating them, and of criticising and expounding them, so far as that question has entered into the controversy. We hope thus to gather some of the best fruits of a half-century of sharp but not unprofitable controversy between brethren," pp. 47–9.

This statement seems to us essentially just. Whoever denies the fall, the Deity of Christ, and his vicarious sacrifice for men, is, whatever else he may hold, a Unitarian. Nor have the Unitarians in the least relaxed the earnestness or firmness with which they cleave to this denial. There may be a few exceptional cases of men who adopt, in a vague and confused sense, some of the phrases of modern Pantheistic Sabellianism, somewhat after the fashion of Dr. Bushnell. Besides this, doubtless, all shades of opinion respecting the person of Christ exist among them, from pure Humanitarianism, to the high

Arianism of those who, like Mr. Ellis, freely term Christ a divine person, but most strenuously deny that he is God. It is also true that the Unitarian body, as our author freely confesses, has always included almost every variety of opinion on other topics. It is true that their cardinal and distinctive negations require, and quite uniformly produce, lax views of inspiration, in order to their vindication. It is also true that logical consistency, or if not this, a due *concinnity* of thinking and feeling, requires them to be sceptical and chary in regard to the doctrine of future and eternal punishment. This they generally explicitly reject, or treat with prudent reserve. In regard to divine influence in purifying the soul, some avow a vague belief in something of the kind, without defining precisely what they mean by it. Others believe only in the development and culture of human nature, by outward teaching and training. All gladly accept the ingenious formula of Professor Parke, "that the character of our race needs an essential transformation, by an interposed influence from God."

The facts of the case then are briefly: 1. That Unitarianism has its essence in the negation of the fall in Adam: the Deity of Christ; involving also the Trinity; and in vicarious Atonement. 2. Signs of conciliation and accord between the parties are beginning to be recognized. The question then arises, whence does this tendency to conciliation arise? In an advance among the Unitarians towards orthodoxy, or of the nominally orthodox, or parties among them, towards the Unitarian view of these subjects. This is the main question with which Mr. Ellis deals, and all other topics are auxiliary to this.

In meeting this issue, he finds occasion to deal chiefly with three classes of men indicated by their respective types of doctrine. These are 1st. the Old Calvinists, or such as abide by the ancient Reformed symbols, and especially the Westminster standards. 2d. New School men, a convenient and accepted designation of all grades of innovators upon these standards, who still remain in communions recognizing these standards. 3d. Unitarians. The strict adherents of the Old Confessions which once expressed the faith of New England Congregationalists, he considers as either extinct among them at present, or so few that they may safely be ignored. The great body of

the New England Congregational clergy out of the Unitarian ranks, he places among the different grades of the New School, who, with whatever circumstantial points of difference, agree in renouncing the propositions of the Confession relative to Original Sin, and Atonement; and are generally far enough from being tenacious of its phraseology regarding the Trinity. If the abundant protestations of many of their leading divines are to be trusted, he by no means overstates the general antipathy of the New England clergy to the Westminster propositions on these points. They glory in renouncing the form, while they claim that they retain the substance of doctrine set forth in these formularies. Now Mr. Ellis insists that it is against these *doctrines as set forth in these ancient formularies*, and not against something else, that Unitarians protested, and that for so protesting they were disowned. He insists further, that all the attempts of the New School to soften, apologize for, and recast them in less offensive forms, is a virtual endorsement of the Unitarian protest against them; while the attempt to retain the substance, with the offensive part eliminated, is and must be a failure. For it is against the substance, and not the mere garb of these doctrines that Unitarians recalcitrate. It is this that is odious and intolerable to them. And all the forms in which these advanced minds have put the substance of these doctrines, retaining it still intact, contain all *for substance* that was hideous in the rejected form. Their position has no advantage over the Old School in relieving orthodoxy of its terrors. It is incomparably inferior in vigour and consistency. Yet while it lacks the consistent strength of the old system, and retains its weak points, it is a protest against it, and therein a protest against itself, and a concession to, an advance towards Unitarianism. Hereon it merits and receives the profuse eulogies of Mr. Ellis, after he has exposed its suicidal weakness, and its serviceableness to his own cause.

Mr. Ellis's method will more fully appear, by tracing it in actual example. He of course begins with the topic of human corruption and ruin, which always affords the most convenient and available topic of declamation for those who wish to enlist the sympathies of men against the orthodox system. He quotes the articles on original sin, in the Westminster stand-

ards, which set forth the faith of the Reformed churches, are the avowed formularies of the leading Calvinistic bodies in this country, and not only are the professed, but the real faith of the New England churches, up to the time when Unitarianism began secretly to germinate among them. The elements of the doctrine here maintained are, the probation of the race in Adam; the consequent imputation of his sin to his posterity; the consequent conveyance of a nature corrupt, disabled, opposite to all good; liable, unless redemption supervenes, to all the miseries of this life, and to the pains of hell for ever.

Says Mr. Ellis, "This doctrine still stands, however, unchanged in word, unrelaxed in authority, in the formulas of Orthodox churches. Still is the repute of holding the faith of the Fathers claimed by those who are called Orthodox. . . . And this is the doctrine which Unitarianism rejected positively, and without qualification, concession, or tolerance; asserting that it is not taught in the Bible, but is utterly inconsistent with the teachings of that book; that it dishonours God by ascribing to him a method arbitrary, unjust, and wholly subversive of all righteous law; that it wrongs human nature, destroys moral responsibility, corrupts the Christian system, unsettles morality, and leads to infidelity and irreligion. This is the ground of opposition, and these are the terms of it which Unitarianism recognized at the opening of the controversy. Unitarianism has held its ground without misgiving or compromise, Unitarianism means to hold its ground—no more nor no less than its ground—on this matter of doctrine. Its courage and assurance and confidence have steadily increased, as it has realized its own strength and the weakness of its antagonist on this doctrine of the entail on all the human race, on account of the sin of one man, of a corrupted nature, which must work corruption in this life, and is sentenced to the pains of hell forever," pp. 66–7.

Such is a sample of the vituperation which the author constantly visits upon the scriptural doctrine of the fall of mankind, in the fall of their first parent and progenitor. We shall confront him on this subject, in connection with his own admissions, hereafter.

Meanwhile, let us examine his reckoning with the New School

men relative to the subject. They yield so far to these stereotype objections to the doctrine, as to adopt manifold expedients to soften its aspect, without, as they think, sacrificing its substance. They deny the federal and representative character of Adam, and the consequent imputation of his sin to his posterity, and echo the old Socinian cavils against them. Those are now few who deny imputation, and still retain the doctrine of native sinfulness, and exposure to suffering and death in punishment thereof. But while they deny all this, they assert such a natural sinless depravity of the moral constitution, as leads men to sin and sin only from the first exercise of moral agency, till they are converted to Christ. They further assert this to be in consequence of the fall of Adam; and yet that this depravity, innocent until it ripens into conscious acts of transgression, does not disable its subject for a perfect spiritual obedience to God, although it ensures the certainty that he will sin and only sin.

Now, here is an ingenious attempt to eliminate from the doctrine its unwelcome ingredients—imputation, hereditary sinfulness, and inability—and yet to keep the substance, viz. that men inherit from Adam a vitiated moral nature, which ensures that they sin to their utter and eternal ruin, until, through grace, they become new creatures in Christ. Will not this satisfy Unitarian and other objectors? Does it not clear away all their most troublesome objections? Not at all. Mr. Ellis will not allow that this modification of Calvinism "furnishes any essential relief of what are to us the unscriptural and revolting features of the system. . . . It leaves the outrage, which is inherent in Calvinism—of assigning to us a prejudiced start on an immortal career, of making human life a foregone conclusion at its commencement. . . . I cannot reconcile the statement that, in consequence of the fall of Adam, we come into existence *entirely depraved*, with the statement, that, though thus depraved, we are *justly* required to love God with *all the heart*, and are *justly* punishable for disobedience. How does the doctrinal belief affirmed in these two statements differ from the doctrine of the formula?" pp. 460–1. And in reference to the alleged ability to love God with all the heart, he asks, "Of what character or value must

be all the love of an entirely depraved heart? Is pure love, or the love of a pure object, possible to such a heart?" p. 461. Still further, in reference to the supposed relief afforded by asserting natural ability along with moral inability, he says, "There certainly is a real difference between a lack of *power* and a lack of *will* to do one's duty; but if the lack of *will* springs from a lack of *power to will*, or of a capacity of being influenced by the will otherwise than to disobedience, a moral want of will becomes essentially a natural want of power," p. 100. That is, if in asserting natural ability, they do not intend to destroy the substance as well as the form of the old doctrine of inability—if they hold to any real inability—they are still obnoxious to all the objections which lie against the old doctrine. For, according to this the inability, though natural and real, is none the less moral. If, on the other hand, they mean to destroy the substance of the doctrine, then they are on Unitarian ground.

This, then, is the true state of the case. The attempt to meet, evade, or silence the objections of Socinians and others to the doctrine of the fall, or to reconcile them in any manner to it, by the modifications of New Divinity, is an utter failure. Unless they renounce the doctrine, in any form or modification of it, however dilute, they neither silence, satisfy, nor attract them. Says Mr. Ellis, "The only modification of the dogma which will be explicit enough for us, will be an entire and honest renunciation of it." Why? Because so long as any substance of it is retained, so long it is bare to the objections, the prejudices, the intolerant aversion which this class of men bring to bear against the old or any other form of it. It may be safely affirmed that it has not contributed an iota to weaken the tendency to Unitarian thinking in New England. It may as safely be affirmed that it has done much to diffuse and invigorate it. It has endorsed and urged with violence the old Socinian objections to the doctrine of original sin as stated in the formulas of Reformed Christendom. The tirades against "propagated depravity," in the *Christian Spectator*, were no whit less vehement than the denunciations of Mr. Ellis, and were very much like them as to substance and form. They have therefore become powerful allies of the Unitarians in

witnessing against the doctrine. But since these objections lie "for substance" against the "substance of the doctrine" in any modification of it, so far as they lie against the doctrine of the Confession, all who employ them, so far forth, sanction and promote Unitarian thinking. And it is none the better, but all the worse, if this thinking has such ascendency in the Orthodox ranks, as to prevent all secessions to and consequent growth of the Unitarian body. It inures all the more to the benefit of Unitarianism. The distemper spreads with vastly more rapidity when it lives and flourishes in the Orthodox body, than if its diseased members should withdraw from it to the Unitarian sect.

So says Mr. Ellis: "All the modifications, abatements, and palliatives of which professedly Orthodox writers have felt compelled to avail themselves in dealing with their doctrine, have been of great service to Unitarians," p. 89. "They are of service to us as showing a constant uneasiness under any form in which the old doctrine has yet been presented, and as indicating how trifling a relaxation of its old terms will be welcomed as a comfort," p. 66. "We are ready to grant to the Orthodox the benefit of all the modifications of this doctrine which the most ingenious man among them is able to devise. But we must urge that these modifications all accrue to our side," p. 61. After all this, his compliments to their liberality, astuteness, and progressive spirit, are somewhat tantalizing, when he thus caps his climax: "The lamentable shifts and evasions and subtilties to which Orthodox theologians have had recourse during the last half century, in trying to evade the plain meaning of this article of their creed, are a scandal upon our whole profession. That we ought to expect a long and sad reckoning to be visited upon us in a widely diffused unbelief, a distrust of religious teaching, and a general and dismal sense of unreality about religious dogmas, is but a looking for a retribution, the tokens of which are too evident to be disputed." So the New School theologians are already charged with producing, by this tampering with doctrinal standards, that infidelity which they have been so ready with Unitarians to attribute to those standards as their legitimate fruit.

The principle that it was unjust in God to regard and treat

the race in Adam as its federal head, and so to reckon his sin to their account, and, on this ground, to abandon them to the corruption and misery in which we find them, as a judicial and penal visitation for that sin, has been a radical feature, not only of Unitarianism, but of New Theology, and New England Theology, amid whatever other variations from old Calvinism, these terms may have been employed to denote. It is adopted in the hope of removing objections, and conciliating favour to whatever residuum of the doctrine of human corruption may remain, after this and other attenuating processes. The question is, has it had this effect? or has not the obvious reach of the above principles, if valid, in proving it unjust that the race should be born corrupt at all, or begin existence with a "prejudiced start," been working its due effect, in producing utter unbelief in natural depravity, in the evangelical system, in the word of God, nay, in the rectitude, the justice, if not the being of God himself? Secret and silent tendencies usually first crop out into visibility, in the utterances of bold and audacious minds. Is it unfair to bring to view the public attitude of Dr. Lyman Beecher's children, male and female, on these subjects, as fairly indicative of the tendency of a general abjuration of the principle that the fall of the race is a penal visitation for the sin of its head and representative? We would be the last to hold a school, party, or communion answerable for the idiosyncrasies of individual members, unless these aberrations are clear logical deductions from the principles in which they have been trained. But considering the position of the father, as the once chosen champion of orthodoxy, with the weapons of New Divinity in the Unitarian metropolis, and considering the eminent rank of his children of both sexes, as preachers, teachers, and authors, who exercise a commanding influence in the non-Unitarian congregational body, we think it fair to notice their deliverances on these subjects as signs of the times, and way-marks of the course of improved theology. Years ago we found circulating, by the hands of Unitarians, in our own congregation, a tract against creeds and confessions, consisting of two sermons, preached at the dedication of a church in the West, by the Rev. Charles Beecher, and published by the *American Unitarian Association.* Of Mrs. Beecher Stowe's new anti-slavery

novel, Mr. Ellis says: "Those characteristic features of orthodox faith and piety, which have always been most offensive to Unitarians, receive from her hand a most scorching delineation." The Christian public have not yet forgotten the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher's unblushing avowal, that he had greater sympathy with such Universalists as Dr. Chapin of New York, than with "vinegar-faced evangelicals." Dr. Edward Beecher does excellent service to the cause of scriptural truth, by admitting and proving the undeniable facts in regard to the moral corruption and impotence of man. He has insight and candour enough to see that the old orthodox doctrine serves more fully than any New School modifications of it, to reconcile these facts with the justice and goodness of God. Yet he insists that it does not so reconcile them; and the moral character of God is defensible on no conceivable hypothesis, but that of the trial of all men individually in a preëxistent state. Thus he stakes faith in the goodness of God, in other words, Theism itself, on a theory which not one in ten thousand can adopt. The effect of abjuring the old doctrine with him, is either to compel belief in a visionary theory, or the denial of palpable facts, a fearful plunge towards Atheism. What relief then has come of renouncing the old doctrine of the formulas? But the celebrated Miss Catharine Beecher, in her latest work, brings us straight up to the goal toward which all this tends. She says, "The systems of theology in all the Christian sects, excepting a small fraction, teach that the mind of man comes into existence with a depraved nature; meaning by this a mental constitution more or less depraved."* "It being granted, then, that the mind of our race is depraved in its nature, of course the Author of this nature is responsible for this inconceivable and wholesale wrong. This forces us to the inevitable conclusion, that the Creator of mind is a being guilty of the highest conceivable folly, injustice, and malignity."† "The assumption that the constitution of mind is depraved, not only destroys the evidence of the Creator's wisdom and benevolence by the light of reason, but destroys the possibility of a credible and reliable revelation from him"!!‡ This will do. Every vestige of the doctrine

* The Bible and the People. C. E. Beecher, p. 282.
† Id. p. 283. ‡ Id. pp. 287–8.

of a corrupt nature is repudiated, in phrase the most intense and hyperbolical, in which hatred of it can be vented. And this method of dealing with the subject of depravity, is offered as an "illustrative example" of the method of dealing with other Christian doctrines in another volume. Indeed she informs us that she printed, but was dissuaded by friends from publishing, an octavo volume, years ago, in which these "principles of reason and interpretation" were applied to "theories on the character and atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ, where relief was first experienced by the writer."* Had the theory of Pelagius triumphed, she supposes that the "energies of the church would have been mainly directed to the right training of the human mind, in obedience to all the physical, domestic, social, and moral laws of the Creator." She complains that her schemes for educating women have met a cool and fatal reception, owing to the "indifference to the training of the habits of childhood, resulting from the long established dogma of a misformed mind, whose propagated incapacity is not within the reach of educational training." The inference is, and the whole tenor of her disquisition is to the effect, that there is no hereditary disorder in the human soul which education cannot cure, and which is not the result of wrong education. Thus she speaks of "the great change of character which wrongly educated mind must pass in order to gain eternal life," as if this were the only sort of mind needing such a change. Her abhorrence of the doctrine of native depravity seems to be greatly intensified, and indeed chiefly caused by the discouragement which she conceives it offers to effective moral education. This levels down the whole theory and practice of religion, to the lowest Unitarian standard. Yet we are glad to see enough of her early faith left, to extort the confession that without the aid of the Holy Spirit "success is hopeless," pp. 329–333.

Nothing more amazes us than the facility with which assailants of the high truths of Scripture, after having seemingly borne them down under a torrent of one-sided, spiteful vituperation, admit and assert what they boast of having annihilated. It seems after all, that there is a distemper in the

* The Bible and the People, p. 316.

human soul, which the Holy Ghost alone can cure. Is not this giving up the whole, and demolishing at a blow what she has zealously and toilsomely reared? Does this abate her zeal in the right training and nurture of children, or confidence in its utility and efficacy, under God? Not an iota. As well might it be said that it paralyzes all zeal in preaching the gospel, and the use of other means to save men. The fearfulness of man's ruin, the fact that Christian training and the foolishness of preaching have the promise of the Holy Spirit to render them effectual in rescuing him from it, are the grand incentives to energy and zeal in each of these spheres of Christian effort. Where do we find the most earnest and effective preaching, if not among the believers in human depravity? And does not Miss Catharine Beecher know that to-day Christian education, training, and nurture, are pursued with most vigour, patience, and success by that class of churches and parents, that accept, without the smallest misgiving, the *ipsissima verba* of those confessions and catechisms, which kindle her to such a furor of indignation? If not, she is ignorant of the most weighty fact, in reference to the whole subject on which she writes.

Having sufficiently considered the drift of the New Divinity towards Unitarian ground on the subject of the fall, we return to Mr. Ellis. What is his faith in regard to this capital point in theology? How will it endure the ordeal to which he subjects the orthodox system? How will he and his sect bear the same measure which he metes to others. Let us see. He tells us, "it can hardly be said that Unitarianism has fashioned any dogma of its own upon this point," p. 86. Indeed! It comes to destroy what faith we have in reference to our own estate by nature, which of necessity determines all our ideas of the requisites to our redemption, the entire Christian economy, and dares not take the responsibility of giving us any other, lest that should prove too frail to stand. If one summons us to forsake our dwelling, in which we and our fathers before us have been sheltered safely for ages, because it is insecure, we shall hardly respect the call, until he claims at least to offer us some other and safer refuge. We have little respect for a system, which is shown by all experience, and by the testimony of its advo-

cates, even Mr. Ellis himself, to be good for destruction but not for edification.

But if Unitarianism shirks, (Mr. Ellis will pardon a word which he applies to his adversaries) from taking any ground of its own, which will expose it to reprisals for the assaults it makes upon all others, it is nevertheless obliged to concede certain great facts which involve all the real difficulties at which it rails in the orthodox system, while it denies the relief afforded by that system. He says, "Unitarians do not affirm that human beings are born holy; nor that the original elements of human nature are free from germs which grow and develope, if unrestrained, into sin; nor that no disadvantage has accrued to all the race of Adam from his disobedience, and from all the accumulations of wickedness that have gathered for ages in the world into which we are introduced. Unitarians do not deny that all men are actually sinners, needing the renewing grace and forgiveness of God; dependent upon the gospel of Christ as a remedial and redeeming religion, and having no other hope than that which Christ offers. Unitarians do not deny the great mystery which invests sin and evil, nor profess to have any marked advantage over orthodoxy in looking back of that mystery and dealing with it," p. 55. Commenting on the narrative of the fall in Genesis, he says, "Adam's experience is representative of the experience of all human beings. We are created as he was. Human nature works in us as it worked in him. We sin as he sinned; we suffer as he suffered; we die as he died. We do not sin *because* he sinned, but *as* he sinned; *in like manner*, since we have a like nature. It would be invested with an unrelieved gloom to us, did not the narrative immediately connect with this typical representation of the workings of the experiment of humanity, the promise of continued aid, and of mercy, and blessing, and redemption from God," pp. 76–7. "Adam proved in his own case the result of the experiment made by God with the elements and conditions involved in the constitution of a human being. The result of the experiment in one case of course signified what would be its result in all cases. As Adam was a sinner and mortal, so all human beings are sinners, and all are mortals; *not because he was a sinner, but because they are all*

like him in their humanity. But is this nature of ours *corrupt* and DEPRAVED because it is *imperfect?*" p. 92. "Unitarianism does not deny the sinfulness of man, nor does it discharge that sinfulness of positive guilt, nor does it trifle with the consequences of sin, here or hereafter. Some of the most appalling admissions, and some of the most startling assertions as to the guilt and devastations of sin, are to be found in the writings of Unitarians," p. 88.

Reviewing these citations, they concede, 1. That all men are sinful and mortal. 2. That they are so ruined that there is no hope for them but in the "remedial religion" of the gospel of Christ, and the renewing grace and forgiveness of God. 3. That this sinful and ruined state results from "germs" in the original elements of human nature, which "grow and develope into sin." 4. That we sin, not because Adam sinned, but *as* he sinned, since we have a like nature; i. e. it is because of their *nature*—call it frail, imperfect, depraved, or what you will—that men thus sin. 5. That although the race sin, not *because* Adam sinned, yet they suffer disadvantage because of his sin. 6. That this state of facts would invest the subject with unrelieved gloom, were it not for redemption, which, however, it must not be forgotten, the Bible refers not to the justice, but to the grace of God.

The material points here conceded are not theories, but palpable facts; not dogmas of speculation, nor first learned from the Bible, but conspicuous in the whole state and history of man. They are facts with which any theory, Infidel, Socinian, Orthodox, New School, or Old School, must deal. The simple question is, how is it to be reconciled with the rectitude and goodness of God, that men should be born in a state which infallibly developes itself in sin, woe, and death? Evade and shuffle as they may, this is the real question which every system must face. The Reformed Theology accepts the scriptural solution of it, not because it relieves the subject of all difficulty, or does not leave it still in some aspects a profound and awful mystery; but, 1. Because God has declared it. 2. Because it affords relief as far as it goes. 3. Because it accords with the analogy of faith, in which the method of justification through the righteousness of the second Adam corresponds to our con-

demnation, on account of the sin of the first Adam. Rom. v. 12–21. 4. Because every other explanation shrouds the subject in still more appalling difficulties. 5. Because the arguments against this view, as seemingly inconsistent with the goodness and justice of God, bear with more crushing weight upon every other theory set up in its place, to account for the universal depravity of our race.

The solution is simply this: The race is not born in its normal unfallen state. Originally, in the person of its progenitor and representative, God made man upright, in his own image. Now it is abandoned to sin and misery. This abandonment is not only the consequence, but the penal consequence of Adam's sin committed while they were on trial in him as their representative. On this view, the race had a probation under the most favourable circumstances for ensuring a happy result. In that probation it failed, it sinned. Its abandonment to sin and misery is the penalty of that sin, reckoned and treated judicially as the sin of the race. This accounts for the present corruption of man, not by attributing it, like Mr. Ellis, to the normal nature originally given him by his Maker, irrespective of Adam's sin; nor, like the New School and New England theologians, to the mere sovereignty of God making this fall and ruin of the race the effect of Adam's sin, without any imputation of that sin to them; but it makes so fearful an evil a penalty for sin committed while on trial in the person of their federal head. Mr. Ellis follows Dr. E. Beecher in asserting that the fifth chapter of Romans teaches nothing of this sort, but only that Adam was a type of his race. All his descendants sin and die, just and only as he sinned and died. But to deny that it asserts that Adam's sin is somehow the cause of man's sin, is a blind shift of sheer infatuation, worse by far than the evasions he charges upon his New School brethren. He might as well say that the Westminster Confession, or that this journal, does not assert it. It is so asserted and implicated with the whole passage, that no considerable portion of those disposed to get rid of the doctrine, and ready to impeach the apostle's inspiration for this purpose, have ventured to attempt it. It not only asserts that sin and death came upon all men "by one man," (Adam,) "through the

offence of one," "by one that sinned," "by one man's disobedience;" it also asserts that it was by virtue of judgment and condemnation therefor: "The judgment was by one to condemnation," (*κρίμα εἰς κατάκριμα,*) and "upon all men to condemnation." There is no escaping the plain meaning of these terms. They indicate that the condition of our race has come by way of judgment and condemnation for the sin of its head. This implies that he acted not merely for himself, but representatively. So much light, and no more, the Scripture gives us in reference to the cause of the awful fact which none can dispute. We do not pretend that it clears away all the clouds and darkness which shadow this appalling subject.

But is it not something that our dire estate is an infliction for sin, committed during a probation allotted under the most favourable circumstances, by the benevolent appointment of God? Is not this more consonant with our natural sense of justice, than to refer it to the mere sovereignty of God, either in the manner of our original creation, or in making the fall consequent on the sin of the first man, although he was in no sense our representative, and we had in no sense any probation in him? Is it asked, by what right Adam was made our representative, and empowered to shape our condition without our agency? By what right is a parent empowered to represent his children and determine their fortunes without their consent? How, under the government of a righteous God, are monarchs empowered to plunge their subjects into the horrors of war, without their consent? The fact is, whether we can answer such questions or not, if they are valid against the federal headship of Adam, they are valid for a great deal more. They end in Atheism. These topics bring us all to heights and depths of the divine wisdom, which outreach all human ken. Does not Mr. Ellis find it so? Does he not find himself compelled to retreat to this refuge of mystery on this subject, and expose himself to the reproaches he pours upon old Calvinists for doing it? Let him speak for himself: "Like all other classes of Christians, like all other serious thinkers, we are baffled by the original moral mystery involved in the existence or allowance of evil in the universe of God. The solution of that mystery would be an essential condition of any full and complete doctri-

nal formula, as to the source of sin in man's heart and life; but before that mystery we bow in bewildered amazement, and with an oppressed spirit which cannot look for relief in this stage and scene of our being." p. 86. But, a statement in this journal, to the effect that this class of topics do not admit of philosophical explanation, that they cannot be dissected and mapped off, so as that the points of contact and mode of union with other known truths can be clearly understood, and that the system which Paul taught was "not a system of common sense, but of profound and awful mystery," he pronounces a "confession that the old theology and *good* metaphysics cannot be reconciled." p. 372. This is only a specimen of the blind unconsciousness, that the blows which he levels at others rebound against his own system, which pervades the book. If the avowal of one, that his doctrine terminates in mystery, is a confession that it cannot be reconciled with good metaphysics, is not that of another? "Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest. For, wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself. For thou that judgest, doest the same thing."*

As Mr. Ellis has spent his greatest strength on this most available topic of declamation against orthodoxy, so his other topics will bear a more rapid and summary treatment at our hands.

In regard to the Trinity and Incarnation, amid some elegant platitudes, we discover little bearing against them, but the common-places of Socinian argument. As the New School and New England theology has attempted no material modification of these doctrines, he has no occasion for his tactics in regard to its adherents, in treating them, although he loses not his opportunity to make what he can of Dr. Bushnell's position or want of position in the premises. The sum of his objections is the confounding and incomprehensible nature of these truths.

* "It is astonishing that the mystery which is farthest removed from our knowledge, (I mean that of the transmission of original sin,) should be that, without which we can have no knowledge of ourselves. *It is in this abyss that the clue to our condition takes its turns and windings, insomuch that man is more incomprehensible without this mystery, than this mystery is incomprehensible to him.*" Pascal, as quoted in McCosh on Divine Government, p. 67.

"It sets us into the frame into which we fall, when any one proposes to us an enigma or conundrum." Christ's "prayers must be construed into soliloquies: his deeds of power must be referred to himself, and his professions of dependence to one element of that self, speaking of another element in the same self." This is of a piece with most of his difficulties. Does he not know that, be the doctrine true or false, *self* represents personality, and that when Christ is addressing his Father, *another self* in the Godhead, he is not addressing *his own self?* This kind of cavil therefore is founded on sheer misrepresentation, or misconception of the doctrine so impugned. Mr. Ellis knows full well, that his system stands or falls with the Deity of Christ. If Christ be God, he will not deny that he is a person distinct from the Father, and that God is one being in essence. This gives us one God in two persons at least, which involves all the difficulties of three. He of course denies that his Deity is taught in the Scripture. As in other denials of this sort, he expects us to rely for the most part on his own unsupported assertion. He indeed applies some small rationalizing criticism, to a few leading proof-texts. The first sentences of John's Gospel are dispatched with the following paraphrase: "In the beginning was Christ, and Christ was with the Father, and Christ was the Father. That will not do. In the beginning was Christ, and Christ was with the Trinity, and Christ was the Trinity. Neither will that do." This is a sample of the manner in which he disposes of such scriptural proofs as he chooses to notice, that our Saviour is God, blessed over all for evermore. But he soon halts. He says, "we have no heart for going through this unnatural, this offensive task of tracing the windings of this textual ingenuity, or of answering its characteristic results." We have as little heart for threading the turns of a Pickwick criticism, which might quite as readily obliterate these doctrines from the Thirty-nine Articles, as from the Bible. Most of their force is derived from that radical misconception which confounds the Three Persons with the One Substance of the Godhead, to which we have already referred—although he shows himself not ignorant of the constant affirmation of the orthodox, that they hold the Godhead to be one in one sense, three in another; one as to substance, three as

to persons. If it be objected, that distinct created persons are always distinct beings, are all distinct created beings persons? And if not, who has proved or can prove that the element in any created person, which constitutes his self-hood or personality, may not have a threefold existence in the Divine Immensity? It is easy for Mr. Ellis to say, as he is very apt to do, when obliged to face undeniable and unwelcome distinctions which he is disposed to ignore, this is obscure, shadowy metaphysics. No cardinal truth ought to be obliged to take refuge in such tenuous distinctions. He might as well say it of the eternity, or omnipresence, or infinitude of God, which though in some sense apprehensible by us, still exceeds the grasp of finite minds. The doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, like much else in God, are high mysteries. They are not contradictory or absurd. No man more freely brandishes the weapons of logic and metaphysics against his adversaries. No one more frequently complains of their using the same weapons offensive and defensive, or oftener makes his own retreat in the mystery; while he denies that retreat, or allows it grudgingly to them. He counts much on the extraordinary claim, that the Scriptures nowhere demand or allow the worship of Him, whom all are required to honour, even as they honour the Father, and who hath a name above every name, at which every knee shall bow, and tongue confess!

But what he relies on with most confidence evidently is, that the entire doctrine of the Trinity cannot be adequately expressed in any single text, and so requires a human formula embodying the meaning of a number of texts. He says: "My critic must have sadly underrated the importance which I attach to the Unitarian objection to the Trinity above announced, if he supposes he can evade its force so easily and dogmatically as he has essayed to do. We boast that our scriptural faith can express itself in explicit, ungarbled, positive, and emphatic sentences of Scripture. . . . We object to Trinitarianism, and the objection never has been fairly met, and never can be fairly met, . . . that it presents to us . . . a dogma for which it cannot quote a single comprehensive text," p. 464. Is not this pitiful in a man of his parts and accomplishments? Does he pretend to say that he can utter his

whole belief about God in any single text of Scripture? If so, it must be more negative than he would admit, or than the most extreme Trinitarian polemic has charged. That the Scriptures assert the unity of God he contends with us. That they assert the Father to be God he contends with us. That they set forth the Father and Son as distinct persons he also maintains. He says they exhibit Christ as divine, but not as God. Nearly the whole Christian world say that they exhibit him as divine, *because* they exhibit him as God. They also say that the Bible represents the Holy Spirit as God, and ascribes to him personal properties and acts, as truly as to the Father and the Son. The question is not just here, whether, in all this, they interpret the Scriptures aright. But on the supposition that they do—that these several truths are set forth, as we hold they are, not merely figuratively, but literally, manifoldly, and didactically, not together in any one passage, but separately in a vast number of passages, do they not teach the Trinity? As well might it be claimed, that because the word Christianity is not found in the Bible, the various truths comprehensively designated by it are not there; or that, because no one text declares, in so many words, that God is holy, wise, just, good, omniscient, and omnipotent, therefore these attributes do not express Bible doctrine concerning God. The confidence of our author in the invincible character of this plea, is our apology for honouring it with so much attention.

Mr. Ellis of course makes the most of those expressions which exhibit Christ as inferior in any regard to the Father, and which are founded, 1. on his filial relation; 2. on his official subordination; 3. on his humanity, in order to impugn his co-equal Divinity. But all these, as we see from the very statement of the case, arise from causes perfectly consistent with that co-equal Divinity. After thus attempting to destroy confidence in the orthodox doctrine, what does he offer us in its place?

He tells us that it is "matter for thought, serious and perplexing thought," and that men "will find themselves led to speculate towards different conclusions." This leaves scope for what actually exists among Unitarians, every variety of opinion from Arianism to mere Humanitarianism. Mr. Ellis

espouses the former. He says, "we can tell them that our doctrine gives to us the same God whom they worship, and another being—yes, a Divine Being besides." "The pointing upwards to the one who is *Highest* as the only one who is *higher*, distinguishes Christ alike from Deity and from humanity. The universe of being is to us enriched by an additional being, through the view which we entertain of Christ. The awful vacuum between the loftiest partakers of angelic natures and the Supreme, has now a radiant occupant, who fills the whole of it," p. 142. He represents him as one to whom God has delegated and imparted his own infinite properties save self-existence, "the sharer and almost equal in essence with the Supreme!" p. 147. Of course he claims to derive these views from the Scriptures. Himself being judge, then, the Scriptures do teach that Christ is a "divine being, infinite, the *sharer* and almost equal in essence with the Supreme." This is enough. If they teach that he shares the divine essence, they teach that he is God, and they teach this *because* they teach that he is God. Or in teaching this, do they teach that he is a mere creature? Mr. Ellis and his sect may believe so. The Christian Church never has, and never will.

Moreover, the Bible sets forth the true and proper manhood of Christ, in the most varied forms of representation. Mr. Ellis will not deny this. If then he was also a "divine being," have we not here a union of two natures, a human and divine, in his one person? Without worming our way through his specious sophistries in regard to the mystery of two natures in Christ, we leave him to rescue his own theory from the web he has woven for himself as well as others.

The doctrine of Atonement next falls under review. Here the author takes in hand the old scriptural doctrine of the creeds, the New School governmental theory, and compares them with each other, and with the Socinian. He of course felicitates himself on the protest which the governmental theory makes against an atonement truly vicarious. This he thinks inures to the benefit of Unitarianism. Yet it affords no substantial relief. It contains all the real virus of the old doctrine; and so far as it retains the substance of that doctrine, is obnoxious to the objections, which, with suicidal hand, it hurls against it.

The scriptural doctrine is perfectly plain. That Christ died, the just for the unjust, as bearing their sins, (which always means bearing the punishment of such sin, and is the only way in which an innocent person could bear it;) that he thus became sin, became a curse for us; that he thus bought, purchased, redeemed us from the curse of the law, and the bondage of Satan, to the lost rank and franchises of the sons of God; that herein he offered himself without spot *to God* as a sacrifice for our sins; that thus God is just while justifying the ungodly, and accepting us in the Beloved, is plainly and manifoldly taught in the Bible. This view of the redemptive effect of the death of Christ, accords with all the correlate scriptural representations of the method of salvation by grace, and gratuitous justification by faith. It signifies all that is uttered in these sentences of the Confession, against which, Mr. Ellis informs us, the Unitarian "protest is raised; 'Christ underwent the punishment due to us;' 'enduring most grievous torments immediately from God in his soul;' 'he hath fully satisfied the justice of God,' and he hath purchased reconciliation." The radical idea lying underneath all these forms of statement is, that the justice of God demands the visitation of evil upon sin, either in the sinner's own person, or that of an accepted substitute; and that Christ is such a substitute for believers. This revolts those who estimate the demands of eternal justice by the capricious standard of human sympathy, and who make God, if not altogether, quite too much, like themselves. They say that it imputes undue severity to the Most High, to attribute to him an unwillingness to forgive the penitent sinner, without exacting suffering from an innocent being in his stead. It is "barbarous and vindictive," according to these men. We venture to say, however plausible such pretensions may be, that the conscience or moral faculty is a surer guide than all sentimental speculations. And the conscience of man makes sinners to "know the judgment of God that they which commit such things are worthy of death;" and still further, as the sacrifices of every nation have testified, that it is suitable to God's character to require some sacrifice in expiation of sin, as the condition of its forgiveness. The force of this fact is not to be blunted by "charging us with confounding the purest and holi-

est element of the gospel with the most hideous element of heathenism," and by saying, "we utterly and almost indignantly reject the dreadful fancy," pp. 210–11. These men say that the idea that God cannot, without breach of his perfections, pardon the penitent unless their sin is expiated by sacrifice, revolts the instinctive ideas of perfect goodness in the human mind. We say that all fact proves the universal intuitive judgments and instinctive feelings of the human race to be just the opposite. It shows that when stricken with a sense of sin, they feel that a just God must inflict a penalty. The small sect of Socinians, who have speculated, "educated," cultivated, or refined themselves out of this belief, form only such an exception as proves the rule. This intuitive judgment may be perverted, as it is, like other intuitive principles, in the abominations of heathenism. But it is none the less universal. So all moral judgments are variously perverted and misapplied by heathen blindness. Is it not fair and conclusive to urge against the coterie of speculatists who urge that there is no intrinsic difference between virtue and vice, that all mankind believe in and act upon such a difference, however they may err in its use and application? At all events, is it not conclusive against those who may allege that such a theory outrages our intuitive beliefs?

In order to retain the substance of the doctrine of vicarious atonement, and, at the same time, evade this rationalistic objection to it, the governmental theory was advanced by the younger Edwards, and is a constituent element of the New School and New England theology. Instead of referring the necessity of the atonement to the justice of God, considered as the attribute which renders to each one his due, this theory refers it to state reasons, reduces it to an expedient for maintaining good government, and so promoting the greatest happiness of the universe. This regard to the general welfare, it styles general justice, and says that this was satisfied by the death of Christ, but that distributive justice, which is justice in the strict sense, was not thus satisfied. This general justice is sustained by the death of Christ, because that is such an exhibition of God's righteousness and abhorrence for sin, as is fitted to restrain transgressors who might otherwise be emboldened in sin, by the free pardon

of penitents; while it is also such a manifestation of his love as is fitted to win the hearts of men. This is supposed to obviate the charge of vindictiveness in God, who, according to the old system, will exact suffering at the demand of justice; while, according to this, it is inflicted solely from benevolence, because it conduces to the welfare and happiness of the universe. They also suppose that it evades the baseless objection which they join Socinians in charging against the old scheme, viz. that it makes the justification of the sinner a matter of debt, and not of grace, inasmuch as his punishment has been borne by Christ, his substitute: as if grace were any the less grace, because it "reigns through righteousness." This scheme Mr. Ellis justly treats as the accepted doctrine of the great body of his Congregational adversaries. He turns it to the utmost account, as giving sanction to Unitarian objections against vicarious atonement, while yet it retains the substance of all that displeases his party in that doctrine, so long as it attempts to retain the substance of the doctrine itself. It after all holds forth God as a being who will not forgive the penitent, without, as Dr. Bushnell says, having his "modicum of suffering somehow." Just here lie the whole point and stress of their repugnance to the old doctrine. Moreover, turn the matter as we will, by any rationalizing process whatever, suffering inflicted in vindication of law, and in manifestation of righteousness, for offences, whether upon the person of the offender, or a substitute for him, is undeniably penal. This is so true, that the governmental school are constantly sliding into the use of the word *penalty*, in reference to the sufferings of Christ, in spite of themselves. Mr. Ellis therefore gives the following summation of this doctrine, and then proceeds to impugn it, simply as possessing the obnoxious feature of every theory of atonement, which regards it as requisite that the sufferings of Christ should be rendered to God, in order to open the door for the pardon of penitents:—

"First, that suffering of an intense character must in some form or shape be suffered by the guilty or the innocent, as a tribute to the violated law of God, and that mercy cannot possibly remit this penalty without making grace overthrow righteousness.

"Second, that the death of Christ, by a method and in a compound nature, which so intensified, (and rendered them of infinite worth, *Rev.*,) as to make them an equivalent for the eternal woe of a doomed race of human beings, is *looked upon by God* as offering to him and to his law that needful penalty," pp. 204–5.

His arguments against the vicarious character of our Redeemer's sufferings are for the most part self-answering. He denies that a text can be found from Genesis to Revelation which teaches either of the foregoing principles. He admits, however, that by a skilful combination of different texts, "a marvellous show of authority may be claimed for the theory." He is daring enough to assert that the Jewish sacrifices were "complete in themselves," and were subordinated in no single instance to another prospective sacrifice, p. 178. As in the case of the Trinity, he exaggerates in itself, and in its importance, the difficulty of making a complete, formal statement of all the elements of the doctrine, in any single scriptural phrase, p. 198. He objects that it fetters the free sovereignty of God, to say that he is hindered from exercising mercy, unless his justice be satisfied. Is God's sovereignty indeed impaired because he cannot deny himself, or be false to his own perfections, or stain his purity—because it is impossible for him to lie or commit injustice? As to objections which are mere matters of taste or sensibility, or are due to soft Unitarian culture, they need no separate statement or refutation. The tenderest affections of the Church have ever gathered around Him, who then became a curse for us, and in "most grievous torments immediately from God upon his soul," exclaimed, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!"

Mr. Ellis takes courage from the protest which the governmental theory offers against an atonement strictly vicarious, as evincing a rationalistic movement from the ancient New England faith towards the opposite scheme. "The fluctuations and turnings down of doctrine which have reached that form of doctrinal statement are not likely to stop with it. If with due modesty we may intimate a conviction which the tendencies of thought, with some recent striking examples of the result of those tendencies, lead us to hold in strong assurance, we will

say that this legal view of Christ's death must and will yield to a profounder Christian philosophy," pp. 198–9. We feel constrained to add that the case of Dr. Bushnell is a painful illustration of the ground which our author had for these observations. We observed, while his case was before ecclesiastical tribunals, that while he, like Mr. Ellis, put the old doctrine and the governmental scheme in the same condemnation, he triumphantly appealed to his antagonists who held the latter, and silenced them. He said, in effect, you hold that the efficacy of Christ's death lies not in its being a direct substitutional offering to satisfy divine justice, but an expedient to promote reverence for God's law among his creatures. You indeed hold that it accomplishes this result, by taking the place directly of the sinner's punishment. What if I say it accomplishes this result in another way;—that by teaching, example, or a mysterious agency of some sort, it causes the law to be reverenced and honoured? One of his chief apologists was reported in the journals as saying, when his case was last agitated before the General Association of Connecticut, that New School men could hold no front against him. Those who would withstand him must take Princeton ground. We have never yet seen this reasoning refuted.

But if this scheme strengthens Unitarianism, by breaking down the defences against it, it is nowise more palatable to Socinians, than the formula of the Confessions. They cherish the same radical, invincible hostility to every view which "regards the death of Christ as looking God-ward for its efficacy." They "reject it in heart and faith, unreservedly and earnestly as a heathenish and unchristian doctrine," p. 190. Says Mr. Ellis, "the essential token of the Calvinistic or orthodox scheme in this doctrine, whether characterized as a covenant between the Father and the Son, or centering upon the word *vicarious* or *satisfaction*, or planting itself on the govermental theory, is, that the efficacy of Christ's death works by its operation upon God, or some attribute of God, or upon some abstract difficulty in which he is involved by the laws of the government he has himself established. Orthodoxy interposes a law between God and man which mercy cannot relax, but which only a victim can satisfy. God can freely forgive, but

his law cannot freely remit a penitent offender. The essential token of the Unitarian scheme is, that the whole operation of Christ's mediatorial death is upon the heart, and life, and spirit of men. We cannot confound or merge this distinction. It reaches deep, it rises high," pp. 190–1. Neither can we. And here as well as elsewhere we must part fellowship. Our faith is, first of all, that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures.

Mr. Ellis does not even allow that these New School men, who retain the substance of the orthodox doctrine of Atonement, afford any real relief in regard to its extent. The Old School "maintain that Christ's death is of service only to those whom he actually saves. The advocates of an unlimited Atonement come, in fact, to the same result; for they teach that though all have the offer of salvation through Christ, though all are called by him, yet that the renewing work of the Holy Spirit which alone can dispose the sinful heart to avail itself of this offer, is wrought only upon the heirs of salvation. . . . The atonement is *suf*ficient for all; but it is *ef*ficient only for a portion of our race. What then is the difference in the real substance of the matter between these two orthodox parties as to a limited or unlimited atonement? Nothing at all." p. 333.

After discussing the three cardinal points which divide the Unitarians from the orthodox, our author treats, in successive chapters, of Inspiration, of Reason and Faith, and of the New Theology. These call here for only cursory notice. He says that such discussions "involve sooner or later an incidental controversy upon the authority of Scripture, and the right principles of its interpretation." How are we to account for this undeniable fact? Why do the laxer party always find it necessary to attenuate the infallibility of the Scriptures, and thus impair their authority as a Rule of Faith? The most anti-Calvinistic side in such controversies are always busy in weakening the absolute authority of Scripture. Would they be so deeply interested in achieving this result, if they felt sure that the Bible gives no countenance to orthodox doctrine? Would Mr. Ellis have laboured out his toilsome pages in this behalf, had he been sure of what he constantly asserts, that

the orthodox doctrines on the Fall, the Trinity, and the Atonement, are not contained in the Bible? We think that the conduct of the various parties in controversy relative to these doctrines, is among the surest tokens of what the Scriptures teach the unsophisticated reader in regard to them. He stigmatizes the view current before the appearance of Unitarianism, as an "almost idolatrous estimate of the Bible." He pronounces "the old doctrine of the plenary inspiration and consequent infallibility of the written word," a "discomfited and discredited superstition," pp. 374–5. The Book of Job, the Song of Solomon, the imprecations of the Psalms, minor apparent discrepancies or other incidental difficulties in both Testaments, are made to perform their accustomed service. Stuart, Jewel, Stanley, Alford, Davidson, and others nominally in orthodox ranks, who have, in any particulars given their adhesion to the rationalistic view of interpretation, are also summoned to his aid. He says, "the American Unitarian Association has now in preparation a commentary and exposition of the New Testament. Such a work, covering both Testaments, might be made to the perfect satisfaction of our fellowship, every line of whose necessary comments and dissertations should be compiled from nominally orthodox volumes," p. 233. Such orthodoxy must be quite nominal, we fancy, so far as the compilation is anything more than a string of garbled extracts. The following is a sample of the confidence which he in various ways displays in regard to large portions of Scripture. "I am not prepared to admit that Moses was inspired to serve as an amanuensis for a Personage, who, if he has half the power that has been attributed to him, was abundantly able to keep his own records, without taking into his disloyal service a penman previously engaged for a worthier Master," p. 509. The animus of this and much more the like, puts it beyond comment. But what does he offer us in place of the "discredited superstition" which he boasts that "nominally orthodox" men have conspired with his own party to break down? After telling us that Unitarians "insist upon their belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures," he says, "they have never given a rigid dogmatical definition of their idea or belief on this point, because the very conditions of their

case prevent their doing so. Again do we have to admit vagueness and indefiniteness into our creed," p. 251. This is certainly prudent. A position which is no position at all, is quite beyond assault. But if he cannot give us an idea of the inspiration of the Scriptures, he has given us his idea of what it is not. And this is enough utterly to subvert their normal divine authority over the minds and consciences of men. It leaves each one free to reject and interpret the Bible according to his own predilections, as to what it ought to teach.

This is the substance of what he maintains in another form in the chapter on Faith and Reason. His ground is simply, that we can receive nothing as taught of God, which does not accord with our notions of what he ought to teach: "One, at least, of the conditions of securing the acknowledgment that God has said or revealed what claims our belief as from him, is, that we can believe it of him. If we cannot believe it of God, we cannot admit it to have come from him," p. 294. This is a very simple provision for getting rid of the fall in Adam, the Trinity, Incarnation, vicarious Atonement—whatever else may be unwelcome to Socinians, though ninety-nine hundredths of all who call themselves Christians have found themselves enabled to believe them, and multitudes have sealed their faith in them by their blood. Mr. Ellis is discerning enough to see the necessity to thoughtful and devout minds, of something that has an authority beyond their own faculties: "A religion which is to satisfy a thoughtful, earnest, and devout person, must have authority over, and above, and outside of his own thinking and reasoning powers, his own guesses or fancies, his own knowledge or wisdom," p. 336. This is plain enough. It is not, however, so plain how this is possible, with his views of the inspiration and normal authority of the written word. It is plainly impossible on such a theory.

The following, which reminds us of Mr. Beecher's "vinegar-faced evangelicals," is advanced as explaining how and why orthodox communions are not pleasing and attractive to the young: "The young know very well that there are some exceedingly hard, uninteresting, and forbidding members among the foremost in such communions—sour-visaged, scandal-loving, morose old women, and men whose sharpness at a bargain proves

that the eye opened upon another world has lost none of its keenness for this. The exercises which engage these fellowships in their meetings have often a clammy or sombre character, a grim and dreary aspect to the young. And so the 'vestry' assemblages for conference, held generally in the cellar of a meeting-house, draw together for the most part those who have long shared the privileges there offered. The young are not attracted by a religion which makes such an exposition of itself and its prominent disciples," p. 341. How does this abusive and wicked caricature, which has a stronger savour of infidel ribaldry than of the chair of Christian Theology, consist with the following confession in the midst of an attempt to account for defections from Unitarianism? "Young girls there have been and are—and unless there is more fidelity in our churches and families in the work of robust religious training for the minds and souls of the young, there will be many more of that most interesting class in our community to imitate the catching example—who have found the faith, or rather, we ought to say, the mode of worship, and the creed of their parents, ineffective for their *feelings*. Our communion, though small, has been free, and we have done so little in the work of *indoctrinating* a new generation, that we have no right to suppose that even half of those nominally with us, have really any decided faith." Faint then as are the attractions of orthodox piety for the young, it seems that those of Unitarianism are still more so for many serious young females, and are likely to be still fainter, unless their spiritual guides more thoroughly indoctrinate them. Indoctrinate them in what? That they are not fallen in Adam, that there is no Trinity, no Incarnation, no atoning sacrifice for guilt, no plenary or definable inspiration of the Scriptures, and such like negations? What can be taught them by those who cannot "define their own creed"? The longer they are indoctrinated in these negations, the less will serious minds find to satisfy their longing souls. We suspect that what Mr. Ellis utters as the reproach, will still be true only so far as it is so, in a sense creditable to Orthodoxy. He says, "It takes up those of easiest sensibility and conviction, and leaves the hardest subjects to Unitarianism." But it leaves them only when it is left by them. If these two classes, by elective affinity,

find their homes respectively with the Orthodox and the Unitarians, why is it? Each one can answer this question without our aid.

Our readers have already seen something of the use which Mr. Ellis makes of the New Divinity. We will only glance at the chapter in which he treats this subject in form. He uses the term "to designate an undeveloped, unsystematized class of speculations, (by divines nominally orthodox,) fragmentary portions of which are to be found in a great many publications, intimations of which are continually presenting themselves in unsuspected quarters, and suspicions of which are known to be far more widely entertained, and on better evidence, than some who are concerned in them care to have made public. This, at least, we are warranted in saying, that, if some of our more acute and earnest theologians are not profoundly exercised by a sceptical spirit in reference to their own orthodoxy, they are trifling with the community, and, what is more, with the truth. Clerical scepticism is the root of much of our present religious agitation." p. 366. We are sorry that we are not prepared to deny the substantial truth of this representation. We are constrained further to agree with him that the creed cannot be subjected to this "chemistry of thought," without being decomposed, dissolved, and evaporated. We still further must confess with him, "that if we avowed ourselves to be believers in the substance of the doctrines of the Westminster Assembly's Catechism, or of the Thirty-nine Articles, we could not, in consistency with religious or intellectual honesty, write or preach what we find in the contents of a hundred valuable volumes now lying within our reach, bearing the names of divines in the American Congregational and the English Episcopal churches," pp. 367–8. Mr. Ellis rarely lets his opportunity slip, of inveighing against the New School divines for claiming the advantage, as against Unitarians, of being the true doctrinal and ecclesiastical successors of the New England fathers, while they at the same time reject or qualify some of the chief formulas of the Confession, and resent it as an injustice, if the propositions in which the ancient New England churches defined their faith, are imputed to modern orthodoxy and its defenders. He will not allow them "the privilege of

professing to be Calvinists without believing Calvinism." He does not admit that they can "spend all their energies upon the philosophy of the creed and spare the creed." "When we contemplate as a whole the subtleties, the worse than dubious ingenuities, and the self-convicted duplicity and evasion which have been spent upon this Calvinistic doctrine, a rising disgust for everything associated with this department of our theological literature overwhelms us," p. 95. "Our own convictions extend the length of a firm belief that, within the shattered and no longer defensible intrenchments of disabled orthodoxy, there is under training a party which sooner or later will affiliate with another party, now outside the fold, to prove the main reliance of the Church, when shams, and conformities, and traditions must sink into ruin," p. 363. His theory is, that the growth of such principles in the orthodox ranks has prevented the otherwise inevitable increase of the Unitarian body. We, on the other hand, believe that the ancient doctrine of the creeds, consistently and intelligently maintained theoretically and practically, would have laid a far stronger grasp upon the people of every class, than this dilute orthodoxy which he flatters himself is training up a party to affiliate with Unitarians. If such an alliance shall be formed, on which side will the advances be made? Not on the part of Unitarians, as has been conclusively shown. That all change and movement in this direction is from the "party in training" on the other side, has been no less conclusively shown. What progress has Unitarianism had in gaining proselytes from communions in which Old Calvinism has maintained exclusive ascendency! Has it ever flourished where the *descensus Averni* had not already commenced, in those milder forms of error, which by logical consequence terminate in this, or in what our author pronounces the only heresy possible to be developed from it, "unbelief in revelation itself?" p. 348.

After making such an exhibition of the character and tendencies of New School theology, is it not cool in him to pronounce the opposition to such speculations, which shows itself in orthodox communions, "unreasonable"? p. 393. Is it unreasonable for them to oppose what he, at least, contends leads toward a latitudinarianism, so unrestrained as to embrace all possible

heresies short of infidelity? Does he expect those who have faith in God and his truth, to yield without resistance to the progress of such an influence? Withal, does not he himself most sturdily resist and rebuke the pretensions of those who claim to be Calvinists, while they repudiate Calvinism—the inheritors of the substance, while they disown the formulas of Puritanic doctrine?

After the evidence which has been given of the real intent of Mr. Ellis in this volume, and of the estimate he makes of the position of New School divines, and the results of their labours—and especially in view of the bitterness he manifests towards the orthodox system, in its theoretical and practical relations, in its ancient form, and as run in the New School mould—we cheerfully resign to our New School brethren the profuse laudations he bestows upon them, as being "noble" and "generous" in their aims, foremost in genius, scholarship, eloquence, intellectual progress, liberality, and independence. We are content with his reluctant concession that the Old School are outspoken, consistent, and, on the basis of the creeds professed by both parties, have fairly and honourably vanquished their opponents. As to all else, we should begin to tremble for our own fidelity, if such a writer could give a more favourable estimate than the following: "We can conceive of nothing more utterly ineffective, hopeless, or dismal, than the pleadings of the Old School divines of our day, in defence of their antiquated system," p. 365.

He concedes that Unitarianism cannot bring its "forces to bear, as do the orthodox, in combined zeal and earnestness of purpose. . . . . Unitarianism has certainly exhibited some marked deficiency, either of power or of skill, or of ingenuity, or of enthusiasm," p. 40. The impracticability of framing a creed is avowed as a principal cause of the comparative failure of the American Unitarian Association—the only attempt to organize the fraternity into effective coöperation.* He also concedes that the vagueness and diversity of opinion among them are such, as to everything except a few negations, that an adversary finds it almost "impossible to define and identify his foe."† This, one would think, solves the mystery. Men cannot live and

* See Introduction, p. 17. † Id. p. 24.

work on mere negations. There must be something positive, definite, certain, momentous, to awaken zeal, and sustain effort. Simply to pronounce the cardinal doctrines of orthodoxy absurd, confounding, revolting, "hideously heathenish," may indeed for a while rally around a blank standard a crowd of unbelievers. But unless there be inscribed on it a creed, a *credendum*, a somewhat to be believed, loved, obeyed, sustained, propagated, because the eternal weal or wo of men hangs upon it; a somewhat, too, that is positive, definable, and knowable, it never can permanently enlist the religious zeal and activity of large numbers of men. Even tender maidens will desert those, who, when they ask the bread of divine truth, give them some undefined platitude, which "it is impossible to identify." The adherents of such a system will become more and more unable and indisposed to teach it to their children, from generation to generation. Smitten with sterility and impotence, it must die out, and give way to a better, or to that only heresy which can be developed from it, according to our author—sheer infidelity.

We should not completely unfold the animus of this book, if we failed to quote one of the passages which more distinctly indicate whom he honours as chief coadjutors in propagating the seminal principles among the orthodox, which are among the tokens of ultimate affiliation with Unitarians. While we only expect the vituperation which he vents upon the class to which we belong, we shall rejoice if it turn out that the objects of this laudation are here honoured with encomiums which they neither covet nor deserve:

"When we read in the controversial pamphlets of a half-century ago, the positive assertions made by orthodoxy, . . . and then turn to the pages of the eminent orthodox writers of the present day, we stand amazed at the change. True, some lean, and querulous, and stingy souls, still give forth their dreary or petulant utterances; but they are not the ones that win a large hearing, or speak for their party. The tone and manner of Dr. Edward Beecher's "Conflict of Ages," compared with the sulphurous preaching of his now venerable father, when he was leader of revival meetings about this neighbourhood, tells an interesting tale of the work that has been wrought here in the interval between the father's man-

hood and that of the son. True, the very problematical hypothesis by which the son has sought to relieve the orthodox dogma of its dogmatism, is but a poor device. But he is not to blame for that, as he did the best he could; better indeed than could have been expected, for in assailing one dogma he has not substituted another. The true orthodox men who now have the most influence over the higher class of minds to which orthodoxy is to look for its advocacy in the next generation, are Professor Park and Dr. Bushnell, men of brilliant genius, of eminent devotion, of towering ability, and regarded by large circles of friends with profound regard and confidence. Those two noble expositors of truth, as they receive it, have added a century of vigorous life to many orthodox churches, and have deferred the final dismay of that system for at least the same period of time. Professor Park's Convention Sermon is, in our judgment, one of the most remarkable pieces in all our religious literature. For subtlety, skill, power, richness of diction, pointedness of utterances, and implications of deep things lying behind its utterances, it is a marvellous gem of beauties and brilliants. Dr. Bushnell's writings, in some sentences unintelligible to our capacity, and in some points inexplicable as to their meaning, are rich in their revelations of a free and earnest spirit which keep him struggling between the wings that lift him, and the withs that bind him. These two honoured men have relieved orthodoxy in some of its most offensive metaphysical enigmas. How have they blunted the edge of Calvinism! How have they reduced the subtle and perplexing philosophy of the Westminster Catechism, by the rich rhetoric with which they have mitigated its physic into a gentle homœopathy? Unitarianism aimed thus to abate and soften religious dogmatism. It has succeeded; and the noblest element in its success is, that it must divide the honour with champions from the party of its opponents," pp. 42–3.

With this, which gives out so strongly the aroma of the book, we close our protracted comments upon it. None would rejoice more than ourselves to know that these praises are wholly unmerited, and that the eminent divines on whom they are bestowed, have here suffered the infliction of gratuitous and unmerited eulogy. We hope it will turn out that

they are "more sinned against than sinning" in the premises. But let all concerned know where Unitarianism fixes "its heart and hope," and why it does so. "The New Theology has, (says Mr. Ellis) I believe, dealt a mortal blow upon the Old Orthodoxy." Multitudes have thought so before. But it still lives, and will live when all rival systems are dead; for it stands, not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.

ART. II.—*The Argument from Prophecy for Christianity.*

WHAT is the legitimate force and extent of the argument from the phenomena of Prophecy, as they are found in the Bible, and developed in history, has always been regarded as a great question in the general argument for the divine origin of the Scriptures. Many answers have been given to it, even amongst those who have employed it in defence of the religion of Jesus Christ. And the opponents of the religion have differed far more in their methods of dealing with the facts and the argument.

It is not proposed to call attention, at this time, to any theories of objection to the predictions of the Scriptures, or of modes of accounting for their existence and their nature, that have been at times brought forward by disbelievers in the inspiration and reality of these predictions. There is no common ground of such objectors. The testimony of the vast majority of them in regard to these grounds of objection in detail is, that they are untenable. Until they come to something like agreement amongst themselves we may be allowed to invite friends and enemies alike, to go with us round about Zion, to mark her bulwarks and consider her palaces. The object of this paper shall be to indicate the affirmative argument in its outline and general character, as it lies in the state of facts, in regard to the existence of the predictions, and their fulfilment, a sufficient knowledge of which may be safely presumed.

1. Our consciousness tells us nothing more plainly and emphatically than that there is a difference between our know-

ledge of what is past and of what is future, in any sense in which we can be said to know the future. We are sure, too, that this difference belongs to the nature of our minds, insomuch that there is no measure of intelligence that is merely human that can attain to anything else. The most exalted human genius and intelligence cannot speak in the same way, and in the same sense, of the future as of the past. Neither can we conceive it possible for us to reverse this state of the case, so as to be as profoundly ignorant of all the past, as we know ourselves to be of the future, and to be as familiar with all the future, as we are with all the past. This must be accepted as a fact of consciousness common to man; it belongs to our nature. Looking along the line of this fact a little further, we may say that we cannot so speak as to display the same ignorance of all we do know, as of all we do not know, nor can we speak of all we do not know in the same way that we do of all we do know. The difference then between our knowledge and that of a being who knows the future, is one not of degree but of kind. We do not know merely a little of the future, we know nothing of it in the sense we know the past; and we know that no increase of our knowledge under its present modes can make us know anything of it.

When we come to think of God and his modes of knowledge, we recognize that this difference cannot be affirmed of him. The past and the future must be alike known to him. Upon the supposition that he were to converse with us at all, so far as we can judge, it would be one of the absolute conditions of such communications, that he display a like familiarity with the future as with the past. This condition is calmly accepted in the Scriptures, in all its breadth and significance. This brings to our minds the fact that we have for these Scriptures, not simply the argument from foreknowledge, but forcknowledge in that form which makes it divine in the very nature of it. Everywhere history and prediction are mingled and interwoven, and with a like clearness and speciality; and these predictions have been fulfilling before the eyes of all men, from the time they were put on record until now—when with their fulfilment they cover as much of the surface of the earth almost as authentic history does. This is the first general statement in the form of

an argument in favour of the inspiration of the prophecies, and by consequence of the system of revelation into which they are incorporated, that the knowledge therein displayed of the future in the same sense as of the past, approves itself to our consciousness as a knowledge differing in nature from all we are capable of attaining unto. Here the argument might safely rest, and indeed often has rested. But it is the first step only in the argument which the phenomena afford.

2. In addition to this superhuman knowledge, pertaining to the future alike with the past, is the manner of its use. It is not a mere display of prophetic knowledge; it is a cautious, a wise, a skilful use of it, and always for a purpose. It is used in such a way as that the contingency of second causes is not taken away, nor their nature changed nor violated. It is used in such a way as never to interfere with the liberty and freedom of human actions, or the power of motives and passions over the human will. It is used in such a way as never to leave it in the power of wicked men or devils to defeat what is beforetime declared. Still more wonderful, it is used always in such a way as never to diminish the necessity, or weaken the grounds of the necessity, for perpetual faith and constant obedience on the part of the children of God. In other words, it is always used in perfect accordance with the great constituting laws of God's providence, and the mysterious nature of man, and his circumstances in this world.

It is not needful surely to recall instances to illustrate this proposition. Everywhere the agency of friends and enemies is combined in the fulfilment of the predictions, working harmoniously to that result, however they may be antagonistic to each other. Everywhere too these discordant agencies are made to harmonize with the laws of material nature in producing the same result—the fulfilment of the predictions. This general fact brings out the stupendous truth that this knowledge of the future is combined with a knowledge, absolute and special, of the whole constitution of providence, and the nature of man, and the conditions and incidents of his moral responsible nature.

3. Still further. The whole of this prophetic intelligence is not its own end, nor for its own sake. It is all subordinate

and subservient to one grand governing purpose. It is a great system, a combination of systems, a system of systems, all bearing upon one central purpose. The unspeakable wealth of foreknowledge is not for mere parade and display, nor is any of it wasted on side issues, or independent aims. The strong current of purpose, like the breeze over the ripening grain, bends everything in the one direction. "Salvation for lost sinners, and the person, the work, and the glory of their divine Redeemer—these are the ideas which control all the rest." And this gives not only unity to the whole system, but value to all the minor and subordinate parts. In this aspect the system of prophecy is analogous to the system of worlds to which ours belongs. Every atom and every world is bound to and swayed by the central sun—the source of unity because the source of power. The whole compass of the prophetic intelligence displayed in the Scriptures is thus made up of superhuman conceptions, directed to, and concentrated upon a superhuman end, and that end worthy of a glorious God. When our minds begin to ascend the chain of material facts to laws and principles, until we learn to take in the conception of the material universe as a great κόσμος—a great system of order and beauty, a unit of law and organism; until with Job, we see the balancing of the clouds, and the earth hung upon nothing, and feel the sweet influence of the Pleiades, until the harmony of the spheres become music to our awakened growing reason, we come then to the thought of what must be the authorship of all this; and we take up with awe and trembling of spirit the language of the Psalmist: "When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained, what is man, that thou art mindful of him! or the son of man, that thou visitest him." So as we rise in the study of this prophetic intelligence from facts and particulars to principles and laws and systems, the thoughtful mind that rises highest in the just conception is most awed by its unearthly majesty, and feels more and more profoundly that it can have no author inferior to the one who hath spread out this earth beneath him, and garnished those heavens above him, and bound them all in invisible chains of indissoluble laws to the great central source of light and power. There is no

answer to this, but in that stupid ox-like ignorance, that regards the earth as a great immovable plain, and all the heavens as imaginary dancing lights; or in that perversion of sense and reason that shuts the eyes, and turns away and says, "I do not see—all you say."

4. Nor yet is this all. There is nothing more patent on the face of all the instances of fulfilled predictions, than the presence and the exercise of a power, subordinated to the prophetic intelligence. This power everywhere demonstrably transcends all human power. It manifestly in many instances transcends all merely natural power. It is that kind of power in which all agencies and forces are fused in results. It is exhibited to us in conflict with all human power, and with that kind of power which is exhibited in what we call the ordinary laws of nature, and everywhere is its easy mastery demonstrated. The Jewish people were tenaciously attached to their own loved land. The prediction was that they should be *plucked out* of it, indicating, in the very terms, the exercise of a power in opposition to their most vehement inclinations. When the time came, that power was effectually exerted. Babylon said, *I shall be a lady for ever.* The prediction was, that she should be brought down to the grave. All the vitality and energy of a national life were against such a result. The material forces of nature embodied in her walls and palaces, and the fertility of her soil, were against such a result, but the thing was done. The Jewish people were to be scattered among all nations, and remain Jews still everywhere and always. All the laws of ordinary nature tend to make them melt into the stream of common humanity. But they are upheld by an unseen power against the efficacy of these laws—duly tolerating exceptions, to show that the laws of nature are in the main held in abeyance by a superior power. The whole current of human sentiment in regard to nationality was, to set for centuries in the direction of universal empire. In connection with the prediction of a certain event, all this current was to be arrested and its direction changed, and a universal empire was to become obsolete and for ever impossible, except in a new and spiritual form: and the history of the last sixteen centuries is the record of this revolution, and its results, so that to-day such a thing

as a universal empire is more obviously impossible than ever before. The Church was to assert its position in the world, and amidst hostile powers, not by the might of armies or the skill of captains, but to triumph over all other powers by new and unheard of appliances: and to-day she stands up before us in the attitude of making good all these predicted triumphs. The power that carries her forward is not her own. It is a power invisible to her enemies—a power against which theirs avails nothing. What avail the powers of the ice and snow against the influences which Spring brings with her? Manifestly, too, this power so great, so resistless, is the power of God. It works out his predictions; it fulfils his promises; it executes his threatenings. It is the same power that moves the system of nature, and the all-involving sweep of his providence. It is silent, calm, deliberate, unhurried. It can bide its time. It is the power that resides in all created things, the inanimate forces of material nature—the mysterious nature of man, good and evil—the malignant bosoms of devils. All are embraced in its wide-reaching grasp, and made to coöperate in the fulfilment of these predictions.

5. Nor yet is this all. We recognize that the highest laws of this universe are not the laws of material nature. We recognize that for us at any rate—whatever may be said of the vegetables and the cattle—there is a spiritual system, to be governed by moral law. The utterances of that law find a response in our nature. At the head of this spiritual system, as the author and administrator of this moral law, we must place God, or else there is no God, nor need of one. His judgments are always right, his administration always in accordance with everlasting justice. Now what is affirmed in this part of the subject is, that this prophetic intelligence in all its parts, and this power everywhere exhibited in their fulfilment, are both always controlled by a sublime, an awful justice. The knowledge is a knowledge of what justice would require. The power is but the chariot of justice on her spotless throne, borne through the ages. This is the highest province of argument, inasmuch as our moral and spiritual nature is the highest, noblest part of us. Now the facts all accord with this proposition. The children of Israel were plucked up and rooted out of their land, because they were

a rebellious house. The good land lies desolate and widowed, that she may enjoy her Sabbaths, which they would not allow her to do while they dwelt in it. Nineveh and Babylon were doomed to utter desolation and the grave, for their daring wickedness and intolerable abominations. Egypt was to live on the basest of kingdoms, for her incurable pride and hostility to all truth and righteousness. Tyre and Syria, Moab and Edom had their crimes specified in their death warrants. And the more clearly we come to understand the character of these nations and peoples, the more we learn of their modes of thought and life, even from their own accounts of themselves and the monuments they have left us, the more fully are these judgments, predicted of old and sent upon them in the course of ages, justified as right and proper. Where shall we seek the explanation of this stupendous fact, but in the solution of the record itself—that this prophetic intelligence that aforetime announced all, and the all-pervading power, which in due time fulfilled all, were both controlled and guided by the everlasting justice of Almighty God.

6. But the facts carry us a step higher in the argument. Everywhere, illuminating and interpenetrating, and modifying this knowledge, power and justice, is an infinite mercy as unaccountable, yea more unaccountable than any or all of them, unless the whole be from God. The whole system of prophecy and fulfilment is professedly subordinate to a scheme of saving mercy. The central figure in the concentrating rays of all predictions, stands the Son of God as the Saviour of the world. The most terrific of them all are given for a merciful purpose, even to warn men from the hard way and bitter end of the persistent transgressor. They are given to teach men the character, the purposes, and the nature of that God with whom they have to do, and to call their attention to that scheme of recovery and restoration to his own favour, which he hath established in the gift and blood of his Son. It is the path of his redeemed and saved ones through the ages that is illuminated by the light of these wondrous predictions; which, as the side-lights of God's ransomed Church, have illuminated all surrounding history, that is history for us to-day. It is the united testimony and proclamation of all these predictions and

their fulfilment, that whosoever will, may come and be saved in him, that whosoever will not, must go on to the death they choose. If God is just, it is a mercy to men to let them know it. If he is merciful, too, so that by repentance and faith in the Saviour, they may escape all the deserts of their past conduct, and enter upon the inheritance of the Son of God, it is a mercy to them to know it. If it is the irreversible decree of his omnipotent justice, that with one or the other of these classes must every human being find his doom at the last, then it is an infinite mercy for them to know it, to be told of it with all the solemn emphasis of the voice of God, in all the forms of speech and action. It might be supposed that as this is the crowning glory of the whole matter, so it might be presented as the completeness of the demonstration in the form of argument.

7. But there is yet another step, grounded upon a general truth, apparent from the facts as they are exhibited in these predictions and their fulfilment. All earthly and human things are subordinated and subjected to this prophetic intelligence, this power, this justice, and this mercy. If this world does not exist for purposes of the Church, then it exists by accident, and at random. If the history of this world be not the history of the kingdom of Christ, the Redeemer, then it is but the history of confusion, and chaos, and utter nothingness. Bring to mind some of the prominent facts in this matter: First, You have God's own promise to his Church ages on ages ago: *The nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish, yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted.* Trace the march of that Church in the light of that promise, or rather prediction, as she comes in contact with the successive mighty empires of the East and the West—the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Alexandrian, the Roman. The office of each, in relation to her, was clearly indicated, and their conduct and consequent fate, all are made known in these predictions, and illustrated in parallel lines in their history. Egypt was the nursery and school to the infant Church, where by the discipline of centuries a handful of nomadic shepherds were to be transformed into a nation of civilized men, governed by regular laws, living in fixed habitations, possessed of all those multiform arts and habits and appliances that should fit them

for their new career in their own land, and when this office is discharged, and she begins to regard this people as her own, and resist God's commands in regard to them, he brings them out of her with a high hand and outstretched arm. Assyria he uses as a scourge and a rod to his rebellious people, though it was not in the heart of the king, nor did he think so, and when that purpose was subserved, the indignation of God laid Nineveh in the grave. Babylon was the prison-house in which the Jews were cured of their apparently incurable idolatry, and the nation of Israel was utterly dissolved. Cyrus and his dominion were made the deliverers of God's Church, and the avengers of her wrongs on Babylon. And when that empire had grown hostile to the purposes it was raised up to subserve, it was shattered to atoms by the conquering power of Alexander. His conquests in their turn spread the Greek language and culture over all the East, and prepared the way for the diffusion of the gospel in that tongue, wherever Jews were dispersed that spoke and read the Greek language. To Rome was assigned the work of making commerce free and intercourse safe, of teaching the idea of law to a barbarian world, of binding together discordant nationalities and races in one vast dominion, and affording safe conduct for the preachers of the religion of Christ through all the Roman world. And when she was no longer needed for this purpose, when her civilization became effeminate and corrupt, and her religion superstitious, she went down before the hardy nations from the woods of Germany. Thus one by one were these great empires raised up to minister, in their several ways, to God's Church, and as they turned against her, and became unfit to advance her interests, they were laid in the grave by a resistless hand.

We have the three great lines of preparation in the Jewish, the Grecian, and the Roman history, for the coming of the predicted One, who should expand his Church as a new power in the world, conquering men by the new weapons of truth, and persuasion, and love. And just at the point where these great currents of life—history, the Jewish religion, the Grecian culture and language, and the Roman law and organization, all met and blended their streams, and held the world

in peace, and got men ready to hear, in this *fulness of time*, the Son of God came.

To meet this strange new state of things, to go out in the full power of all these three influences of the past, and make this religion known in its nature and relations, to all the waiting nations, we find the *man* in readiness, combining in himself not merely extraordinary native powers, but all that the highest Jewish training, and Grecian culture, and Roman citizenship, could do for him, when enlarged and sanctified by the highest Christian zeal, and light, and love. This chosen instrument was ready precisely at the right time, and he went forth everywhere, along the broad smooth Roman roads, and over the sea, now first cleared of pirates, beneath the safe conduct of that impregnable panoply which Roman citizenship threw over his head, speaking to Jew, and Greek, and Roman, each in his own tongue, reasoning out of the prophets and the law, from philosophy and poetry, from nature and from human consciousness, telling everywhere the story of the cross, the wisdom of God, and the power of God—the apostle of the nations.

Look at the space covered by these fulfilled predictions—Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, the empire of Cyrus, and of Alexander and Rome, Judea and its peculiar people, with all their strange, deathless history, and all the lands and people bordering upon that land; and since the coming of the Son of God, the Church in all lands, and that great usurpation, or parody of the Church, the shadow it should cast on the depravity of man, and the malignity of the Devil. Take these from the map of the world, and what would be left? Take these from human history, and what would history be? It is most manifest that the central current of human history has flowed over these lands, and through these channels of national life. Then the broad, stupendous fact is, that all these vast affairs have been moulded and controlled by the spirit and power of prophecy. In the path of that prophecy lie the graves of these greatest of earthly powers and dominions, speaking in eloquent death and ruin to all coming generations. It is the march of God through the ages we see thus opened before our eyes, and the graves of nations and the tombs of cities are the luminous

steps of his course and his judgments, where the light of his presence still lingers. What is a man, a city, a nation, in the presence of such a God, and in the way of his purposes? What is there that stands safe, and has charter to life and continuance in the coming ages, but his Church, and whatsoever shall minister to her glory and expansion? Who is safe but within her? From God she came—to heaven she is bound—like the ark of Noah, bearing all of life that is to live from the old world to the new.

Let it be allowed to recall the elements of the argument in brief, that it may lie under the view at a glance: (1.) A knowledge of the future in the same sense as of the past, approving itself to our consciousness as a knowledge differing in nature from all we are capable of attaining to. (2.) The skilful manner in which that knowledge is used—always in perfect accordance with the constituting laws of God's providence, and the nature and circumstances of man. (3.) The outgivings of this prophetic intelligence, moulded and compacted into a great system, and subordinated to a great purpose—to set forth a salvation and a Saviour for sinners. (4.) The exercise everywhere of a power manifestly divine subordinate to this prophetic intelligence. (5.) This knowledge and this power everywhere and always controlled by a sublime and awful justice. (6.) These all—knowledge, power, justice—tempered and illuminated by a wondrous mercy, to which they are made subservient and illustrative, and, (7.) The facts present all human things and all earthly events as absolutely subjected to this prophetic intelligence, and this resistless power, and this sublime justice, and this amazing mercy.

This is, in brief, the argument as it seems to lie in the facts presented by the predictions of the Scriptures, and their fulfilment in the full view of men. Each of the propositions seems to involve the whole conclusion, but what shall be said of the whole seven, all demonstrably true? They render necessary the conclusion that the Bible, and the whole Bible, in which this wonderful system of prophecy is unfolded, is the word of God.

ART. III.—"*Annual Reports concerning the State Normal School, to the New Jersey Legislature*, for the years 1855, 1856."

"*Second Annual Report and accompanying Documents of the Board of Trustees of the New Jersey State Normal School, to the Legislature*, for the year ending February 9, 1857."

THAT the world, applauding the results of education, should so long have neglected the most obvious means of securing them, is certainly a remarkable feature of its history. It is hard to be accounted for, otherwise than from the very extreme of human perversity, that of all labourers in the field of intellect, the teacher alone should have been untaught, and left to pick up his professional knowledge the best way he could at odds and ends, or to do without any. Until recently the public seems to have depended for schoolmasters upon the probability that there would always be some persons fit for nothing else; some lame men that could not work, or lazy ones that would not; some disabled clergyman, physician failed in physic, or lawyer waiting for a practice; some youth willing to work hard for a little help on the way to his profession, or some poor man unable from lack of means to reach that end until too late in life to profit from it, and thereby compelled to make a life's labour of what had been designed merely as a step thereto. To deliberately choose school-teaching, from pure preference thereof and after due preparation therefor, was certainly rare, and pertained only to the benevolent and unselfish, of whom the world has always possessed a few, and never more than a few. And the position in which the work was put by the public was well calculated to make its share of that few as slender as possible. Unprovided with proper instruction, exposed to public obloquy, crushed into penury even by the systematic action of state governments, going to keep down the rate of salaries to the point of starvation, it was an employment which no person of talent and learning could be expected to enter upon, unless actuated by the enterprise of a pioneer, and the self-denial of a missionary. To choose to be a school-

master was to choose poverty and reproach, and daily conflict with vexatious difficulties, to the resolution of which no combined and philosophic effort had ever been consistently applied. In such a state of discouragement, it is not so much to be wondered at that bad teaching should have been common, as that there should have been any that was good.

Among the improvements of the present century none merit more unqualified approbation than those which have gone to enlarge, define and give proper shape and direction to the work of the schoolmaster. As the theological seminary sustains a standard of respectable equipment for the service of the Church, and corresponding institutions in the legal and medical professions, so normal schools have already created, and must keep up a better style of primary instruction than could ever be secured by disconnected individual effort. And in the fact that they are now established under the patronage of state governments, we seem to have assurance that the people are awakened to a sense of their importance, and, therein, some guaranty that the improvement will be permanent, and that it will not, like so many other attempts, be defeated by diversion from its proper aim. Moreover its declared and legally defined purpose is, in itself, a barrier against a danger which has proved fatal to many good academies.

While the great want of the country has been good common schools, the ambition of our schools, when able to hold up their heads as fairly worthy of eminent patronage, has been to become colleges. Instead of availing themselves of popular support to do their own work well, they are thereby led, in too many instances, to think only of abandoning it, and of entering upon another, which they deem more respectable. Their operations are accordingly stretched to resemble those of a department in the educational series, whose methods are entirely and incompatibly different. A separation has to take place. The college proper, as it is called, is deemed the more important, and the school is either neglected, or, what amounts to the same thing, is conducted on the college plan, and thus from a good school, the affair sinks into a starveling college, with a preparatory appendage to give plausibility of numbers. In a similar manner it has been the weakness of our colleges to hanker after

the position of universities, leading to the serious embarrassment of their own operations, and preventing the establishment of a genuine university, which, to this hour, does not exist in the land; and cannot exist until the school and the college have learned to act their own parts well, and be content therewith.

The work of education consists of three distinct series, pertaining respectively to the school, the college, and the university, differing from each other at once in their aims, their methods and the difficulties they have to encounter. To unite them is impossible: and even to make any one an appendage of another, is to impair the proper effect of both. Each must occupy an independent and separate position. And any one of them offers a field of labour sufficient for, and worthy of intellectual power of the best order. But eminent qualifications for one are almost a disqualification for another. A good schoolmaster might be a poor professor; and the very qualities which constitute a professor's superiority, as such, go to unfit him for success in the schoolroom. This truth largely declared in the disaster of so many educational enterprises, and so long obstinately ignored by the people generally, has at last been distinctly and practically recognized. The founding of normal schools is a most cheering declaration of the intention to constitute school-teaching a distinct and honourable vocation, not hanging, like a semitone, in everlasting expectation of the succeeding tone, but having a round, full and satisfactory sonance in itself. If schoolmasters are to be well prepared for their duties, it must be by a course of instruction expressly addressed and adapted thereto. It is well remarked in a passage quoted in the report of the Trustees of the New Jersey State Normal School for the last year, that "perhaps no department of education requires a more peculiar treatment, and more calls for the undivided zeal and energy of those who have the conduct of it, than the preparation of teachers. Everything depends upon making the seminaries for teachers separate and independent establishments, with a careful provision for a thorough theoretical and practical preparation for all the duties of the common school." And we may add, that in the model school, upon which the pupils are exercised, it is equally important

that those ends, aims and methods should be consistently observed, that it may be a true model for their future imitation.

The peculiarity of those ends and methods, and consequently of this whole department of educational work, is due to the peculiar difficulties of those to be instructed in primary schools, and the attitude of their minds towards learning. Pleasures of knowledge, like all other pleasures, depend for life upon the demands of our nature. One cannot take delight in anything which he does not want. Some of our wants are loud, and stand in no need of interpretation; others are unobtrusive and scarcely make their existence known, until the proper objects are set before them. In this respect, learning lies under great disadvantages at first. Her external aspect suggests to the young mind nothing that it feels the need of. Those letters, and syllables, and figures, and signs, which form her language, have no promise of pleasure in them to the eye of the child. A vague craving to know actuates some minds more than others; but to all the earlier steps towards the attainment are made with much toil and scanty pleasure. Knowledge has to awaken for herself those demands which she is prepared to meet, and which, when once fairly aroused, become the most insatiable in our nature, and of all earthly sources the most productive of delight, and that of the purest and most elevated character. Though the path of the scholar ultimately leads him through scenery broader, grander and more beautiful than any that he could elsewhere enjoy, the first part of it is narrow, thorny, and unpromising. It is this condition of his pupil's mind, that gives the first tinge of characteristic colouring to the schoolmaster's profession.

Many have been the attempts to do away with this initiatory labour, or to abridge it. Failure has arisen, generally, as might have been anticipated, from misapprehending the sources of interest in learning. It is common to believe that only something showy, pictorial, or narrative, can enlist the childish liking; and, accordingly by some the alphabet is put aside, and the pupil set to learning words directly, as containing more meaning, and the error is perhaps not discovered until months of labour reveal the fact, that a task has been undertaken

hardly less than that of mastering the Chinese. Similar defeat must always attend any attempt to overleap the elementary parts of learning, with the view of coming directly upon the pleasures of the more advanced. It is like seeking fruit where no blossoms have been permitted to grow. Such a method can never attain the end at which it aims. The pleasure contemplated is never found. It remains locked up, and the key has been thrown away.

The error proceeds from a mistaken notion of what is interesting. No matter how great or valuable the subject may be, it is not a blind groping after it that will give intellectual pleasure; but the exercise of the understanding performed clearly and distinctly is, in itself, naturally connected with a pure and elevated delight. Let each step of learning be taken firmly, each particular mastered to the full as you advance, and pleasure, by the order of God, will follow it all the way. Poetry and romance have their attractions; but it is not upon them that we have to rely for interesting a beginner in learning. The delight attendant upon knowing, will never follow anything but clear conceptions of what is to be known. To fully master his lesson, and feel that he understands and can recite it without a mistake, and answer questions about it promptly, will do more to interest a child in his studies, than all the external attractions you may attempt to throw around them. Whoever has looked upon the young scholar, and beheld his eye brighten as truth dawned upon him, until his whole countenance beamed with joy from the completeness of apprehension, will never think of seeking any other attractions for knowledge than her own. The Creator has provided sufficiently well for the reward of intellectual effort in the order of its right performance. Like many other difficulties, those which meet us in the beginning of our studies, are most successfully encountered by facing them bravely.

To awaken the demand for knowledge in the young mind, and furnish the means and methods of supplying it, define the proper place of the school in the series of education. It is not so much the business of the school to communicate science as to effect the proper disposition of mind towards it, and teach the means of acquiring it. Letters of the alphabet, numerical

figures and algebraical symbols, are the marks whereby language is made visible. Facility in reading and writing them amounts only to the means of intelligent intercourse with other minds. Grammar is only the laws of common speech, and the rules of arithmetic and algebra only teach how to use those instruments of thought. So, of the principles of music, and of all other studies that belong to the proper school. They are but the tools which science uses. We employ them as the means of getting at knowledge, which otherwise would be entirely beyond our reach. At the same time, their structure is scientific, their study has to be pursued in a manner which prepares the mind to grapple with science, and their attainment is rewarded by pleasure of the kind which pertains to science. It is, therefore, of fundamental importance that the school confine itself to its own proper work, and do it well. For what it leaves undone, no other part of the educational process can ever supply; and consisting, as it does, of the very language of knowledge, without a complete mastery thereof, nothing else can ever be mastered.

That the method of instruction of the school is different from that of the college, or more advanced seminaries, is due to the lack of discipline, and of demand for knowledge in the mind, which has not yet tasted its pleasures, and cannot apprehend its benefits. Happily for the teacher, who really takes an intelligent interest in his profession, the best way of overcoming the difficulties herein presented, is also that which leads most directly to success in the other part of his task, which consists in preparing the pupil for further attainment. In teaching the elements of learning, little good will be effected unless certain intellectual features are developed for the proper use of them. And the latter, being the end and aim, must also give true direction to the former.

A primary and ever present purpose with the effective teacher is to induce in his pupil clearness of thinking. Habits of contentment with dim perceptions, are of serious intellectual injury; and, if acquired in youth, are seldom laid aside in maturer years, and never without greater difficulty than would have attended the avoiding of them at first. Such has been the defectiveness of early instruction in most of our schools until

recently, that multitudes among us really never knew what it is to understand clearly an idea obtained from science, and never had any other emotion connected with science than that of an irksome, embarrassed, impotent groping after an argument, the conclusion of which, after all, has to be taken more than half upon trust. When we meet, as we often do, with advanced students prepared after this fashion, we are not surprised that they take no interest in study. It would be a miracle if they did. Unless a person knows what he is about, and feels distinctly what he wants, how can he be expected to pursue it with alacrity? And when, in the business of life, men find themselves called upon by their position in society, or otherwise prompted to attempt the expression of thought, that so many fail to present clear and comprehensible ideas, is due to the fact that few have been taught to think clearly of even the rudiments of thought or expression. Most men are aware of entertaining sentiments which they do not know how to express, and which, when they try to fully realize within their own spirits, elude their grasp, moulder into dust, vanish away, like a ghost at dawn. Their ideas may be said to exist in the nebulous state, have not yet been condensed, separated and rounded into distinct globes, or a telescope has not been applied to them of sufficient power to present them in their actual and separate individuality. No wonder that their expression should be equally nebulous.

Another and a kindred object of a good teacher is precision of thought, which, although indispensable to clearness, is not identical therewith. To know a truth or fact precisely, is not only to apprehend it intelligently, but also to perceive just what it amounts to in itself, and how all its elements stand related to each other, and what its boundaries are, so that you can pick it up out of the mass of other knowledge, and hold it before you as a complete, distinct, and practicable entity. A lesson learned precisely, the pupil will not only recite well by giving intelligent answers, but he will be able to render an account of it from beginning to end, in language of his own, explaining its internal arrangement and distinctions, and stating the reasons why they are made.

Again, there is a certain timidity in some minds, whereby

they shrink from laying claim to knowledge firmly. This arises, in the main, from a lack of clearness and precision in thinking, but also, in some cases, from constitutional modesty or self-distrust. Such minds need the encouragement of perfect familiarity with the subjects of their knowledge, and especially to be fortified by a thorough grounding in elementary principles, until assured of the reliability of them. Others are too self-confident, and grasp boldly but erroneously whatever is set before them. Certainty, in the case of these, has to be secured by repressing the hasty apprehension, and detaining it upon particulars; not by discouraging, but by directing it to minute observation, and the habit of orderly attention to one particular after another, throughout the subject, before attempting to comprehend the whole.

Knowledge, in order to be practical, must be held with a feeling of certainty, arising from familiarity with clear and precise conceptions—a certainty, which is just as modest as the humblest timidity, and yet firmer than the boldest self-confidence. It is a moral posture in relation to knowledge, to which the bold must be restrained, and the timid lifted up. No step in the progress of learning should be left until perfectly familiar to the pupil's mind. It is true, that there are many things which we can never know with certainty, but these do not belong to the elements of education.

In passing also from one step to another, there is need of a right and firm understanding of the relation between them, or of what the one has to do with the other. Without this, even clear and precise conceptions, held with the most intelligent certainty would amount to only a heterogeneous mass of separate notions. In order to effect their proper end, they must be built up in their own places into one structure. A true discrimination of them, as fit for their own places, and for no other, is an indispensable part of education from beginning to end. We do not know that any mark more certainly distinguishes the well educated from the uneducated, than the habit of discriminating. Even the truths and facts, which the latter possess, jostle and elbow each other in their minds, in a very refractory way, and often get mingled together in utter confusion. Truth and error are of difficult distinction to such per-

sons, and seem to hold, in common, a broad border of debatable land, on which all measurements go for nothing. The language they employ is like a pendulum, which cannot move without flying from one extreme to another. They cannot talk on any subject without uttering falsehoods, which they do not intend as false, and making misrepresentations and perversions of truth, which they are themselves not aware of, and seldom tell a story perfectly correct, as they heard it, or as the facts occurred under their own eyes, not so much from any purpose to falsify, as from that lack of discrimination, whereby, in respect to a great many subjects, they actually cannot tell one thing from another. They may not roundly assert an untruth consciously, but they will use large numbers in the most promiscuous manner, the positives and superlatives of adjectives, without the least distinction, and paint their stories in the colours of their own feelings with the utmost recklessness.

The injury done to society by this indiscriminate habit of thinking and speaking is beyond calculation. It lies at the beginning of certainly the larger number of quarrels, and alienations of friends, is the principal source of error in doctrine, and the fog under cover of which temptation most frequently succeeds in obtaining entrance to the human heart. A most important part of education is that of learning to discriminate, and rightly to apprehend the relations of one thing to another, and how one thing differs from another.

It also belongs to the school to drill the pupil to promptness in the performance of his exercises. In lives so short as ours, time is an article of the highest value, and it is important that whatever the man is designed to do, his education should enable him to do with the utmost expedition. Yet this must not conflict with accuracy and perfect thoroughness: in fact, if rightly understood, it will not; for however slow it may seem at first, the thorough method is the most economical of time in the long run. Clear understanding of the lesson, of precisely what it amounts to, and of its relation to the whole bygone course, and certainty in regard to the command of that knowledge is the only means of securing rapidity in its application. Besides, there is a higher discipline, in prompt and rapid mental action, when also clear and discriminate. Thought is

quickened to more vigorous life by its own activity, and carries its purpose with a greater cogency. Like the ignited match upon the arrow, it kindles as it flies. Slow action may be sure to reach its aim; but the effect is comparatively languid. A most valuable element of power evaporates in delay. Moreover, the mind should be accustomed to think towards a set purpose. The object of each lesson and its bearing should be kept in view, so that, when the conclusion is reached, it may be fully recognized as such. Next to apprehending rightly and using expertly the materials of knowledge, is the addressing of all with a true aim to the proper end, to know when you have reached and to stop there.

In the habit of thinking clearly, precisely, discriminatingly, and rapidly, with a firm grasp, and to an aim, we have the proper disposition of mind for the attainment and use of knowledge, equipped with which the student is prepared to enter upon the pursuit of more advanced studies, to a similar culture of his nobler faculties.

We are aware that some profess to see in all this, an unnatural maturing of the intellect dangerous to its sanity. There is, undoubtedly, danger to be apprehended from overtasking; and this every prudent teacher will be most careful to avoid, and that the more, because he must perceive that his ends cannot be reached by overtasking, but by judiciously graduating the exercises to the measure of his pupil's ability, and never adding one, until the preceding is so mastered as to seem perfectly easy. Cases of mental injury from overtasking are more likely to occur under irregular and defective teaching, or in private study from pursuit of some one favourite subject, where without sufficient help difficulties have been attacked, for which the student has been inadequately prepared, and an amount attempted, which exceeded his power to appropriate. In themselves considered, clearness and promptitude of thinking, instead of being injurious, are most conducive to mental health —are, in fact, the most essential elements thereof. The injury is more likely to be done, as not unfrequently it is done, by cramming into the mind what it has neither the time nor ability to digest, producing thereby an intellectual dyspepsia, which attends it throughout life.

Others, again, are afraid of impairing the imagination by such habits of accuracy. We might reply that it would be no common good to mankind, did education succeed in extinguishing that common error which assigns to the imagination nothing but fogs and falsehood. We would ask those, who, as advocates of poetry and eloquence, claim a wide margin of ignorance, which are the most attractive, or furnish most aliment to imagination, the objects presented by a lantern in a cloudy night, or those of a summer day—a poem that paints beautiful scenes with such vividness that the reader feels as if he had lived among them, or one which gives only now and then a glimpse of meaning? A strange notion to have obtained such popularity, that the imagination, in order to act well, must act blindly, inasmuch as, in reality, there is no faculty of the human mind which for its proper exercise stands in need of clearer vision. Taking our examples, as is just, from cases of its fullest development, we shall find Homer, Shakspeare, Cervantes, Scott, Bunyan, and every other master in that realm of thought, to have been clear in their conceptions even to minuteness. Their graphic effects are in a high degree due to their accuracy in details: nor can any reader realize all their power, who fails to follow them with a lucid intelligence. The poetic imagination may design its fabrics in air; but they must be built of the solid materials of human knowledge. And then it must not be forgotten that a far commoner use of the faculty is that whereby we apprehend the reality of history, and of any subject of conversation beyond a present fact, in none of which shall we find its action facilitated by lack of understanding. By not knowing you may suppose that there is a good where there is no good, or beauty where there is no beauty, or danger or deformity where there is none, but the conception of things good and beautiful, and the proper pleasure therefrom, can never be obtained by that means, nor by any other means than a clear understanding of them. The only way to enrich the imagination, and enlarge the pleasures to be derived therefrom, is to store the mind with well ordered and distinctly comprehended truth. Imagination may be impaired by neglect—by failing to employ it upon the material thus furnished, as some persons squander all their lives in buying books, and never take

time to read them; but it would be no less ridiculous, in that case, to say that the man's ignorance was due to his having books, than to say that the unimaginative are made such by their intellectual stores. On the other hand, how often is the genial and buoyant imagination checked in its flight, and narrowed of the range it longs for, by want of sufficient knowledge? Truths and facts fully comprehended and ready at command, are the wings of the poet's fancy. They are the sunbeams of his spirit land, and if they dispel the ghosts and goblins of the night, they fill his song with the beautiful imagery of the morning.

The objects of education are, however, less frequently matter of debate than are the methods of obtaining them. On the latter point a great diversity of opinions has prevailed. Some teachers, it is true, have contrived to get along without much concern about the subject, but those who have aimed at excellence in the profession, have found themselves called upon to deal with a serious difficulty therein. Old fashioned pædagogues relied entirely upon the memory, and were satisfied if their pupils could repeat their lessons well by rote. School-books were prepared with a view to this method, and even the rules of grammar were put into verse to facilitate the process. As far as practicable, reason was ignored, and the only stay and encouragement of the flagging memory was the birch. What causes led to the adoption of this method it may be impossible, and of no importance, now to ascertain, but our forefathers carried it to such an extreme that no special acumen was needed to detect its absurdity. To discover a remedy, however, was found to be more difficult. The first attempts were errors of the same kind made in a different way. Memory was to be relieved of a great part of its work, not by calling in the aid of any other mental faculty, but by external helps, such as keys to arithmetics, and Latin school-books with the English interlined. A brief experience proved that this was a worse method than that which it professed to mend. For a time, the pupil seemed to make rapid progress; but by and by broke down entirely. The memory, thus taken by the shoulders and lifted bodily over all its first difficulties, became too feeble to encounter any; by such delicate treatment, and the habit of walking with

crutches, its limbs were paralyzed, and it became a cripple for life. The consequence was that memory lost all its former reputation. Stories of its feats in other days began to seem apocryphal: and the next step was to discard it altogether. The age of reason had risen upon us, and everything must now be addressed to the understanding. The school-room was invaded by philosophies, and not the knowledge of things, but reasons for them, were to be exacted of the opening mind. Arguments were to be framed before the pupil had possession of the material to argue with. The superficiality of such reasoning may have escaped the detection of those who introduced it, but could not long impose upon the world. If the previous method was like walking upon crutches, this was not walking at all, but a very feeble attempt at flying. Infant philosophers, it is to be hoped, have had their day.

At length, we practically admit what it is strange that men should ever have overlooked, that children are not mere memories, with material attachments to be whipped; nor native logicians, with capacities for reasoning without any *data;* but that they are human beings, with souls of the average breadth, comprehending the faculties of memory, reason, sensation, and emotion, which in order to be rightly educated must be educated all together; that they are also moral, as well as intellectual beings, and that they have bodies, upon the health of which the progress of the whole to a great degree depends. We also recognize the propriety of treating children as children, with instructions and methods suited to their age. It is as important that the child should be a child, and be educated as a child, as that the education of youth should be manly. Childhood is an important part of human existence, which it is not well for maturer life to have missed. To be treated as a man in one's childhood has a painfully hardening effect upon later years. The child should be respected, but treated as a child, his soul filled with the love and gentleness and beautiful simplicity which belong to his age. Our methods of instruction ought not to be such as to harden or deface those lovely features; but rather to develope them in truth and symmetry towards their own proper maturity, whereby they merge into those of youth.

A just method of instruction must be one, which in attaining to the primary and peculiar objects of the school, will also discipline, by judicious exercise, all the native powers, in proportion to their natural growth. It will, accordingly, be different at different periods of the course. With the younger classes the oral method, whereby the teacher explains the lesson and guides in the way whereby it is to be learned, is really the only practicable one. And those little lectures on A. B. C., &c., may be made interesting to the little student to a degree, which persons, who have not made honest trial of the pleasures attendant upon conscious attainment, would scarcely believe. The further advanced pupil, who is now able to read with fluency, should be required to prepare his lessons from the printed page with as little help as possible. He must now learn how to acquire knowledge from books. Again, at a stage of much higher progress, we return to the oral method, when the pupil has got beyond the limits and leading strings of text books, and takes up independent trains of investigation, and needs teachers only to guide him to the proper sources of information, and to help him to amass and classify. Of these three only the former two properly belong to the school. It seems an easy thing to listen to a scientific lecture, but actually is the most difficult effort required of a student, if not properly prepared therefor; nor can a class be prepared for it otherwise than by years of close attention to clear, discriminating and rapid thinking. It is the proper method of conducting the matured studies of well educated men. The familiar oral explanation, the text book and the recitation are the methods of the school.

In the earlier stages, imitation and memory are the most valuable powers towards acquiring; the reason ought to be called in by little and little, in coöperation therewith, and its task enlarged as its capacity expands. Reason is the last of the human powers to come to maturity, its youth is long, and its growth, under the most favorable circumstances, slow.

Both the instruction and the recitation should be conducted with writing. If a boy is made to write the word, which he spells, while spelling it, he will acquire both a clearer conception of the word, and greater facility in the use of it. So, if

he delineates upon the blackboard any material object, which he describes, he will both describe it better, and have clearer thoughts about it, as well as learn a very valuable use of his pencil. The teacher, also, will greatly elucidate his explanations by making them in a similar manner accessible to the eye. To secure readiness and correctness of execution at the blackboard is an object for which no pains should be spared, for of all material helps in education the most valuable is the blackboard.

Except in the single exercise of reading, all recitations ought to be conducted without book, and as much as possible without the words of the text book. The student should be required to give a synopsis of the lesson, and then to fill it in with all that the lesson contains, together with explanations, as far as his previous knowledge enables him. Thus judgment and memory will be developed and fortified symmetrically. Memory which is not trained in the harness of reason, can hardly be said to be of any use to a practical man. An orderly and rational arrangement of subjects, and a complete acquaintance with their nature, will secure a distinct and orderly recollection of them. And as that orderly classification and thorough knowledge of its proper topics is the work of education, so a right education will train the memory by the very method which it adopts for the understanding. The feats which memory may thus be enabled to perform, are not only astonishing to those who have not followed the process, but most valuable in any sphere of intellectual labour, inasmuch as they all play into the hands of reason.

The old-fashioned forcible way of learning by rote may have answered the purpose of strengthening the memory, but training it was out of the question. Mnemonics are a clumsy machinery. The memory stands in no need of them. It will work best if trained, as education should train it, to coöperate with reason. A systematic recollection of things in their proper places, and of the treatment of a subject according to the ramification of its subdivisions, is the only kind of memory that is of any use to a man of business or learning.

Another important element is that of frequent recitation without questions. In much of the work, questioning is indis-

pensable; but there is a habit of dependence engendered by it, the pupil leaning for help upon the question of his teacher. He needs to be occasionally thrown off from such support, and made to rely entirely upon himself, by being called upon to begin and go through his recitation without a word from the teacher. And this will be the better done if the attention of the whole class is addressed to what is going on, and they are called upon to offer their corrections. Not even the slightest mistake should be passed over or covered up. It is a valuable exercise of observation for the class to make all such corrections themselves. And habits of observation, and how to observe correctly, are no common attainments. Many who cannot plead a natural defect of sight, actually never see one tithe of what they look at. The world is full of secrets, open to everybody, but which not one in a thousand knows. Where attention is not intelligently directed, the information of the senses is fleeting and vain. It is no unimportant part of education to train its pupils to habits of quick and accurate observation. In this diversified and beautiful world, what a superior wealth of enjoyment is spread around the well-trained eye and ear, in the service of a spirit sensitive to their information!

Again, the order of exercises and punctuality in the performance of them ought to be as nearly perfect as possible. It is inconceivable how much of life and of human energy is wasted by lack of order and punctuality. Numbers of persons spend a large portion of every day in getting ready for their business things that ought to be always ready. From want of order in disposing their books or papers or tools, they never know where to find them when wanted, and, from lack of punctuality in their habits, suffer hour after hour to be lost in nothings, and by neglecting the right moment of appointments, squander the time of others as well as their own. These unfortunate habits are due chiefly to defects of early training. For the mind once accustomed to regular and punctual action will not readily forego its facilities and pleasures. A painful compulsion, it is true, may by disagreeable associations defeat those ends; but for that we must rely upon the kindly manner and prudence of the teacher.

It is desirable that all who have charge of the instruction of

youth should possess an affectionate spirit towards them, and habitually show them a serene and pleasant countenance. The restraints of the school-room should be felt to spring from a just and impartial law, and not from the wrath or severity of the teacher, to whose complete success it is indispensable to win the confidence and affection of his pupil. In the face of that teacher who always meets his class with cheerfulness and looks of love, there is a moral education which is beyond all estimate. As a general thing, the classes in our public schools are too large for this purpose. A class of forty or fifty repels the teacher to a distance from each one of them, and gives to the exercises the character of a cold mechanical routine. The teacher who has a heart to his profession, will be of incomparably more value to the world in a little group, who can all feel as if they had each a distinct interest in his care and affection.

A very large and valuable part of primary education is acquired not through formal instruction, but by sympathetic imitation. Use of language, manner, moral tone, and habits of various kinds are learned more by force of some attractive example than in any other way. And most of all should the teacher aim to be attractive to his pupils to that end. Moreover, it is chiefly through this means that the moral training of the school is effected. Next to that of the parent, and, in some respects, beyond it, is the schoolmaster's influence for good or evil. Children, who love a good teacher, almost invariably do well morally, besides doing their best in their studies. And for that love the teacher is himself, to a great degree, responsible; nay, in as far as concerns the little children, we should say entirely so. For any good man may win the affection of a child who will make it his care so to do. A scrupulous rectitude of conduct will be rendered lovely in the eyes of his pupils by such kindly associations with himself. On the other hand, a hard and repulsive countenance and manner will render every lesson irksome, while they produce the feelings they represent in the young mind. An ill-tempered teacher will most certainly make an ill-behaved class. He may compel them to prepare their lessons; but the severity which he has to apply in order to do so, will go far to drive all love of study from their souls. The task

will be done like work-house labour, to be entirely laid aside when the day of release comes. The work of the teacher is not only to train the mind to right thinking, and to communicate knowledge, but still more to inspire a love for it, which shall act as a main-spring wound up to run through life.

We entertain no such ideas of the innocence of childhood and youth as to believe that all punishments can be dispensed with, but they should never come from outbursts of temper, and never be inflicted but for moral delinquencies, which gentler treatment has failed to correct. Knowledge ought never to be associated with pain or disgrace, nor its acquisition imposed as a penalty. Its proper attendant, by the decree of God, is pleasure, and we have no right to interfere with that natural sequence, nor can we, without incurring consequences of evil.

We need not, in this place, enlarge upon the benefits accruing to society from the promotion of well conducted schools, nor go to work to demonstrate that the state needs educated men for her offices, that the learned professions are indispensable to our social existence, that the church demands instruction for her members, nor that without education no people ever was or ever could be civilized; but we deem it highly probable that there may still be many among us who have little conception of the difficulty of the schoolmaster's profession, and of the importance of sustaining liberally, in a moral as well as a pecuniary sense, the persons who prove themselves competent to the task. No investment of money is so profitable to the neighbourhood as the support of good schools and good schoolmasters. A community in which children are brought up in ignorance is invariably a nursery of crime, where no parent has any reason to expect that his own will not belong to the criminals. The school is the proper auxiliary of the church, and its work is the only sure preventive of crime. It is, indeed, an instructive lesson to read history, and mark how civilization and public virtue have waxed or waned according to the care and prudence expended upon schools.

Many elements go to form civilization, and men will differ as to their relative importance; but one thing is undeniable, that without education it never existed anywhere in any shape.

Exclusion of that one element, for one generation, would reduce the most refined people on the face of the earth to barbarism. Suppose that all over the United States, from this date, we should have no more teaching done for thirty years, it would be easier to foretell our degradation than to conceive of the degree of it. The world has seen only too many examples of such a process, not adopted so suddenly, but demonstrating with unmistakable certainty the nature of the causes, and their effects.

With such a work before them, and such a power for good or evil committed to their hands, it becomes solemnly obligatory upon teachers to spare no pains in properly equipping themselves for their task. It is one which requires no common amount of self-culture. Many get along in it lazily, and even ignorantly, to the disgrace of the profession, and irreparable injury of their pupils; but the man who entertains right ideas of his duty, and a conscientious purpose to discharge it faithfully, will find continual effort needed to maintain and extend his own qualifications.

In the first place, the branches he has undertaken to teach require a systematic attention. His mind must be open to every improvement or discovery which goes to expand his ideas on the subject, or to furnish him the means of improving and interesting his class. Whoever would teach any branch of knowledge well, must know much more than he needs to communicate. There is a feeling of barrenness suggested by the instructions of a teacher, who confines his own attainments to the lessons of the school. A man's knowledge causes his face to shine, and it throws a wonderful light into his language, filling it with a meaning, which gives interest to all it touches.

He has also to guard against the chilling and narrowing effects of routine upon his habits, dragging him down to pedantry, and thereby shutting him in from all those measures for improvement, in which he ought to lead, as well as from sympathy with those minds whose confidence he needs to secure. His aim should be to master everything, which is accessible, pertaining to his department, and to lubricate the action of professional attainment with a large infusion of general information.

He needs to keep up acquaintance with the living world. An author, or mere student of science, who has a view to only abstract conclusions, or addresses only the average public, may afford to shut himself up in his cell, and act the hermit; but the teacher, who has to do with the living present, and must shape his instructions to the individual mind, ought to know the particular colour of the age and community in which, and for which, he labours.

A teacher ought, also, to cultivate within himself a pure and elevated moral tranquillity. Nothing goes so far to subdue and regulate the disorderly spirits of a class as the serene demeanor of the teacher, always master of himself, unembarrassed as to his method, and unruffled in temper. Such an one governs his class without seeming to do so. There is a magic in the calm, firm, but kindly eye, that goes to the heart of the scholar, and makes him feel that disorder would be a shameful discredit to himself.

And, finally, no teacher can meet the full demands of his profession, until he has learned of the great Teacher of Nazareth. There are qualifications indispensable to complete success, which can be acquired at no other hand. Until he has learned to regard his pupils as immortal beings, and to earnestly desire their salvation, and habitually pray for it, he has not given his labours for them that elevated position which is due. The highest of all teaching is that which makes secular learning a schoolmaster to bring the pupil to Christ.

It must be obvious that such a style of education can never be made popular without a corresponding thoroughness in the preparation of teachers for the common schools, and that such preparation can be given only in institutions expressly for the purpose. The college cannot answer such a purpose. It confers that intellectual discipline and information, which is the common basis of all liberal culture; but cannot turn aside to drill men for particular occupations. That latter belongs to the university, which is properly an aggregate of professional seminaries. And the measure now advocated is the addition to that assembly of a new member, which shall stand to the busi-

ness of teaching in such a relation, as the others to their respective professions.

Short as is the history of normal schools, it has furnished abundant evidence of their efficiency, and encouragement to further support. They were preceded by the establishment in some places of elementary institutions, organized after the manner in which it was thought a school should be. In reference to these, the word *normal* was used in the sense of *a model* or *pattern*. They corresponded, however, not so much to the normal as to the model schools of later times. Of this class were those of Neander, at Ilefeld, in Germany, founded as far back as 1570, and of the Abbe de Lasalle, at Rheims, in France, in 1681. "These establishments, with numerous others of a similar character, successively established prior to the beginning of the eighteenth century, were not simply schools for the education of children, but were so conducted as to test and exemplify principles and methods of instruction, which were perpetuated and disseminated by means of books, in which they were embodied, or of pupils and disciples who transplanted them to other places. These schools served as a kind of forerunner to prepare the way for the more efficient and perfect institutions of the same designation at a later day."

Normal is now applied to schools in which young men and women, who have passed through an elementary or even liberal course of study, are "preparing to be teachers, by making additional attainments, and acquiring a knowledge of the principles of education as a science, and its methods as an art." The earliest attempt of this kind was made at Halle about one hundred and fifty years ago. In 1794, the National Assembly of France established, at Rheims, a seminary for the preparation of professors for colleges and higher academies. But the first really normal school for training elementary teachers, in France, was not organized until 1810. Five or six more arose after the Restoration. Their benefits soon became so apparent, and recommended them so highly, that from 1830 to 1832, they were greatly improved, and no less than thirty new ones added to the number. In 1849, there were ninety-three such schools in France, and ten thousand five hundred and forty-three of their graduates actu-

ally employed in the primary schools. "Now, each department of the empire is obliged either alone, or in conjunction with other departments, to support one normal school for the education of its schoolmasters."

In England, normal schools were first organized about the year 1805. There also they have given such satisfaction that their number has increased to more than forty in the United Kingdom. Elsewhere in Europe, their adoption has been equally satisfactory, and, though the period of their history is short, it has already ceased to be an experiment.

We quote the language of the Report of the New Jersey Normal School, for 1855: "There is scarcely a government, either great or small, among the dynasties of Europe, that does not recognize this class of institutions as an indispensable part of its educational machinery." "Prussia, in 1846, had in active and successful operation forty-six normal schools, including five for female teachers. In the forty-one schools for males, there were, at the above date, over twenty-five hundred pupil-teachers." "The Electorate of Hesse Cassel, with a population of seven hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, has three seminaries for teachers. The course of instruction in them embraces three years. The Duchy of Nassau, with a population of four hundred and twenty thousand, supports one normal school, which, in 1846, had one hundred and fifty-four pupils. The course of study and practice continues five years, four of which are devoted to study, including a thorough review of the branches pursued in the elementary schools, and the acquisition of such others as facilitate the illustration and teaching of the former. The remaining year is devoted exclusively to the principles of education and the art of teaching.

"Hanover, with a population of one million seven hundred and ninety thousand, supports seven normal schools. The course of study extends through three years. In Bavaria there are nine in operation, with nearly seven hundred pupils. The oldest is at Bamburg, and was founded in 1777, as a model school of the old type. It was raised to a seminary, composed of pupil-teachers, in 1791. In many of the normal seminaries of the German States, in addition to the liberal course of studies

before alluded to, vocal, as well as instrumental music, is cultivated to the highest degree. Their graduates are proficients in the use of the violin, the pianoforte, and the organ, and have thus made the Germans proverbially a nation of musicians.

"Numerous other examples of the establishment and support of these training-schools might be adduced, but this is not necessary. The more important cases have been enumerated to an extent sufficient to demonstrate the strong hold which they have secured upon the governments and the people of the old world. That the elementary schools of those countries have attained to an extraordinary degree of efficiency and perfection is undeniable: that this efficiency and perfection are mainly due to the operation of the normal schools is equally true."

"The Prussians," remarks Mr. Kay, an intelligent English writer on education, "would ridicule the idea of confiding the education of their children to uneducated masters and mistresses, as in too many of our schools in this country. They cannot conceive the case of a parent who would be willing to commit his child to the care of a person who had not been educated most carefully and religiously in that most difficult of all arts, the art of teaching. They think that a teacher must either improve and elevate the minds of his pupils, or else injure and debase them. They believe that there is no such thing as coming into daily contact with a child, without doing him either good or harm. The Prussians know that the minds of the young are never stationary, but always in progress; and that this progress is always a moral or an immoral one, either backward or forward; and hence the extraordinary expenditure the country is bearing, and the extraordinary pains it is taking to support and improve its training schools for teachers." A maxim prevails among them, that whatever you would have appear in a nation's life, you must put into its schools; which, practically applied, if it enables them to turn all the force of a most elaborate educational system to the support of a despotic monarchy, may with greater propriety and better effect be addressed by us, through similar means, to the maintenance of a government which depends upon, and derives all its excellence from popular morality and intelligence.

The normal schools of the United States comprehend, 1st. The model, or pattern school of earlier times; 2d. The professional characteristics of the European establishments of the present day, as far as circumstances will allow; and 3d. The academical features of the ordinary school. That is to say, the normal schools of this country are compelled by reason of the deficient character of too many of the elementary and other schools to assume the work of the latter. They are compelled to exhaust much of their strength in imparting a knowledge even of the lower elementary studies. In the Prussian normal schools a high standard of literary qualifications is required of a candidate as a condition of admission to them. Nor is this all. There are preparatory schools, in which not only are the requisite amount and quality of scholarship imparted to the candidate, but in which also his peculiar fitness and adaptation to the calling of a teacher are thoroughly tested, before he can become a candidate for the normal seminary. This enables the latter to give a much stronger professional cast to their systems of training, and to dwell more extensively upon the science of education and the art of teaching, which constitute their true field of labour.

The disadvantages under which American normal schools now labour will, however, gradually disappear. They will themselves correct the evil by elevating the standard of instruction in the lower schools. They are rapidly multiplying, and are introducing improved models of teaching in the public schools, through the graduates, who become the teachers in them. And thus the public schools will reciprocate by sending to the normal school candidates of higher attainments and more elevated aims.

The first normal school for the training of teachers, in this country, was opened at Lexington, Massachusetts, on the 3d of July, 1839. A second was opened at Barre, on the 4th of September of the same year. Massachusetts, ever alive to the paramount interests of education, now supports four of these institutions, in which there are at the present time about three hundred and fifty pupils qualifying for the responsible office of teachers in her common schools. The State appropriates the sum of seventeen thousand dollars annually for their support,

four thousand of which are devoted to the assistanee of sueh pupils as are unable to bear the expenses of their own education. In addition to the above amount, these schools receive the income of a fund of ten thousand dollars, placed at the disposal of the Board of Education for that purpose by a citizen of Boston, and also five hundred dollars a year, being the income of another fund from a private souree."

This example of Massachusetts has been followed by several other States. New York commenced in May, 1844. In ten years her normal school had instructed more than two thousand two hundred pupils. The total number of graduates for the same period "was seven hundred and eighty, of which three hundred and ninety-one were females, and three hundred and eighty-nine males." "The demand for its graduates, as teachers in the common schools of the State, has been so great for years, that it could not be supplied."

"The State of Connecticut has a normal school in a very flourishing condition at New Britain. It was opened in May, 1850, and in 1856, contained one hundred and eighty-one pupils."

Rhode Island provides for the special training of her teachers by the endowment of a normal department in Brown University, which was opened in October, 1852. It is represented as in a highly prosperous condition. The State normal school of Michigan was opened in March, 1853. Last year it had educated about six hundred pupils, and had two hundred in attendance. Wisconsin and Iowa have followed the example of Rhode Island, in connecting their normal seminaries with their universities. A similar course has been adopted by Kentucky in the act of the legislature, "to reorganize Transylvania University, and to establish a school for teachers." The institution was opened on the first of September last. Provision is made for the instruction of one hundred and sixteen pupils; and as early as the month of November there were more than eighty in attendance.

In several of the large cities of the Union, as New York, Boston and Philadelphia, normal schools have been established by the municipal authorities, and at the municipal expense.

In British North America the cause has made similarly rapid and gratifying progress. The State normal school of New Jer-

sey was established by act of the legislature, February 9th, 1855, and opened on the first of October of the same year, under the most favourable auspices. So far the success of the enterprise is all that its most zealous advocates could have anticipated, while it seems steadily to advance in the confidence and interest of the people.

It is not our intention to write a history of this great educational movement; but merely by a few specimens to indicate its bearing and progress, and the nature of that revolution which it is calculated, and apparently destined to effect.

The notion has too long prevailed among us that mere communication of knowledge is itself a sufficient education, no matter by whom made, nor in what way, nor with what associations. Under the habits of our forefathers, who, crude as many of their ideas on the subject were, never conceived of education but as connected with religion, though it perpetuated bad method and defective intellectual culture, it could not go so far to the danger of morals; but in an age when, if not atheism, a secularizing spirit is seeking every avenue to the minds of the young, approaching their passions and elaborately endeavouring to recommend itself to their reason, it becomes us to look closely after the moral direction, which their instruction takes. The axiom, that knowledge is power, has been taken in a meaning far other than its author designed, or the nature of things justifies. Power is only an instrument. Everything depends on how it is applied. The greater the power the more dangerous it is, in unprincipled hands; and knowledge without goodness is like gunpowder in the hands of a madman. The intellect may be disciplined to the highest degree, and furnished with the largest stores of information, only to become an agent of the greater mischief. Virtue does not spring as the necessary consequence of knowledge: nothing depends so completely upon express instruction. True virtue is the outgrowth of a pious heart alone, and that is what no learning ever conferred. Experience in the world may give some degree of mental training, and some important knowledge, but the world and all its experience never yet gave piety. That can come only as the result of instructions appointed thereto.

It suits the purpose of the infidel and profligate to stop the

progress of instruction within the bounds of secularity, and to exclude from it everything tending to lead the spirit up to God; and there are feeble Christians, who fall in with that purpose under a mistaken notion of liberality. It is a proper time, in the beginning of this great educational reform, to examine this aspect of the subject, and to treat it honestly and fully, without fear or favour. Liberality has been adopted by the enemies of the gospel as a plausible term with which to cover ungodliness, infidelity and licentiousness, and by the use of it and similar words they seek to intimidate Christians into a resignation of their creed and consistency of conduct. And we regret to say that there are multitudes of good people so far affected by this infidel cant and hypocrisy, and so terribly afraid of being thought narrow minded, that they never dare to assert for religion its proper place.

If it is true that what you would have to appear in the life of a nation, you must put into their schools, and if, as is admitted, the schoolmaster makes the school, then the most desirable elements of our civilization must be inculcated in our seminaries for teachers. And, if the gospel is, what history has long declared it to be, the spirit of order, harmony and good government in the state, of peace and love in society, and of true wisdom and abiding happiness in the individual soul, and if these are the great ends professedly aimed at, in any national system of education, it must be obvious that of all qualifications of a teacher, the most valuable is a genuine and enlightened piety.

Art. IV.—*A Text-Book of Church History.* By Dr. John C. L. Gieseler. Translated from the fourth revised German edition, by Samuel Davidson, LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Ecclesiastical History, in the Lancashire Independent College. A New American Edition, revised and edited by Henry B. Smith, Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Vol. I. A.D. 1—726. Vol. II. A. D. 726—1305. (Translated by Davidson and the Rev. John Winstanley Hull, M. A.) New York: Harper & Brothers, 1857. 8vo. pp. 576 and 624.

The favourite maxim, that history is philosophy teaching by example, has often been abused by making it the basis of specific prophecies or prognostications, which are usually falsified by the event, as well as by the general fact, that all the great developments of providence are unexpected, and take the most intelligent observers by surprise. For illustrations of this statement, we need go no further than the last hundred years, within which one American and three French Revolutions, the Crimean war and taking of Sebastopol, the rebellion in China, and the mutiny in India, with many intermediate changes of the same and other kinds, have been as startling to the world, as if it had possessed neither faculties nor elements for calculation, though in each successive case, the prophet *ex eventu*, sees exactly how it might have been foretold, and proceeds, with faith unshaken, to foretell the next accordingly. But these empirical attempts and failures cannot destroy the true use of experience and history, as a source of correct judgments, even in relation to the future; just as long practice is an invaluable guide to the physician, though it does not enable him to predict with certainty the issue, even of a single case. Though less exciting and amusing than this soothsaying use of history, it is more safe and instructive, at least sometimes, to look back instead of forward, and observe how often the reality has contradicted what appeared to be the strongest antecedent probabilities. Leaving the reader to attempt this on a large scale for himself, we shall merely call attention to a single instance, more immediately connected with our present purpose.

If anything could have been looked upon as probable, or

almost certain, in the infancy and childhood of the Christian Church, it was that she would pay great and early attention to her own eventful history, and soon bring it to a high state of perfection. For this, both inducements and facilities existed in abundance. While the lawfulness and usefulness of such pursuits were attested, as they still are, by the space allotted to historical matter in the word of God, and in the literature and liberal studies of all cultivated nations, the most perfect models of combined simplicity and art or skill, were furnished by the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin classics. With such examples and authorities, the many gifted and accomplished Christians of the early ages could not possibly be ignorant what history ought to be, and what it might be made to be in proper hands. From these advantages, together with the obvious importance of authentic history to vindicate the truth, and guard it from corruption, it might well have been expected that the ancient Christian literature would be specially distinguished by its masterpieces of historiography.

But so far was this antecedent probability from being verified by the event, that the first three centuries are, in this respect, almost a blank. The histories composed in that long period, so far as we can now ascertain, were very few in number, and those few so little read or valued, that not one of them has been preserved entire. The oldest writer of church history of whom we have any definite authentic knowledge, unless Papias be entitled to this designation, was Hegesippus, a converted Jew of Asia Minor, who, about the middle of the second century, by travelling and otherwise, collected the traditions of the apostolic age, now extant only in the tantalizing shape of fragments, extracts and quotations, in the works of later writers. The same thing may be said, in substance, of the Chronography of Julius Africanus, written about a hundred years later. Nor is it certain what we should have thought of these works, if they had come down to us. There is certainly no evidence that either was a regular historical composition, or anything more than a collection of historical materials, consisting of fragments, anecdotes, and documents. But whatever may have been their form or character, they do not seem to have been so much in demand, as to secure their preservation

by a frequent transcription, which is now the only test of accuracy and popularity in ancient writings. It is, however, a precarious and doubtful one, as we may learn from the lost books of Livy, and the lost plays of Aristophanes and Sophocles, a few examples out of many, clearly proving that the disappearance of an ancient writing may arise from causes wholly independent either of its literary merit, or the public taste.

This remarkable neglect of ecclesiastical history, in the very period when it might have been expected most to flourish, is a riddle or enigma, which admits of no complete solution, the best attempts being only partially successful, and the rest sheer failures. Some have thought it sufficient to refer to the constant persecutions of the age, as the cause of this defect in its productions. But this is not a satisfactory solution, as the same cause did not hinder other kinds of intellectual exertion, the results of which are extant and abundant. It is the less conclusive because some of the most interesting narratives of that age, which have been preserved, owe both their existence and their subject to these very sufferings. Such is the exquisite description of the martyrdom of Polycarp, recorded by his church at Smyrna; such the thrilling story of the contemporary persecution in the south of Gaul, as preserved in an epistle from the churches of Lyons and Vienne. A better explanation, although still not wholly satisfactory, is that historical studies were discouraged, and almost excluded, by the general attention paid to doctrinal controversy, and to philosophical speculation, which, when pushed to an extreme, has always led to the neglect of history. The deficiency of this solution lies in its not explaining why metaphysics or polemics triumphed over history in this case. One circumstance which may, at first sight, seem to favour the opinion that the persecutions were the cause of the neglect in this case, is that the first change for the better took place under Constantine, by whom the church was freed from persecution. But this, if it be more than a fortuitous coincidence, cannot outweigh or neutralize the fact just mentioned, as to other forms of intellectual activity, within the bosom of the persecuted church.

True it is, however, that the date of the oldest church history now extant is just posterior to the age of persecution.

This is the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, bishop of Cesarea in Palestine, in the early part of the fourth century, the confidential friend and spiritual guide of Constantine. Eusebius, as appears from his own writings, was a man of good mind and extensive reading. His temper and spirit were so mild and liberal, even towards the erring, that he was frequently suspected, either justly or unjustly, of agreement with them. From his private relations and official position, he was familiarly conversant with all the great events and persons of the day. He also derived great advantages as a historian, from his free access to the archives of the empire, as well as to the famous library at Cesarea, founded by his friend Pamphilus, from whom he derives one of his historical surnames.

Besides his *Præparatio* and *Demonstratio Evangelica*, Eusebius wrote a *Chronicle*, or series of annals, and an *Ecclesiastical History*, the first work known to have been formally so called. To this work, his account of the Martyrs of Palestine, and his panegyrical biography of Constantine, may be regarded as appendices or supplements. This history is disfigured by a style at once inflated and jejune, combining the worst faults of classical and oriental diction. It is also rendered less agreeable and useful, by a method, sometimes wholly arbitrary or fortuitous, and sometimes simply chronological, without any attempt at a digested systematic form. This is the more remarkable, as no Christian writer of that age had better opportunities of intimate acquaintance with the highest models of historical composition, sacred and profane. It might almost seem that this old Greek writer, like some modern Germans, thought it necessary, or at least desirable, to make church history as unlike general history as possible.

But with all its faults of style and method, this great work has its undeniable merits, not only relative, arising from its chronological priority, but absolute, arising from intrinsic value. The first of these is the personal testimony of a competent and generally credible witness to the events of his own time. The next, perhaps entitled to the chief place in importance, is the preservation of much older matter, which would otherwise have perished. This consists not only of quotations, extracts, and mere fragments, although often of the highest interest, but in

many cases of entire documents, in their original authentic form. The abundance, not to say profusion, of such matter in the writings of Eusebius, and the inartificial mode of its insertion, though exceedingly injurious to the literary merit of the composition, adds, in the same proportion, to its value as a storehouse of materials, and to the author's claim to his traditional honours as the Father of Church History.

This claim rests not on the contents of his own work alone, but also on the influence of his example in promoting similar attempts by his contemporaries, and especially his followers in the next generation. In one respect these imitators generally differed from their model; namely, in the substitution of polemic zeal and partiality, for the often latitudinarian indifference of their predecessor. Of this class the familiar type and representative is Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, at the end of the fourth century. To him we owe a large part of our information as to the ancient heresies, but with the drawback of a strong suspicion, that the zeal of the historian sometimes outran his knowledge, and erected sects and systems on the slight foundation of a name, or of a single incident. That this unwholesome practice was not confined to the orthodox or Nicene historians, we may gather from the case of Philostorgius, whose lost work is described by his contemporaries as intended to maintain the Arian cause. Another lost historian of the same age is Sidetes, of Pamphylia, represented as a copious, but confused and unmethodical writer.

The next century produced several continuators of Eusebius, whose history ends with the year 321. Among these the most eminent were two Byzantine lawyers, Socrates and Sozomen, and the eminent bishop, theologian, and interpreter, Theodoret. All of these unfortunately cover nearly the same ground, being little more than a hundred years, so that the chain of historic materials is tripled not in length but thickness. In the beginning of the sixth century, Theodorus of Constantinople wrote a further continuation of Eusebius, which is lost, and an abridgment, which is extant, but of little value. The last important name in this Eusebian succession, as it may be called, is that of Evagrius of Antioch, who brought down the

history until near his own times at the close of the sixth century.

All the works which we have now named were composed in Greek, the Latin church historians of the same age being little more than translators and abridgers. The *Historia Sacra* of the Gallic Presbyter, Sulpicius Severus, sometimes called the Christian Sallust, on account of his comparatively classic style, and the similar work of the Spanish Presbyter, Orosius, are general histories, but contain much religious and ecclesiastical matter. The Italian Presbyter, Rufinus of Aquileia, famous both as the friend and enemy of Jerome, translated and continued the great work of Eusebius. Cassiodorus, a learned senator and statesman under Theodoric, the Gothic king of Italy, by compilation and abridgment formed a manual, which, in conjunction with the one just mentioned, was in use as a text-book through the Middle Ages. During the Middle Ages, there are no professed church historians in Greek, until we reach Nicephorus Callisti, in the thirteenth century; but much ecclesiastical matter is contained in the long series of Byzantine Historians, extending from the close of the fifth to that of the fifteenth century. This absorption of ecclesiastical in civil history is less surprising, as the Greek church was not only united with the state, but peculiarly and constantly involved in politics and court intrigues.

The subjugation of the western Roman Empire (near the end of the fifth century) by the northern barbarians was followed by great intellectual depression and neglect of learning; and even after study and instruction were revived, it was under a scholastic dialectic form, which was scarcely less adverse to historical and classical pursuits than the grosser barbarism which preceded. Under such discouragements all history degenerated into mere collections of materials, in the form of chronicles or annals, with less and less of that methodical and systematic character, which must be added to the mere accumulation of detailed facts, in order to convert them into history, as the science of events, or the rational estimate of what has happened. It is characteristic of the period in question, that its great historians are such as William of Tyre, and Matthew Paris, for the East and West respectively. Let it be observed,

however, that among the most conspicuous exceptions to this general dearth of historical genius in the Middle Ages, are the names of some ecclesiastical historians, to whom we are indebted for important contributions to our knowledge of their national churches. As examples we need only name Beda Venerabilis in England, Gregory of Tours in France, Paulus Diaconus in Italy, and Adam of Bremen in the north of Europe.

But besides the intellectual and literary degradation of church history in the Middle Ages, it was morally debased by the increase of superstition, and especially that form of it called Hagiolatry, or Saint-worship. This unscriptural but popular corruption, in addition to its other worse effects, tended to generate a rivalry between the tutelary saints of different churches, provinces, and nations. To maintain this trivial but exciting competition, their biographies insensibly usurped the place of more important history. Then, under the same vicious and violent excitement, the Lives of the Saints were first embellished, then falsified, and finally invented and forged outright, in order to effect their purpose. Even this, however, did not always prevent their being sanctioned by the highest ecclesiastical authority as *legenda*, or lessons to be read in public or private worship, as approved examples of life and manners. From this abuse the words *legend* and *legendary* have become almost synonymous with *fable* and *fabulous* in modern usage.

The general stream of historical knowledge, as well as the particular current of church history, was at its lowest ebb in the age immediately before the Reformation, and if such coercion had been needed to corroborate the force of circumstances and events, would no doubt have been intentionally kept there, even by the more enlightened rulers of the Church, whose policy and interest it was to represent existing rites and doctrines as identical with those of the apostolic age, an illusion which would instantly have been dispelled by any clear view of the intervening history. The Revival of Letters, which preceded and prepared the way for the Reformation or Revival of Religion, gave the first shock to the prevailing ignorance, while the sceptical criticism of such writers as Laurentius Valla excited a spirit of original inquiry into ancient history as well

as doctrine. This spirit of historical research is related to the Reformation, both as a cause and an effect. It led the way to the correction of abuses, falsely claiming to be primitive in date, and apostolical in origin, and to the restoration of a purer faith and practice. These, in their turn, gave a stronger impulse to this class of studies, and reciprocally aided what had aided them.

All the polemic writings of the great Reformers are historical as far as they demonstrate the corruptions of the Church of Rome to be innovations, and contrast them with the simplicity and purity of ancient times. It is worthy of remark, however, that Luther and Calvin wrote no formal histories, as their associates, Beza and Melancthon, did; a difference possibly fortuitous, but probably arising from the fact, that the importance of Ecclesiastical History, as such, and in its proper form, not merely as an incident or element of polemic theology, but as a direct means of refuting error and establishing the truth, was more and more appreciated as the work advanced.

In perfect harmony with this view of the matter is the well known fact, that the first complete church history, even in conception, though a genuine product of the Reformation, was not projected, or at least not carried even into partial execution, until after Luther's death. The honour of this great design belongs to one of his most zealous disciples, Matthias Flacius, often called Illyricus, from his native country, although educated in the schools of Wittenberg. As represented by himself and others, he appears to have been a man of sturdy intellect and solid learning, an uncompromising enemy of Rome and its corruptions, but less favourably, although not less palpably distinguished by the coarseness of his taste and the violence of his temper.

To this man we owe the new and bold conception of a history of the church upon the largest scale, designed expressly to expose the Romish errors and corruptions in detail, and to trace the progress of the great apostasy from age to age. He had the sagacity to see that such a work could be successful only in proportion to its fulness and exactness, and to the weight of the authorities on which it rested. He also saw with a perspicacity still more surprising, that the execution of his

purpose was beyond the strength and skill of any one man, and could only be accomplished by associated labour. He therefore organized a system of concerted operations, which does credit both to his inventive and administrative talent, and could scarcely have been improved by the busiest and noisiest "convention" in our own day. The work was divided among ten active labourers, (*operarii*,) seven of whom were to collect materials, two to digest them, and the tenth to shape them, or reduce them to a written form, either before or after which it was subjected to the joint and several inspection of five managers, (*gubernatores*,) who controlled and checked the acts, not only of the underlings, but of each other.

The great work, thus sagaciously projected and laboriously executed, came to light in parts or numbers, most of which included each a century. The first was issued from the press of Oporinus, at Basel, in 1559; the last appeared in 1574, after an interval of fifteen years. The proper name or title given to it by its authors was, "Ecclesiastica Historia, integram Ecclesiæ Christianæ ideam complectens." But as its associated writers, at the time of its original appearance, were chiefly resident at Magdeburg, as indicated in the title, ("per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe Magdeburgiæ,") though afterwards separated and reduced in number, it has been generally known by the name of the Magdeburg Centuries, and its authors by that of the Magdeburg Centuriators.

This work, notwithstanding its extent of surface and complexity of form, appears to have obtained a wide and rapid circulation, both among the friends and the opponents of the Reformation. Its appearance acted on the darkness of the age as a sudden blaze of light, in which the rays before emitted singly were concentrated, or, without a figure, the results of various particular discussions were reduced to a complete and regular historical arrangement. At the same time it raised ecclesiastical history to a position which it has ever since retained, especially in Germany; and although it repressed for a time the spirit of original investigation, in a field which seemed to be already exhausted, it eventually gave a new and mighty impulse to such studies, in both divisions of the great Protestant body, exciting Lutherans to continue the good work

among themselves, and stirring up the Calvinists to emulation. Its effect upon the Church of Rome was still more remarkable. After various attempts to counteract its influence in other ways, it there led to the laborious preparation of a work of the same kind, designed expressly to refute it, and to establish by historical evidence the very system which the "Centuries" were meant to overthrow. The person chosen for this sevice was a young Dominican, of great ability and learning, Cæsar Baronius, who was afterwards rewarded for his labours with a cardinal's hat. The "Annales Ecclesiastici" made their first appearance in 1588, and were continued by the same hand until 1607. Besides the opportunity of profiting by the example and experience of his immediate predecessors, Baronius had access to additional materials, especially to those secreted in the archives of the Papal See, and other repositories inaccessible to Protestants. But while this seemed to give him some exclusive advantages, it also tended to excite suspicion as to the fidelity with which he had made use of these materials, so carefully withheld from public view. And this suspicion has prevailed, not only among Protestants, but to some extent within the Church of Rome. The "Annals," although now extremely rare, have been several times reprinted, with and without continuation. These two great works, themselves the fruit of theological discussion in the age of the Reformation, were in turn the parents of a vast and varied literature, belonging to the province of ecclesiastical history. The impulse given to such studies was still felt within as well as without the Roman pale. But though the Annals of Baronius were intended to maintain the strictest form of Popish doctrine, the later historiography of that church was chiefly in the hands of its more liberal theologians, such as Fra Paolo (Sarpi,) the classical and almost Protestant historian of the Council of Trent, to whom Pallavicino bears the same relation as Baronius to the Magdeburg Centuriators. To the same class may be referred a brilliant constellation of historians belonging to the Gallican or Romish Church of France, among whom may be named Morinus, Petavius, Tillemont, Richard Simon, Fleury, and Natalis Alexander, whose history was composed in such a spirit as to be put upon the

index of forbidden books at Rome. The most elegant and eloquent of these Gallican historians was the famous Bossuet, the most popular preacher and successful champion of his church in that age, whose "Discours de l'Histoire Universelle" is not only a French classic of the first rank, but a noble comprehensive view of the whole field of history, from the highest Christian ground, though not without an eye to the exaltation of his own creed and communion.

The Reformed or Calvinistic Churches of the seventeenth century furnished many zealous and successful rivals of the great historians of the previous age; but it was noted, as a curious fact, that their researches tended rather to special than to general church history. Yet, Hottinger, in Switzerland, produced a good work of the latter class, while Spanheim, and the Basnages in Holland, Daillé, Blondell, and Salmasius in France, excelled in cultivating smaller fields. In the same century, the Church of England produced many eminent historical writers, chiefly on special and restricted subjects, among whom may be named, as representatives, Archbishop Usher; Bishops Pearson, Beveridge, and Burnet; Doctors Dodwell, Cave, Bull, and Bingham, who is still one of the highest authorities in the department of Ecclesiastical Antiquities or Christian Archæology.

The tone of church history continued to be controversial or polemic, more especially in Germany, until Calixtus, in the seventeenth century, attempted to introduce a more pacific and dispassionate mode of treating the subject, with a view to the promotion of his favourite scheme of reuniting all communions on the doctrinal and ecclesiastical basis of the early centuries. But the unpopularity of this design impaired his influence, which might otherwise have been a great one, on contemporary historiography. More success attended the efforts of Spener, the first founder of the Pietists, to moderate polemic rancour, and to make experimental piety the essence of church history, as well as of Christianity itself. This movement met with less direct opposition from the orthodox Lutherans, because they were at that time chiefly busied, like the Calvinistic writers of an earlier day, with special subjects, such as the history of the Reformation, as composed by Seckendorf and others. Thus

the antipolemic or irenic spirit was allowed for a time to become prevalent in general church history, until, by being pushed to an extreme, it grew as pugnacious in its opposition to "dead orthodoxy," as the older writers were in opposition to "rank heresy." The chief representative of this extreme reaction, was Godfrey Arnold, in the early part of the last century, who, without professedly departing from the doctrines of his church, became the patron and apologist of heretics in general, alleging that in most of their contentions with the church, they were morally if not theoretically in the right. This singular work, although it gave rise to a long and angry controversy, was deprived of permanent and popular effect, by its paradoxical excess, as well as by its harsh and unattractive style.

Though Arnold, strictly speaking, had no followers, his very extravagances, when contrasted with those of previous writers in the opposite direction, contributed still further to divest church history of its predominant polemic tone, and to promote a more impartial and dispassionate treatment of the subject. This is very apparent in the writings of the best historians, throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, as well among the Lutherans (Buddeus, Fabricius, Weismann) as among the Calvinists (Jablonski, Venema, Alphonso Turrettin, Lenfant, Beausobre, and Le Clerc or Clericus.) The same thing may even be affirmed, though in a less degree, of some Romish writers, (such as Orsi and Mansi.)

The danger now was that the controversial spirit would give place to one of cold indifference as to matters in dispute, even when the writer really adhered to orthodox opinions. This fear is even thought by some to have been realized, in the case of the next distinguished writer, who exerted a commanding influence both on contemporaneous and subsequent historiography. This was John Lawrence Mosheim, who died in 1755, after holding a conspicuous position, during many years, at Helmstadt and Gottingen. Besides a multitude of books and tracts on various subjects, more or less connected with church history, he published two which have never lost their place among the highest secondary or derivative authorities. One of these is his "Commentaries on the state of Christianity before the time of Constantine." The other is his "Institutes of

Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern." Both have been translated into English, and the latter, although now comparatively little used in Germany, has long been a favourite text-book, both in England and America.

The works of Mosheim are distinguished, in addition to the absence of all warmth and passion, by a thorough knowledge of the subject, rare acuteness and sagacity in critical conjecture, and historical combination, great completeness and exactness as to the essential facts of history, extreme formality and clearness of arrangement, and especially by classical elegance of Latin style, in which respect he ranks among the best modern writers. This last attraction is, of course, lost in translation, being wholly wanting both in Maclaine's free and declamatory paraphrase, and in Murdock's accurate but awkward version. The writer last named has materially added to the worth of the original, considered as a storehouse of facts, but not to its beauty as a composition, by his numerous and often overloaded notes, which ought to have been wrought into the text of a new work, instead of being used to patch an old one. The contempt which some among us now affect for Mosheim, is in amusing contrast with the extravagant applause which he received from his most fastidious contemporaries, such as bishop Warburton, who speaks of his plan as the perfection of method, and its execution as exclusively entitled to the name of a church history.

The influence of Mosheim's better taste and temper may be traced in the next generation of historians, among whom, Baumgarten, Cramer, Pfaff, the two Walchs, and some others, have independent merits of their own, upon which we cannot dwell, however, but must hasten to the next important change in historical writing and investigation. This was occasioned by the rise of Neology or Rationalism in the schools of Germany. The reputed author of this movement was John Solomon Semler, Professor of Theology at Halle. Although educated in the strictest forms of Pietism, and never wholly emancipated from its influence, he did more, perhaps, than any other individual to shake the foundations of men's faith in the authority of Scripture, by calling everything in question, and suggesting doubts as to the genuineness and authenticity of almost every book in

the Bible. This sceptical criticism has been carried to much greater lengths by later writers, in reference both to Scripture and church history. Semler himself applied it to the latter, not in regular historical compositions, but in various confused ill written works, and still more through the intermediate agency of pupils and disciples.

The sceptical tendency, thus introduced into church history, had very different effects on different classes. In frivolous and shallow minds it created a contempt for the whole subject, and produced works of a satirical and scoffing tone, such as those of Spittler and Henke. In minds of greater depth and earnestness, even when destitute of strong faith in the truth of Christianity, it led to a laborious reconstruction of church history, by working up the original materials afresh and giving them a new shape, either in general works, such as the gigantic one of Schrœckh, or in special histories, like those of Planck, Stændlin, and others. To the latter class belongs an extensive literature of recent date, beginning near the end of the last century, and flourishing especially during the first quarter of the present. This is one of the good incidental fruits of the new impulse given to historical research by the sceptical or rationalistic movement, which produced a strong taste and demand for *monographs*, or thorough and minute investigations of particular doctrines, periods, or persons, derived directly from original authorities, and wrought up into separate and independent works. Besides the interest imparted to many distinct topics of church history by this detailed and thorough mode of treating them, these monographs were constantly storing up materials for new works of a general and comprehensive character, to fill the chasms or supply the place of those which had appeared before these new researches and accumulations were begun. This application of the fresh resources was not always left to other labourers, the very same persons sometimes taking part in both the processes, that is, distinguishing themselves as writers both of monographs and general church histories.

The most signal instance of this twofold labour and success is that afforded by Neander, whose name and character are now too generally known to need particular description. Of Jewish birth, but Christian education, this great man was a child in

spirit and in secular affairs, but in intellect a man, and in learning a giant. He was for many years an eminent professor at Berlin, where he died in 1850. Though now acknowledged to have no superior as a general writer on church history, he was first distinguished, in his early manhood, as the author of invaluable monographs or special histories, such as have already been described. The principal subjects which he treated upon this plan are, Tertullian, Julian, Chrysostom, and Bernard. Each of these works, besides a full biography of the chosen subjects, including a large share of contemporary history, contains a critical analysis of his most important writings. Near the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the time seemed to be come for the reduction of these new or newly gathered stores to a complete and systematic shape in general church histories. The arrival of this critical juncture in the progress of historical science, may be said to have been indicated by the almost simultaneous commencement of two great works, which have been advancing towards completion ever since, the latest part of both being posthumously published. These two works, thus coeval in their origin and growth, moving in parallel lines for thirty years of slow but solid maturescence, are now unanimously reckoned, by all competent authorities, to be the masterpieces of the age in this department of historiography. That of Neander, which made its first appearance in 1825, had already been preceded, in the year before, by that of Gieseler. This distinguished writer, who for many years adorned the university where Mosheim died a century ago, was favourably known before the publication of his great work, not only as an eminent academical teacher, but also as a learned and sagacious historical critic. One of his ablest compositions in this period was a review of Neander's Tertullian, in which he developed his own theory of Gnosticism.

The two historians thus brought into juxtaposition, not only as contemporaries, but as competitors for the highest prize in one and the same calling, are equally remarkable for points of similarity and points of difference, being as much alike in some things, as they are unlike in others. Germans by birth and education, both had passed through the same process of gymnasial and academic training, which is very nearly uniform

throughout those countries. Both selected the same field for special cultivation, and pursued the same extensive course of private and professional reading. Their official positions and employments were perfectly analogous in the two leading universities of Germany. Besides this similarity of circumstances and of situation, and the singular coincidence of their appearance as professed historians, it is clear from their writings that they used the same materials, both being thoroughly and equally familiar with the oldest authorities, and the newest forms into which the raw material had been wrought afresh. To all this may be added an important likeness of a moral kind, their unimpeached integrity and truthfulness as witnesses, in scrupulously stating only what they knew or honestly believed, without exaggeration or embellishment. Amidst this sameness there are differences, no less striking, both of intellect and temper. Gieseler is distinguished by his calm dispassionate impartiality; Neander by his ardent zeal for truth and goodness. Gieseler's religion is unfortunately negative, though altogether free from antichristian bias; while Neander, although far below our standards of strict orthodoxy, always breathes a spirit of devout faith in the gospel, and of affectionate attachment to the Saviour. The books themselves, i. e. the two church histories, are as unlike as their authors, both in plan and execution. It is indeed a singular phenomenon that two men, born in the same country, trained up in the same schools, or at least under the same system, fed for years upon the same intellectual diet, and aiming at the same mark, should have hit upon methods so dissimilar and almost incommensurable, not in the result or execution merely, but in the original idea. The conception realized in Gieseler's work is that of an exquisite selection from the very words of the original authorities, arranged as notes and strung together by a slender thread of narrative. Neander's is constructed of the same materials, but digested in his own mind, and wrought up into a flowing homogeneous narrative, exhibiting the impress of his mind and character, in almost every page and every sentence. To use a favourite distinction, now no longer technical but popular, the one is as perfectly objective as the other is subjective, in its whole design and structure. It is more than a formal and external difference,

that in one the notes are everything, and in the other nothing. Gieseler disappears, or, to borrow an expressive French phrase, *s'efface*, behind the Fathers and Reformers, whose *ipsissima verba* he exhibits; while across the way, these self-same Fathers and Reformers pass before us, wearing the dress and speaking in the voice of Neander. Gieseler's purpose seems to be to enable every reader to construct the history for himself, while Neander furnishes it ready-made, but by the hand of a master.

It may be naturally owing to one or more of these peculiarities that Gieseler, although universally applauded and implicitly relied upon for facts and for materials, has founded no distinct school, and propagated no peculiar mode of writing history; whereas Neander has had many professed followers, who hold his principles, adopt his plans, and sometimes even imitate his style and manner. Among the most faithful, and yet most independent of these followers, may be mentioned Guericke, who carries out Neander's plan in a more compendious form, but with an almost bigoted attachment to the peculiar doctrines of Luther, and in a style so crabbed and involved, that we should not have hesitated to pronounce it untranslatable, but for the fact that an eminent teacher and accomplished writer of our own country, has achieved what we regarded as a sheer impossibility. We are far from regretting this exploit of Professor Shedd, and all the less, because we are persuaded that he must have made the work his own, so far as form and diction are concerned; and because we are glad to have a book made legible in English, which, in spite of its original uncouthness, has been eminently useful, as a vehicle, not only of the best historical knowledge, but of sincere piety, and sound religious sentiment in reference to all essentials.

Another writer, whom we should with equal confidence, although for a very different reason, have pronounced translation-proof, if he had not been actually Englished, is Hase of Jena, a man of genius and of cultivated taste, and an original and brilliant writer, but unduly partial to the esthetic and artistical relations of his subject, not so much a believer as an admirer of the gospel, and so often obscure from epigrammatic or laconic brevity, and from rather presupposing than detailing facts, that he is not more fit than Guericke himself for elemen-

tary instruction, although otherwise no writers can be more dissimilar and even opposite. Yet both these books have been translated in America; with what success we cannot say from our own knowledge, but from what we hear, by no means with the same ability.

If Hase, although largely indebted to Neander, can be scarcely reckoned a disciple or a representative of his peculiar school, this character belongs, by way of eminence, to Jacobi, less pietistical and orthodox than Guericke, but nearer to Neander in sentiment and spirit, and superior to both in clearness and simplicity of style and method. This advantage, with the fact that his work was first suggested, and afterwards commended to the public, by Neander himself, as the best compendious view of his own system, although far from being a mere abridgment, makes it matter of regret that it has not yet gone beyond a single part, or volume, extending only to the end of the sixth century. As other offshoots from Neander's stock, though very different, in some points, both from him and from each other, may be named Drs. Schaff of Mercersburg, and Lange of Zurich; but neither of these writers has yet brought his work below the apostolic age. In this they have been far outstripped by Kurtz, now Professor at Dorpat, but for many years a gymnasial teacher, which has given him a practical acquaintance with the wants of students, while his thorough knowledge of the Biblical History, on which he is the author of two admirable works, gives him a great advantage over some justly celebrated church historians. His facility and zeal as a maker of books have tempted him to vary their form and multiply their number to excess; but they are all rich in matter, clear in method, lively in style, sound in principle, though vigorously Lutheran in doctrine, and particularly suited both to academical and general use. Though indebted both to Gieseler and Neander for the impulse and direction of his own investigations, he may be considered as belonging, in a wide sense, to the school of the latter.

But the most striking proof of the influence exerted by these two great writers, is the frequent adoption, both of their materials and methods, by the latest Roman Catholic historians. The assimilation, in some instances, extends to liberality of

tone, and abstinence from all polemic violence, displaying no less policy than taste, this forbearance tending to insinuate the author's views still more effectually into the minds of unsuspicious readers. This effect is probably confined to German Papists, and is the more remarkable, because in Italy, and even in France, works of this class exhibit small improvement from the source in question, and retain the bigoted exclusive form, by which they have always been distinguished from the writings of Reformed theologians. Of the German school first mentioned, Alzog's "Universal History of the Church" may be taken as a sample; of the French, L'Homond's "History of the Church," as re-written by the Abbé Postel, for the use of schools and families.

Nor has this influence been unfelt in the British isles, where foreign, and particularly German erudition has been gradually superseding independent and original research, but not so far as to destroy the old English disposition *integros adire fontes.* Church history, of late years, has been chiefly cultivated in the Church of England and her two great universities, or by men instructed there, and almost always with the rare advantage of general culture, classical scholarship, and, if not an elegant, at least an idiomatic English style. Near the end of the last century, Joseph Milner, a clergyman of the evangelical or low-church party, and a man of greater piety and learning than sound judgment, wrote a history of the Church, which was afterwards continued by his brother Isaac, and has had extensive circulation both in England and America. This work makes practical religion or experimental piety the subject of church history, and passes over all that does not bear upon it. The plan is injudicious in itself, and very imperfect in its execution, doing credit to the author's own religious character, and generally edifying to congenial readers; but, as might have been expected, partial and one-sided, and exceedingly defective as a full view of the entire subject. Milman, now the Dean of St. Paul's, London, and previously well known as a poet, a historian of the Jews, and an editor of Gibbon, has also written a "History of Christianity to the abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire," since continued in his "History of Latin Christianity." These works are distinguished by original and

erudite research, and by an elegant though not an easy style, and are free, to a great extent, from that apparent sympathy with German scepticism, of which the author's earlier writings contained traces. They have no claim, however, to the praise of having carried church history beyond the point where Gieseler and Neander left it.

Equally scholarlike and elegant, and still more Christian in their tone, but at the same time still more Anglican in sentiment and prepossession, although free from anything offensive in pretension or assumption, are the unfinished works of Robertson and Blunt. The latter is a posthumous collection of the author's academical lectures at Cambridge, where he was Professor of Divinity. The former, by a beneficed clergyman in England, is intended for the use both of general readers and of students in theology. Without stopping to characterize or more than name the special histories of Benton, Stebbing, and some others of less note, we may mention, as among the latest and best English works of this class, the History of the Christian Church during the Middle Ages and the Reformation, by the Rev. Charles Hardwicke, formerly of Cambridge, then of Harrow, now of King's College, London. The two volumes just referred to form part of a series of theological manuals for the use of candidates for orders in the Church of England, prepared by different writers, and now issuing at Cambridge. The two in question, besides other merits, show direct acquaintance with original authorities, and an intimate knowledge of the modern German literature on the subject, not without sufficient indications of the influence exerted on the studies and opinions of the writer by the two great church historians of the century. The only recent work of any reputation, which exhibits no apparent trace of this same influence, is the Ecclesiastical History of Palmer, one of the famous Oxford Theologians, republished in America by Bishop Whittingham of Maryland, and adapted to parochial instruction. This work, which is a small and slight one, without any pretension to original or independent value, although clear in method, and pure in style, is the only general church history with which we are acquainted, representing or proceeding from the Romish party in the Church of England.

Even this jejune enumeration may suffice to show the influence exerted by these two great writers upon those who have succeeded them, and also that Neander has an obvious advantage over Gieseler, as to popularity and imitation. This advantage, however, is of such a nature as to wear itself out by the lapse of time. The peculiar manner of Neander, once so much admired, and even copied, has already lost its novelty, and now strikes many as mere mannerism. The subjective character of his productions makes them subject to the same fluctuations and vicissitudes experienced by other fashionable styles and modes, not of dress only, but of thought and language. It is therefore not impossible that Gieseler, though less popular at first, may have a longer currency, or rather a more permanent position, on the shelves of scholars, and perhaps in the memory of general readers. A result still more desirable, is joint and equal popularity and influence, corresponding to the remarkable synchronism of their lives and labours. We should be sorry to see either wholly supersede the other, even in small libraries, as each is needed to complete, and, as it were, to rectify the other. When we are asked, therefore, which work we would recommend to ministers and students, the only answer we can give, is both. So far as the results of modern German speculation and research are concerned, no course of reading can be better than a successive or comparative perusal of these two works. And if any man will patiently master the authorities arrayed by Gieseler, under the guidance of that writer's cold and meagre but perspicuous and impartial narrative, and then follow Neander in his earnest and animating survey of the same ground, he will know about as much as German books can teach him. We have less hesitation in suggesting this course, as we think it a great error to study history as if it were geometry, by following the course prescribed in some one system, where the loss of one link makes the whole chain worthless. History can only be acquired by copious and discursive reading, and though rigid method may be needed at the outset, in laying the foundation and erecting the framework of the superstructure, the details of the latter must be filled in by a free and more flexible method, drawing materials from various quarters, and reconstructing the whole

science for one's self. We cannot but regard it as one reason of the little interest felt in the study of church history, that the student early learns to regard the very name of the science as synonymous with "Mosheim," "Milner," "Gieseler," or "Neander," and to look upon its vast and varied field as a forbidden ground, except where these distinguished guides may choose to lead him. If instead of simply reading one of these books through, and then occasionally hunting up a passage in the index, our young men were accustomed to survey the whole field for themselves, from different points of observation, and to use the text-books only as conveniences in pushing their inquiries further; such a method would not only be in perfect keeping with the very nature of historical study, and the unavoidable conditions of its prosecution, but would go far to resuscitate and make attractive what is now, to most professional as well as general readers, an insipid if not a repulsive study.

This method, far from superseding books of reference, would require a greater number and variety, and among these Gieseler and Neander will no doubt for many generations hold a lofty place, not only in their own land, but perhaps still longer in America and England, where foreign, and particularly German, products often have a kind of after-growth, and flourish most when they are just decaying in their native soil. At all events, there will be probably a steady and perhaps a large demand for good translations of these standard works, in anticipation of which, their preparation was long since begun, both in England and America. The best, if not the only complete English version of Neander, is the work of an American scholar, Professor Torrey, and does credit to the country, both by its literary and its typographical execution. Gieseler, after being partially translated twenty years ago by Francis Cunningham, of Boston, was republished in Clark's Edinburgh series of versions from the German, in a new form. The first volumes fell into the hands of Samuel Davidson, whose knowledge of German is much superior to his mastery of English, but whose version teems with blunders and rusticities. The plates of this work have been now subjected to the revision of Professor Smith, who, we need not say, is highly qualified to execute the whole task in a

manner much superior to that of Davidson, but who appears to have been under the necessity of merely rectifying the worst errors of his predecessor. We regard this as a thankless and unworthy task for such a scholar, and sincerely wish that he had been at liberty to do himself and Gieseler justice by a new translation, instead of patching up the failures of a writer, whose capacity in almost everything that he attempts, is in inverse proportion to his arrogant pretensions. But if this could not be, if the sole choice lay between a wretched version in its native wretchedness, and the same even partially corrected by an accurate and tasteful hand, our thanks are due to Dr. Smith for undertaking what was so far below him, and by this self-denying labour furnishing our public with at least a decent reproduction of the great historian. So far as the American editors and printers are concerned, these volumes answer every expectation, both as to neatness and exactness. What Professor Smith has added of his own, in the way of supplementary appendices, only makes us wish that he had given an original instead of a translated history.

The wish which we have just expressed is founded upon something more than personal or temporary reasons. We have more than once expressed our strong conviction, that the practice of wholesale translation tends both to weaken and to vitiate our English style, by flooding it with barbarisms and foreign idioms, and breaking down the necessary barrier between a native and outlandish diction. This impression has not been removed by the latest and best specimens of mere translation, which are mostly American, and still less by the blundering and unintelligible samples of the same stuff, which are mostly British. We never open such productions, good or bad, without regretting that the writers, in the one case, had not undertaken something better, and in the other case, undertaken nothing. If the only bad effects of these translations were in taste and style, they might still be justified as necessary evils, that is, as the only means of bringing the great mass of English readers into contact and acquaintance with works which are essential to the highest intellectual improvement and advantage. But this is just what we deny. We have no hesitation in affirming, that the best way to avail ourselves of

foreign aid, in adding to our own intellectual and literary stores, is not by importing their manufactured goods, often wholly unsuited to our wants and habits, and perhaps out of fashion in the place of manufacture, before they can obtain circulation in our market, but by large importations of the raw material, the naked product of outlandish industry, to be wrought up into domestic fabrics, carefully adapted to our own tastes and necessities. We often wonder that so many of our best minds should take pleasure in laboriously reproducing foreign works, in all their overgrown extent, with all their gross defects as to English and American theology, and with all their individual or national oddities of form and costume, some of which are afterwards renounced in subsequent editions; when the same amount of scholarship and talent, with a half or a tithe of the same labour, might have given us all that is really valuable, in a far more pleasing shape and manageable compass. It is not in the least flattering to say, that, in this sense, Dr. Murdock could have written a much better book than Mosheim, Dr. Torrey than Neander, Dr. Shedd than Guericke, and Dr. Smith than Gieseler. But while we deprecate the growing taste for mere translation from the German, we are so far from denying the extraordinary value of the historical literature locked up in that language, that we think it quite impossible for any man to master the great subject of church history, without direct or mediate access to the rich accumulations of the last half-century, not so much because new facts have been discovered, as because the old facts have been so completely overhauled, presented in new aspects, and in new combinations. With these impressions, we have sometimes wished, perhaps with an irrational yearning after the impossible, that some one might arise, to use a law phrase, *de medietate linguæ*, belonging, by experience and education, to both races, knowing the strong and weak points both of German and of Anglo-saxon modes and systems; too familiar with the former to fall down and worship them, simply because of their Teutonic origin; too well acquainted with the latter to consider them beyond improvement by additions from abroad. If one thus providentially prepared to operate in both fields to advantage, and to make them mutually supplement and perfect one another's cultivation, could be

gifted at the same time with a rare superiority to pretty theories and modish jargon, and with manly zeal for the essentials of the gospel, without pantheistic, puritanical, or popish leaning, he could do far more for us in this department, than any mere American or English scholar, and immeasurably more than any German of the Germans. It may perhaps be running this *chimera ad absurdum*, when we suppose our ideal church historian to be capable of writing in both languages, with ease and power, and of printing what he writes with due regard to the habits, tastes, prepossessions, of the race for which he writes, without attempting to thrust German food down English throats, or *vice versa*. If among the youth of either nation now in training, we had reason even to suspect that there was one who promised to assume and occupy this high but difficult position, we should be disposed to wait, if not too long, for his maturity, and in the meantime to express our hopes of his success, by saying, TU MARCELLUS ERIS!

ART. V.—*The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, its Nature and Proof.* Eight Discourses delivered before the University of Dublin. By WILLIAM LEE, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway, 1857, pp. 478.

IN our number for April we expressed a high opinion of the general merits of this work, and our conviction of the truth of the doctrine which it is designed to explain and defend. We wish now to call attention to the subject of which it treats. Happily the belief of the inspiration of the Scriptures is so connected with faith in Christ, that the latter in a measure necessitates the former. A man can hardly believe that Jesus is the Son of God, and worship him as such, without regarding as the word of God the volume which reveals his glory; which treats of his person and work, from its first page to its last sentence; which predicted his advent four thousand years before his manifestation in the flesh; which, centuries before his birth,

described his glory as though it was an object of sight, and his life and death as though they had already occurred. To such a believer the assumption that the Scriptures are the work of man, is as preposterous as the assumption that man made the sun. Nor can any such believer read the discourses of our Lord, and hear him say, that the Scriptures cannot be broken, that heaven and earth may pass away, but one jot of the law cannot fail until all be fulfilled, that David spoke in the Spirit; he cannot hear his command, "Search the Scriptures, for they testify of me," without sharing in his conviction that the Scriptures are infallible. When a man becomes a true Christian, when he is made a partaker of the precious faith of God's elect, what is it that he believes? The scriptural answer to that question is, He believes the record which God has given of his Son. And where is that record? In every part of the Bible, directly or indirectly, from Genesis to Revelation.

Faith therefore in Christ involves faith in the Scriptures as the word of God, and faith in the Scriptures as the word of God, is faith in their plenary inspiration. That is, it is the persuasion that they are not the product of the fallible intellect of man, but of the infallible intellect of God. This faith, as the apostle teaches us, is not founded on reason, i. e. on arguments addressed to the understanding, nor is it induced by persuasive words addressed to the feelings, but it rests in the demonstration of the Spirit. This demonstration is internal. It does not consist in the outward array of evidence, but in a supernatural illumination imparting spiritual discernment, so that its subjects have no need of external teaching, but this anointing teacheth them what is truth. It is no mere intellectual cognition, cold as a northern light, but it is a power, controling at once the convictions, the affections, and the conscience. It is, therefore, irresistible. It cannot be shaken off by any voluntary effort, any more than a man can free himself from the belief in the moral law. Nor can it be effectually assailed by any of the weapons of argument, contempt, or ridicule. Philosophers look down with disdain, and even with disgust, on those who profess a faith thus supported as driveling fanatics. They refute by logical demonstration the doctrines which are the objects of this faith; they demonstrate

that reason is the guiding faculty of the soul, that nothing can be received as true which reason does not sanction, and because of that sanction; they pour contempt on all claims to the testimony of the Spirit. But all this avails nothing. They are like children or maniacs endeavouring to trample out the sun light. The moment they raise their feet there it is as calm and bright as ever. They may turn infuriated and curse the source of that light, but it still shines beneficent and glorious. Such has been the experience of the church from the beginning. How many times has the gospel been proved to be foolish! How often has some antichristian philosophy, first one and then another, received the homage of the leading minds of the world, and left the gospel to the poor and uncultivated! But the simple faith of the Church remains ever the same and ever sure. There are probably more sincere believers now alive on earth, than at any previous period of the world's history. We can therefore afford to have our doctrines derided and contemned. We can bear to hear the philosophers of to-day repeat the shout of triumph uttered by the philosophers of yesterday. We can even afford to acknowledge our incompetence to meet them in argument, or to answer their objections; and yet our faith remain unshaken and rational. Comparatively few men are able to meet or refute the arguments of a skilful idealist, and yet comparatively few are the least shaken in their convictions of the reality of the external world.

Faith in Christ, therefore, of necessity involves faith in the Scriptures, and faith in the Scriptures involves the belief that they are the word of God and not the word of man. They come to us in the name of God; they profess to be his word; they claim divine authority, they are quick and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and are a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. They control the reason and conscience, in the same way that the infinite reason controls that which is finite, and infinite excellence controls that which is limited and imperfect. All this is perfectly consistent with the admission that there are many intellectual difficulties connected with the doctrine, that the

Scriptures are the word of God. It is our duty to endeavour to solve these difficulties; to disperse these clouds; to bring the understanding into harmony with our spiritual convictions. But our faith is in no degree dependent on the success of these endeavours. There are difficulties connected with the being of God and his relation to the world, which no human intellect can solve, and yet our belief that God is, and that he is the creator, preserver, and governor of the world, is none the less assured. If the fact that there are many things in creation and providence which we find hard to reconcile with Theism, does not shake our faith in God, why should the fact that there are many things in the Scriptures which we find it hard to reconcile, shake our confidence in them?

In saying that the Bible is the word of God, we mean that he is its author; that he says whatever the Bible says; that everything which the Bible affirms to be true is true; that whatever it says is right is right, and whatever it declares to be wrong is wrong, because its declarations as to truth and duty, as to facts and principles, are the declarations of God. What the Scriptures teach is to be believed, not on the authority of Moses or the prophets, or of the apostles and evangelists, but on the authority of God, who used the sacred writers as his organs of communication. The Bible is the product of one mind. It is one book. It is the evolution through successive centuries, and in the use of a multitude of writers, of one great system of truth. The end was sure from the beginning. It contains a revelation of the secret things of God, of the nature, necessities and destiny of man, of things before human history and of things future—a knowledge altogether supernatural. Its several parts stand related to each other, the one supporting the others, all being mutually dependent and harmonious. The Bible is as obviously an evolution of the plan of redemption as an object of faith, as the history of our race is an evolution of that plan as a matter of experience. The two run parallel—the one was sketched out from the beginning, the outlines being more and more filled up until they are lost in the clouds and glories which overhang the book of Revelation, and the historical accomplishment following after, in its slow and certain progress—from the fall of Adam to the crucifixion of Christ, and

from the crucifixion to the consummation. If there are unity and design in history, there are unity and design in the Bible. If the one is the work, the other is the word of God. They stand in such relation to each other, that they must have the same author. It will hardly be denied that this is the doctrine of the whole Christian Church. All Christians in every age and of every name have regarded the Bible in all its parts as in such a sense the word of God as to be infallible and of divine authority. This is the faith of the Greeks and Latins, of Romanists and Protestants. We differ from Romanists as to what is Scripture, in so far as they receive certain books into the canon which Protestants reject. We differ also as to what the Scriptures teach; but Greeks, Romans, and Protestants all agree in saying, that everything in the Bible which purports to be the word of God, or which is uttered by those whom he used as his messengers, is to be received with the same faith and submission, as though spoken directly by the lips of God himself. This is the doctrine of plenary, as opposed to the theory of partial, inspiration. The church doctrine is opposed to the doctrine that some parts of Scripture are inspired, and others not; or that a higher degree of inspiration belongs to some portions than to others; or that inspiration is confined to the moral and religious truths contained in the Bible, to the exclusion of its historical or geographical details. It is also opposed to the theory which merges inspiration into revelation, and teaches that we have in the Scriptures a divine revelation communicated by fallible men; or, what amounts to much the same thing, that the thoughts are to be referred to the Spirit of God, but the words in which those thoughts are communicated, are due to the unassisted minds of the sacred writers. The doctrine of the Church on this subject has ever been, that the thoughts and language, the substance and the form of Scripture are given by inspiration of God; that the holy men of old SPAKE as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. The apostle Paul, in writing to the Corinthians, sets forth this doctrine in the clearest light. He teaches, first, as to the source of the truths which he taught, negatively, that they were not derived from human reason, or the wisdom of men. They were neither the product of his own intelligence, nor communicated

to him by other men. On the contrary, what he taught had never entered into the mind of man to conceive. This is his negative statement. Affirmatively, he says these truths were revealed to him by the Holy Spirit, who alone is competent to make known the things of God. Secondly, as to the mode of communicating these truths, it was not in words which man's wisdom teaches, or which his own mind suggested, but in words taught by the Holy Ghost. Thirdly, that the ability to discern the spiritual excellence of these truths, and faith in them as being of God, are due to the teaching of the Spirit. These three great doctrines, viz. that the origin of the contents of the Scriptures is from God, that the mode of communication was controlled by the Spirit, and that saving knowledge and faith are the result of spiritual illumination, constitute the essential elements of the doctrine of the Church concerning the Scriptures from the beginning.

Inspiration, therefore, is essentially different from revelation, although the two were often united in experience, and although the two ideas are often expressed by the same word. The object of the latter is to impart knowledge to its subjects or recipients; the object of the former is to render men infallible in communicating truth to others. As these gifts are distinct, so they are not always united. Many have received supernatural revelations, who were not inspired to communicate them. Thousands heard the discourses of our Lord, but only the evangelists were inspired to record them. On the other hand many inspired men were not the subjects of any special revelations. The authors of the historical books of the Bible in many cases needed no supernatural communication of the facts which they recorded. All that they required was to be rendered infallible as narrators. Most frequently, however, the gifts of revelation and inspiration were combined. The prophets and apostles were at once imbued supernaturally by the Spirit of God with divine knowledge, and rendered infallible in communicating that knowledge orally and by writing.

Still more obvious is the distinction between inspiration and spiritual illumination. They differ as to their objects or the ends they are designed to accomplish. Spiritual illumination is designed to make men holy by imparting to them the discern-

ment of the truth and excellence of "the things of the Spirit," that is of divine truths already objectively revealed. Whereas the end of inspiration is simply to render men infallible in the communication of truth. All true believers are the subjects of spiritual illumination; but only a few men selected to be prophets or spokesmen of God, are inspired. Neither of these gifts necessarily implies the other. Wicked men, as Balaam, and Caiaphas, have been inspired. The Spirit of God in selecting a man, and making him the organ of communicating divine truth, does not thereby renew or purify his soul, any more than when he imparted to them the gift of miracles. The apostle tells us a man may be a prophet, that is, an inspired man knowing all mysteries, and his inspiration be proved by removing mountains, and yet he be a sounding brass or tinkling cymbal.

As to the nature of inspiration we are entirely ignorant; that is, we have no knowledge whatever of the mode of the Spirit's operation. We only know its effects. The case is analogous to the divine influence in the work of regeneration. We know nothing of the manner in which the Holy Ghost imparts spiritual life to those previously dead in trespasses and sins. We only know that the effect of that influence is to convey the principle of a new life. So we know nothing as to how the Spirit operates on the minds of those whom he makes his organs in communicating divine truth. We can only know the effects, and those effects are to be learned from the didactic statements of the Bible, and from the actual phenomena of Scripture. As we know the effects of regeneration by what the Bible declares to be its necessary consequences, and by the experience or observation of its sequents, so we know the effects of inspiration by the declarations of the Scriptures, and by the exhibition of those effects in the Bible itself. From these sources we learn: 1st. That the effect of inspiration was to render its subject the infallible organ of the Holy Ghost in communicating truth, in such sense as that what was said or written by an inspired man, the Holy Ghost said or wrote. Hence the formulas, "Isaiah or David said," and "the Holy Ghost said," mean precisely the same thing, and are in fact interchanged as synonymous in the sacred Scriptures. Consequently we are as much bound to believe and obey what is said by a man speaking under inspiration, as though

God himself were the speaker. It therefore matters not what is the nature of the truth communicated, whether a simple historical fact, a doctrine, a moral truth, or something relating to the future. The effect is the same. It is simply infallibility. There is not one kind of influence, or one kind of inspiration, required in the one of these cases, and another in the others. The Holy Spirit rendered the historian, the teacher, the unfolder of the future, infallible. How this was done is perfectly inscrutable in all these cases alike. In some instances, inspiration and revelation, as before remarked, were combined; and therefore the inward state of one inspired man may have been very different from that of another. But this does not suppose any difference in the nature of inspiration, or justify our making a distinction between the degree of divine influence exerted, or the measure of divine authority due to one portion of Scripture, as distinguished from another. If all are alike infallible; if God is the real author equally of the whole Bible, it is all we need require. While inspiration, considered as that divine influence by which the sacred writers were rendered infallible in communicating the will of God, was thus uniform, its incidental subjective effects may have varied indefinitely, not only according to the nature of the truths to be communicated, but also according to the character or inward state of the subject of this divine influence. The incidental effects of regeneration are probably in no two cases precisely the same; the thoughts and feelings accompanying that great change may vary indefinitely in their nature and strength. So when the Spirit descended on the apostles on the day of Pentecost, while it rendered them all equally infallible, it affected each no doubt differently, according to his natural constitution or peculiar inward state. The same prophet may have been very differently affected, when made the organ of recording the facts of history, and when he was unfolding the future glories of the Messiah and his kingdom. These incidental effects, however, are entirely subordinate and unimportant. The simple end and object of inspiration was to render the sacred writers infallible; whether they were calm or excited, is to us a matter of no account.

The doctrine that inspiration was a matter of degrees, and therefore imperfect, rests on a radically false theory of its

nature. It supposes that it consists in a divine afflatus, analogous to the inspirations of genius, by which the powers of the mind were aroused and strengthened, and thus the man was enabled to take clearer and higher views than other men, or than he himself could take under ordinary circumstances. If this were true, the Bible would be a mere human production. It would lose its supernatural character and divine authority, and one part would differ from another, in its title to our deference and submission, just as the writers were more or less enlightened and elevated in their subjective feelings and conceptions. But if inspiration be simply that influence of the Spirit of God, by which men were rendered infallible, then there is no difference as to correctness and authority between one portion of the Bible and another. There can be no degrees in infallibility; and therefore no degrees in inspiration. There may be great difference in the importance and extent of the revelations imparted to different men, but in the attribute of infallibility the sacred writers were upon a par.

2. A second important fact both taught and manifested in the Bible on this subject is, that the infallibility consequent on inspiration was limited to the nature of the object to be accomplished. As that object was the communication, orally and by writing, of the will of God, (i. e. of what God willed to be communicated and recorded as his word,) inspired men were infallible only in that work. Infallibility did not become a personal attribute, so that the sacred writers could not err in judgment or conduct in the ordinary affairs of life. Inspiration did not cure their ignorance, nor preserve them from error, except in their official work, and while acting as the spokesmen of God. They might have been, and in many cases they doubtless were, unskilful or ignorant as agriculturists, mechanics, historians, geographers, astronomers, and even as theologians. Inspiration does not suppose the illumination of the mind with all truth. It does not even suppose that inspired men understood what they spoke or wrote any better than other men. The prophets "searched what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow." That is, they endeavoured to find out

what was the true import of the communications which they were commissioned to deliver. Their infallibility as organs of communication did not imply infallibility in understanding what they communicated. They were the organs of the Spirit in predicting the advent, the work, and the kingdom of Christ, but their own views as to the person of the Messiah, and as to the nature of his kingdom, may have been as erroneous and grovelling as those of any of their contemporaries. When David predicted that "all things were to be put under" the feet of man, he probably had no idea that the Spirit of God which was in him did thereby signify that the whole universe (God alone excepted) was to be included in that subjection. All that is in the New Testament is in the Old, but it was not fully understood until expounded and unfolded by the prophets and apostles of the new dispensation. And much contained in the New Testament has a fulness of meaning which the apostles themselves little imagined. They were ignorant of many things, and were as liable to error or ignorance, beyond the limits of their official teaching, as other men. An inspired man could not, indeed, err in his instruction on any subject. He could not teach by inspiration that the earth is the centre of our system, or that the sun, moon, and stars are mere satellites of our globe, but such may have been his own conviction. Inspiration did not elevate him in secular knowledge above the age in which he lived; it only, so far as secular and scientific truths are concerned, preserved him from *teaching* error. The indications are abundant and conclusive that the sacred writers shared in all the current opinions of the generation to which they belonged. To them the heavens were solid, and the earth a plane; the sun moved from east to west over their heads. Whatever the ancient Hebrews thought of the constitution of the universe, of the laws and operations of nature, of the constitution of man, of the influence of unseen spirits, was no part of the faith of the sacred writers. The latter were not rendered by their inspiration one whit wiser than the former in relation to any such points. We may therefore hold that the Bible is in the strictest sense the word of God, and infallible in all its parts, and yet admit the ignorance and errors of the sacred writers as men. It was only as sacred writers they were infal-

lible. The Romish doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, is perfectly consistent with the admission that the Pope as a man may be ignorant, unwise, erroneous, and even heretical. He is infallible only when acting officially and speaking *ex eathedrâ*. In his ordinary life and opinions he is not free from the errors and infirmities of ordinary men. And the scriptural doctrine of inspiration is perfectly consistent with the admission that the sacred writers shared in all the popular errors of their age and nation. It was only when acting as the organs of the Holy Ghost, that they were preserved from all mistakes. The failure to distinguish between infallibility as the result of divine guidance, and infallibility as the result of omniscience, or at least, of plenary knowledge, is the source of many of the popular objections to the doctrine of inspiration. It is abundantly evident that the sacred writers were erring, fallible men, and every evidence of this fact, every indication that they were not endued with plenary knowledge of all truth, is adduced as proof that they were not inspired. So Isaiah might be guided by the Spirit of God in foretelling the birth and sufferings of Christ, without knowing the Copernican theory of the universe. Paul might unfold the true doctrine of redemption, without its being revealed to him how many persons he had baptized in Corinth. The apostles could predict the second advent of our Lord, without knowing when he was to come. The Scriptures may be absolutely free from error, although the knowledge of the men who wrote them was limited to the things which are therein recorded.

It follows from what has been said, or rather is included in it, that the sacred writers may not only have been more or less ignorant or erroneous in their personal convictions, but also that they may have differed among themselves. It is perfectly consistent with their plenary inspiration, and the consequent infallibility and perfect agreement in their teachings, that they should still differ in the measure in which they understood the things of the Spirit; as one may have experienced more of the sanctifying power of the truth revealed than another, some may have attained to greater freedom from personal and national prejudices, and to greater clearness of intellectual apprehension. It is beyond doubt that such was the case not only with the

ancient prophets, but also with the apostles. And it is the glimmering through of these subjective differences which imparts that beautiful diversity of form and manner in which the truth is exhibited in the sacred Scriptures; analogous to the different aspects of the same landscape, as viewed from different points, or under different conditions of light and shade. Even good men are apt to overlook this essential point. They transfer the attributes of the Bible to the writers. Because the Bible cannot err, they infer that the prophets and apostles could not err. Because the different portions of the Bible are perfectly consistent, they assume that the sacred writers, as men, could not differ. In cherishing this misapprehension, they are really conceding the rationalistic or mystic theory of inspiration. Instead of regarding it as a supernatural divine guidance in the communication of truth, they regard it as a subjective illumination, analogous to the inspirations of genius, where everything comes from the writer's own mind, and everything is human. We may again refer to the Romish theory of papal infallibility in illustration of this point. According to the ultramontane doctrine, the Pope is infallible in all his official judgments in matters of faith and morals. Yet the Popes differ not only in their personal character, but in their private convictions; in the degree in which they understand and receive the doctrines of the church. So with the prophets of the Old Testament, and the apostles of the New, they were all infallible and all harmonious in their teachings, although they differed in character and in the measure in which they comprehended the system which they revealed. When Caiaphas said, "It is expedient for us that one man should die for the people," the apostle adds, "This he spake not of himself; but being high priest that year, he prophesied, (that is, was inspired to say,) that Jesus should die for that nation." John xi. 50, 51. What Caiaphas's own views were of the vicarious death of Christ, is a matter which does not concern either the truth or meaning of the words which he uttered. His views on the subject may have been correct or incorrect, still what he said agreed exactly with what Isaiah predicted, and with what Paul taught. It is to us a matter of very little consequence, whether Paul and James differed in their opinions, so long as they agree in their

official teaching. It is very evident that they did differ in their whole inward state. They do not contradict each other. As Paul excelled the other apostles in zeal and activity, so it is plain that he excelled them all in the clearness and compass of his views of the plan of redemption. It is preposterous to attempt to reduce the sacred writers to a dead level—to place Isaiah and Amos upon the same footing as to their subjective state. Any theory of inspiration which requires this, is not only inconsistent with the phenomena of the Bible, but really destroys its authority. So long as it is assumed that inspiration consists in the exaltation of the faculties of the soul, enabling it to perceive what otherwise would remain unapprehended, so long must we admit the Scriptures are fallible and unreliable; because this subjective elevation is of course imperfect and limited, and consequently the perceptions to which it gave rise must also be imperfect. There is all the difference between this view of inspiration and the common or church doctrine, that there is between the human and divine. According to the church doctrine, it is God who speaks or writes; according to this other view, it is merely an excited fellow man. According to the church doctrine, the infallibility consequent on inspiration is limited to the official acts of its subjects in teaching or writing; according to the other doctrine, the authority of an inspired man arising out of his personal qualities is not official, and cannot be limited to official action. Wisdom and prudence being personal qualities, give weight and influence to the wise and prudent as men, and in every sphere in which they are called to act; but inspiration being an *ab extra* guidance, though infinitely above any mere personal attribute, is limited to the work to be performed. A child, if under the guidance of the Spirit, would be infallible, although he remained a child in intellect and knowledge.

3. A third fact not less clearly manifest, is that inspiration did not destroy the conscious self-control of its subjects. Inspired men were not thrown into a state of ecstasy, in which their understandings were in abeyance, and they led to give utterance to words of which they knew not the import. They were not carried away to speak or write, as it were, in spite of themselves, as was the case with the utterers of heathen

oracles, or those possessed with evil spirits. The spirits of the prophets were subject to the prophets. The influence under which they spoke, may not have revealed itself to their consciousness, any more than the renewing and sanctifying influences of the Spirit are matters of consciousness to those who experience them. From the beginning to the end of the Bible, there is constant evidence of the calm self-control of the sacred writers. They all wrote and spoke as men in the full possession of their faculties, just as men of their age and circumstances might be expected to speak and write. It is, therefore, a perversion of the common doctrine, to represent it as reducing the inspired penmen into mere machines, as though they were guided by an influence which destroyed or superseded their own activity. If the Spirit of God can mingle itself with the elements of human action, and render it certain that a man will repent and believe, and persevere in holiness, without interfering with his consciousness or liberty, why may not that same Spirit guide the mental operations of a man, so that he shall speak or write without error, and still be perfectly self-controlled and free?

4. Inspiration being an influence by which a man was so guided in the exercise of his natural faculties, as that what he thought and said should express the mind of the Spirit, it follows that the individuality of its subject was fully preserved. His character was not changed by his inspiration. He was not thereby rendered more refined or cultivated, more intellectual or logical, more impassioned or eloquent. He retained all his peculiarities as a thinker and writer. If a Hebrew, he wrote the Hebrew language. If Greek was his ordinary language, he wrote Greek. If he lived in the time of Moses or Isaiah, he wrote Hebrew in its purity. If he belonged to the time of the captivity, he wrote Hebrew with all the idiomatic and grammatical peculiarities which the language had at that period assumed. If he wrote Greek, it was the Greek which he and his contemporaries were accustomed to use. The apostles did not use the Greek of Athens, but of Palestine. They wrote as Jews, using the Greek, modified by their Jewish training. These are facts, and they are facts which must determine our views of the nature of inspiration. It is also a fact that

if the subject of inspiration was a shepherd, he wrote as a shepherd; if a man of education, he wrote as an educated man. If his mind was logical and his style of writing argumentative; if disposed to throw everything into the form of syllogisms, and make every new proposition a deduction from what preceded it, he retained all these characteristics when writing under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. On the other hand, if imaginative and emotional, rather than logical, in his natural constitution, he was so in all his inspired utterances. If his mind was full of scriptural language and imagery, he was abundant in the use of scriptural expressions and illustrations, as we see in the writings of Matthew as compared with those of John. The relation of the Spirit to the minds of those whom he inspires, is in some points analogous to the relation of the soul to the body. The soul animates the whole body in all its acts equally, whether important or trivial. It uses and governs it effectually, but in a manner perfectly accordant with the laws of its nature, and with its organization; and not only so, but also in accordance with all its individual peculiarities. If a man's body is graceful and agile; if his voice is melodious; when moved by the indwelling soul to act or speak, its motions and utterances are graceful and pleasing. But if the body is ungainly and awkward, the voice harsh and unmusical, the indwelling soul in producing and guiding its activity will of course produce ungraceful action and harsh utterances. So the Spirit of God, when it actuated the mind of a man and made him its organ of communication, not only actuated it according to the general laws of mind, doing no violence to its nature, but also according to the peculiar characteristic traits of that particular mind. Hence the Bible, containing as it does the writings of some thirty or forty different authors, presents the same diversity of style and manner, as the productions of any like number of uninspired men.

5. There is still another fact which is not only asserted in Scripture, but may be said to be included in its actual phenomena, and that is, that the guidance of the Spirit extended to the words no less than to the thoughts of the sacred writers. The prophets not only constantly say, "Thus saith the Lord," and the apostle not only affirms that he used "words taught by

the Spirit," but it arises from the very nature of inspiration as actually exhibited in the sacred volume, that the guidance of the Spirit extended to the words employed. If inspiration were only an elevation of the natural powers, analogous to the stimulus of passion or the excitement of enthusiasm, then indeed, both thoughts and words would be due to the writer's own mind, and inspiration would lose its divine character and value. But if, (as it actually reveals itself in Scripture,) it is a supernatural control exerted by the Holy Spirit over the minds of its subjects, it must of necessity include the language which they use. In no other way could there be any effectual control over the thoughts expressed. The end to be accomplished is the communication or the record of truth. That communication or record is made in human language; unless the language is determined by the Spirit, the communication after all is human, and not divine. In the historical portions of Scripture, there is little for inspiration to accomplish beyond the proper selection of the materials, and accuracy of statement; and if the Spirit left the mode of such to the uninfluenced mind of the writer, then the whole end to be accomplished failed. There is nothing on this hypothesis, to distinguish the scriptural histories from the narratives of ordinary men. Again, in those instances in which the revelations to be recorded were objectively made, as in the discourses of our Lord, the only office of inspiration, the only thing which could distinguish the record of those discourses made by an apostle, from a report made by any other auditor, would be the infallible correctness of the report, and this, of course, involves the propriety and fitness of the language used to convey the thoughts to be communicated. To deny, in such cases, the control of the Spirit over the words of the sacred writer, is to deny inspiration altogether. It is a matter of daily observation, that when two or more persons hear the same discourse and are called upon to record from memory its substance, they uniformly differ in their representations. There is no confidence ever rendered to such reports, beyond their general drift. No speaker could justly be held responsible for statements made from memory, and after an interval of years, of what he had delivered in a public discourse. The contents of the Bible consist mainly of historical records, and of statements of moral and

religious truths. Its trustworthiness as to both these departments depends on the fact that the language employed is the word of God, and not the word of man. If there were no divine influence, or if that influence was only designed to elevate the mental state of the writer, to rouse his energies and excite his feelings, then it is evident that the Bible is utterly unworthy of the representations which it makes of itself. It is essentially a human production. It would be absurd to quote the language of David as the language of the Holy Ghost, or to say that the Scriptures cannot be broken; or to appeal to them, as Christ and his apostles constantly do, as an ultimate authority both as to facts and doctrines, if it is the mere work of excited men. It is therefore only by denying inspiration altogether, or by adopting an unscriptural view of its nature, that the language of the Bible can be regarded as merely human.

There is another obvious fact which proves that the sacred writers employed words "taught by the Holy Ghost." In many cases the appeal is made to a single word, or the argument is made to rest upon the form of expression. In many instances, indeed, the apostles in quoting the Old Testament content themselves with giving the sense without regarding the language of the original, but they often rest the force of the passage quoted upon the very words employed. They argue from the titles given to the Messiah; they make the very language of the ancient prophets the foundation of their conclusions, and Paul rests his exposition of an ancient prediction on the use of the singular (seed) instead of the plural (seeds.) The view, therefore, everywhere presented in the New Testament of the inspiration of the ancient prophets, supposes them to be under the guidance of the Holy Spirit in the selection of the words which they employ. David sat down to portray the sufferings of a child of God, as in Psalm xxii.: unconsciously to himself, it may be, he was led to select such figures and use such language, as to present a portrait of the suffering Messiah, recognized at once as a divine delineation. The same remark may be made in reference to Psalms xlv. lxxii. cx., and many other portions of Scripture. Of what worth are the thoughts of Isaiah concerning the person, work, and kingdom of Christ, if his language was all his own; if his "wonderful,"

"counsellor," "mighty God," "Father of eternity" are mere forms of human speech—phrases suggested by his own mind. We can understand how a man can regard the Bible as a mere human composition; we can understand how he can regard inspiration as a mere elevation of the religious consciousness; but how any one can hold that the sacred writers were inspired as to their thoughts, but not as to their language, is to us perfectly incomprehensible. The denial of verbal inspiration is in our view the denial of all inspiration, in the scriptural sense of the doctrine. No man can have a wordless thought, any more than there can be a formless flower. By a law of our present constitution, we think in words, and as far as our consciousness goes, it is as impossible to infuse thoughts into the mind without words, as it is to bring men into the world without bodies.

It has already been remarked, that verbal inspiration does not suppose anything mechanical. It does not make the writer a machine. It is not a process of dictation, as when a language unknown to the penman is employed. The writer retains his consciousness and self-control; he may be unconscious of the influence of which he is subject; he speaks or writes as freely and as characteristically as though he were entirely uninfluenced by the Spirit of God. When the brethren of Joseph sold him to the Midianites, and when Judas sold his Master for thirty pieces of silver, they acted freely, while they accomplished with certainty the purposes of God. When the saints on earth and in heaven fulfil the will of God in heart and life, they are unconscious of the grace by which their obedience is infallibly secured, and act as freely as though they were absolutely independent. If then the providential and the spiritual agency of God may control human action, and leave the agent free, why may not the Spirit of God, as the spirit of inspiration, guide the mental operations of the sacred writers, so that while they are unconscious of his power, they yet speak as they are moved by the Holy Ghost? It is a mere popular misconception, with which, however, even scholars are often chargeable, which supposes that verbal inspiration implies such a dictation as supersedes the free selection of his words on the part of the sacred writer. It is a fundamental principle of scriptural theology, that a man

may be infallibly guided in his free acts. If four men were to witness the same series of events, they would all describe them differently; in the use of different words, in different combinations, and in different lights. Each would state what he happened to see, or what specially attracted his attention, or what was suited to the end he had in view in constructing his narrative. If they were all inspired, their narratives would retain all these differences, with this single limitation, that they would all be free from error; and while constructed to answer the end proposed to himself by each individual writer, they would all be framed to answer the higher end proposed by that Spirit of whom they were unconsciously the organs. The events of our Saviour's life are thus narrated by the four evangelists. Each account was written for a special purpose. One evangelist records one event, another, another; or two or more describe the same event with variations, one account being fuller than the others, or one bringing into view circumstances unrecorded by the other. Matthew says the inscription on the cross was, "This is Jesus the king of the Jews," Mark says it was, "The king of the Jews;" Luke, "This is the king of the Jews;" John, "Jesus of Nazareth, the king of the Jews." All different, yet all true; the difference being precisely such as would naturally occur where no special importance was placed on the mere form of expression. Verbal inspiration, therefore, or that influence of the Spirit which controlled the sacred writers in the selection of their words, allowed them perfect freedom within the limits of truth. They were kept from error, and guided to the use of words which expressed the mind of the Spirit, but within these limits they were free to use such language, and to narrate such circumstances as suited their own taste or purposes. To adduce the evidence of this freedom, and consequent diversity in the sacred writers, as an argument against verbal inspiration, as is done even by distinguished writers, only betrays ignorance of the doctrine which they profess to oppose.

The theory of inspiration here presented, is not an arbitrary one; it is not new; it is the theory which the Bible demands of those who recognize its divine origin. It is, as we believe, nothing more than a statement of the impression which the Scriptures themselves have made in all ages, on the general

consciousness of the Church. They claim to be of God; they assume to have divine authority; of the whole volume recognized by the Jews as Holy Scripture, our Lord asserts the infallibility; to that volume, known as the Law and Prophets, he and the apostles constantly appeal as the word of God; its writers are declared to have spoken as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, the Spirit spake by the mouth of David; what the prophets (i. e. inspired men) said, the Holy Ghost is declared to have said. The divine character thus, on divine authority, ascribed to the Old Testament, belongs also to the New. Christ promised the Holy Spirit to his apostles, to render them infallible, to give to their teachings the authority which belonged to his own, so that those who heard them, would, at the same time, hear him. This promise was fulfilled on the day of Pentecost. The gift of inspiration then bestowed, was confirmed not only by signs, and wonders, and diverse miracles, but by the wonderful change wrought instantaneously in the apostles themselves. Before that event, they were converted men indeed, but blinded, bigoted Jews, immediately afterwards, they were large minded, enlightened Christians. They spake as the Spirit gave them utterance. They claimed divine authority for all they taught. They made the salvation of all men to depend on submission to the doctrines which they inculcated, and to the rule of life which they prescribed. This is the light in which the whole Bible presents itself. It claims to be the word of God. This claim is enforced and sustained, not only by the immeasurable superiority of the truths concerning God and his law, concerning man and his destiny, which it contains, but by the absolutely undeniable supernatural character of its contents. It presents one grand concatenated system of truth, gradually developed during fifteen hundred years, implying a knowledge of God, of man, of the past, and of the future, beyond controversy, superhuman and divine. This book which thus claims and reveals its divine origin, has a corresponding divine power. To the natural man, it stands in the same relation that conscience does. Its authority is questioned, argued against, resisted, often silenced, but as soon as the mind settles down again, it comes back as divine and authoritative as ever. To the spiritual man, it is "the wisdom of God, and the power of

God unto salvation." It can hardly be denied that this is the light in which the Bible presents itself, and in which it has been received by the Church, i. e. by the great body of true believers in all ages. But this view necessarily supposes, 1. That the sacred writers are not the real authors of the book. In point of fact they disappear, and God takes their place. That is, our faith in what the Bible reveals, and our submission to what it enjoins, are faith and submission towards God, not towards Moses, the prophets, or apostles, as men. Every Christian is conscious of this, as a matter of personal experience. He knows that when he reads the Bible, the voice to which he listens, to which his reason bows, his conscience submits, and to which his inmost soul responds, which calms his fears, which illumines, purifies, and elevates him above the world, is not the voice of man. But if the voice of God, it must be true. The Scriptures must be infallible. It is the Bible, the Bible as a book, the whole Bible from Genesis to Revelation, which reveals itself as divine. When the disciples fell down, in adoring wonder, at the feet of their transfigured Master, it was the whole Christ whose glory filled their souls. They did not ask what the hairs of his head, or the nails on his hands, had to do with his majesty. So the believer, to whom the Bible commends itself as the word of God, is not troubled by the question, What special glory is there in Chronicles or Esther? Such portions of Scripture are to him what the girdle and the sandals of the glorified Redeemer were to the apostles. They have their place, and their importance; taken by themselves they would be nothing. This view of the Bible, as we have endeavoured to show, necessitates the idea of inspiration, not as the subjective illumination and elevation of the sacred writers, but as an *ab extra* divine influence, rendering them infallible as the organs of the Spirit. It thus differs from revelation on the one hand, and spiritual illumination on the other. These gifts of revelation, inspiration, and illumination, are distinct and separable, and it is of great importance that they should not be confounded. With regard to inspiration, all the sacred writers were on a par. With regard to revelation and illumination, they differed indefinitely. Though we know that some men were inspired who had no revelation, and no spiritual illu-

mination, yet in the majority of cases, these gifts were combined in different measures. In Isaiah, Paul and John, we have this union exemplified in its highest form. They were not only inspired to communicate the truth of God, but they were abundant in the revelations which they received, and obviously spiritually illuminated and sanctified in a degree altogether extraordinary. But their authority is no greater than that of any other sacred writer, because that authority rests on inspiration which was common to all, not on their subjective illumination and elevation which differed in all. 2. In the second place, (as we are now recapitulating,) as inspiration reveals itself in Scripture as a divine guidance, and not an inward elevation, it follows that the infallibility of inspired men was limited to their official teachings. It was not as men, or in virtue of their personal wisdom or knowledge that they were infallible, but simply in virtue of the *ab extra* influence under which they wrote. Their infallibility as teachers or writers, therefore, is perfectly consistent with their personal ignorance, errors, prejudices, and mutual differences. It is a matter of no moment to us what Moses or Isaiah, Paul or Peter, thought of the solar system, or of the kingdom of Christ, or of the end of the world, or of any other subject, provided only they were preserved from all error in their teaching. 3. It also follows from this view of the matter, that the sacred writers were not mere machines, carried on by a power which destroyed their consciousness or self-control. Whatever they spoke or wrote, they spoke and wrote in the full exercise of their faculties; and therefore, 4. All their individnal peculiarities, as to modes of thought and expression, are left undisturbed. As the providential efficiency of God, and the influences of his grace act on his creatures, in accordance with the laws of their nature, so that they act freely, although with absolute certainty as to the event, so the guidance of the Spirit in inspiration leaves the mind free, although exemption from all error is infallibly secured. 5. And finally, it is obvious from this view of the nature of inspiration, it must control the language as well as the thoughts of the sacred writers. Indeed its whole object, as distinguished from revelation, is to secure the correct and faithful expression of the divine mind, so that it fails entirely of its object, (in other words all

inspiration in the scriptural sense of the doctrine is denied,) if the words of the sacred writers were not determined by the Spirit of God.

That there are difficulties connected with this theory, is a matter of course. What great doctrine of either natural or revealed religion is free from difficulty? The great majority of educated men believe in the existence of a personal God, the Creator and Governor of the universe. Let any man, however, try to carry out that theory; let him fall into the hands of a subtle Atheist or Pantheist, and he will soon find that his faith must rest on the proper evidence of the doctrine, and not on his ability to solve all the difficulties connected with it. The same remark applies to the doctrine of providence, the immortality of the soul, the person and work of Christ, and every other doctrine which enters into the faith of man. A faith which cannot stand in the face of difficulties, must lapse into blank and universal scepticism; a scepticism which is itself beset with difficulties, a thousand times greater than those to which it is a cowardly surrender. The only rational, and indeed the only possible course for men to pursue, is to believe what is proved to be true, and let the difficulties abide their solution.

2. It is not only natural and according to analogy that there should be difficulties connected with this doctrine, but the marvel is, that they are not a hundred-fold greater. Let any man bring the case before his mind. Infallibility, or absolute freedom from error, is claimed for a book containing sixty-six distinct productions, on all subjects, of history, of law, of religion, of morals; embracing poetry, prophecy, doctrinal and practical discourses, covering the whole of man's present necessities and future destiny, written by about forty different men, at intervals more or less distant, during fifteen hundred years. If this is a human production, if written by uninspired men, its claim to infallibility could be disproved to the conviction of an idiot. It must contain evidence of human imbecility, ignorance, and error, so overwhelming as to put to silence and cover with shame the most illiterate and bigoted advocate of its divine origin. Instead, however, of any such overwhelming evidence against the infallibility of the Bible, the difficulties are so minute

as to escape the notice of ordinary intelligence. They must be sought as with a microscope, and picked out with the most delicate forceps of criticism. One writer says that on a certain occasion twenty-four thousand persons were slain; another, a thousand years after, says, there were twenty-three thousand; one evangelist says the inscription on the cross was, "The King of the Jews;" another says it was, "This is the King of the Jews." Are not these objections pitiful? And yet they are seriously adduced by able and learned men. We do not say that there are not other objections, and some of a more serious kind; but we do say that, considering the nature of the claim, these difficulties are miraculously small. That is, it is a miracle they are not greater. Let it be remembered that the Bible was written before the birth of science, that it touches on all departments of human knowledge; it speaks of the sun, moon, and stars, of the earth, air, and ocean, of the origin, constitution, and destiny of man; yet, what has science or philosophy to say against the Bible? It is true, when astronomy first began to unfold the mechanism of the universe there was great triumph among infidels, and great alarm among believers, at the apparent conflict between science and the Scriptures. But how stands the case now? The universe is revealed to its profoundest depths, and the Bible is found to harmonize with all its new discovered wonders. No man now pretends that there is a word in the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, inconsistent with the highest results of astronomy. Geology has of late asserted her claims, and there are the same exultations and the same alarms. But any one who has attended to the progress of this new science, must be blind indeed not to see that geology will soon be found side by side with astronomy in obsequiously bearing up the queenly train of God's majestic word.

3. A third remark on this subject is, that a very large proportion of the objections to the common doctrine of inspiration is founded on misapprehension of its nature. It is assumed that if the Bible is the word of God, there can be no human element about it, no diversity of style, no evidence of different mental peculiarities, no variety in the narratives of the same event, no greater amplitude in one case than in another, no

presenting the same event or the same truth, under different aspects or relations. That is, if God creates flowers, they must all be alike; if he made the stars, they must be of the same size; if he inspires different men, they must all use the same language, be it Hebrew or Greek. If a musician performs on different instruments, no man (on this hypothesis) can tell which is which. Now, as the church doctrine of inspiration is that the Spirit guides each man in the use of his own peculiar faculties and powers, whether he be Greek or Hebrew, gentle or simple, learned or unlearned, infant or adult, such objections as the above are wide of the mark. The orchestra of the Bible is not composed of one instrument, but of many. There are no discords, no false notes, but perfect harmony with indefinite diversity. A still more prolific misapprehension is the assumption that what is true of the Bible must be true of its authors; and therefore if the Bible be infallible, the writers, as men, must be infallible. "Any admission," it is said, "of a single instance of mistake, or error in purpose, word, or action in the apostles, impairs the inspired infallibility of their teachings and writings, and leaves every reader to draw the line as best he can in deciding the authority of Scripture." Hence it is asked how could Paul be inspired and not know that Caiaphas was high priest, Acts xxiii. 5; or how many persons he had baptized in Corinth, 1 Cor. i. 16; or how could he be mistaken as to the end of the world? We must be permitted to say that these objections, although made by eminent men, are not above the level of those made by itinerant lecturers on Romanism against the infallibility of the Pope. They would indeed be fatal, if the doctrine of inspiration assumed that the infallibility of the sacred writers arose out of the plenitude of their knowledge, or their personal qualities, and was therefore inherent in them, like wisdom and prudence, to be manifested on all occasions, and in reference to all subjects. But if the doctrine assumes nothing more than a divine guidance of certain men in the exercise of their office as teachers, these objections have not the weight of a feather. All that the doctrine requires in the cases above referred to, is, that Paul should make a truthful record of his ignorance as to who Caiaphas was, as to how many persons he had baptized in Corinth, and as to when the end of the world was to be. He

did not teach any error on these points. He did not affirm as an inspired man, that Caiaphas was not the high priest, or that he had baptized ten persons in Corinth, when in fact he had baptized only five, or that the end of the world was to come at a certain fixed period. It matters nothing what he thought as to any of these points, provided he did not teach error. The whole end and office of inspiration is to preserve the sacred writers from error in teaching. Special stress is laid in this connection, on the phenomena of the book of Job, where one man teaches one doctrine, and another another. But Job's friends were not inspired. All our doctrine demands, is that the writer of that book was inspired to give a true account, first of what the men said, and then of what God said. We do not hold that the devil was inspired when he tempted Eve, but simply that Moses was inspired to give a true account of the temptation. Another misconception nearly allied to the preceding, is the assumption that inspiration makes men holy, that it controls their emotions, affections and moral conduct. Hence it is asked, "When Peter and Paul differed, or, in plain English, quarrelled, about the judaizing element which some wished to connect with the adoption of the gospel by the Gentiles, when Paul withstood Peter to the face, because he was to be blamed, Gal. ii. 11, on which side was the inspiration?" *Ellis*, p. 263. On the same ground reference is made to the denunciatory Psalms, and the question is asked, how an inspired man could pour out such execrations. But Balaam was inspired, Saul was among the prophets, Caiaphas prophesied, Judas wrought miracles, and might have been, in full consistency with the doctrine of inspiration, as infallible a teacher (had Christ seen fit to employ him) as Paul, although he was a devil. Peter denied his master in Jerusalem, and belied his principles at Antioch, but this only proves that he was no hero. It certainly does not prove that his epistles contradict those of Paul. Peter taught the doctrine of justification by faith, as Paul told him "before them all," as fully as Paul himself did. The trouble was that he did not act up to his doctrine. His inspiration controlled his teaching, but not his conduct. So with regard to the denunciatory Psalms. David was the organ of God in denouncing the divine judgments against the wicked. If he

did this with the feelings with which a benevolent judge pronounces sentence on a criminal, so much the better for him. But if he did it in the spirit of malice and revenge, so much the worse for him. In either case the Spirit spake by the mouth of David. How David's heart was affected by those denunciations, is a question entirely apart from his inspiration. These objections evidently proceed from misapprehension of the doctrine against which they are directed. Men were not inspired because they were holy, nor did their inspiration render them holy. It is true indeed, as before remarked, that in the great majority of cases, God selected holy men as his organs in communicating truth, but their holiness was not the effect of their inspiration. The fact therefore that the sacred writers were not perfect, or that they did not always act up to their principles, is no proof that they were not inspired.

4. Another large class of objections consists in gratuitous assumptions. It is assumed that in a multitude of cases the writers of the New Testament misinterpret the Old Testament; that in many other cases they reason badly, drawing conclusions not justified by the premises, or advancing weak arguments; and in other cases still, that they teach false doctrines, or accomodate themselves to the erroneous opinions or prejudices of their age and nation. This is a very convenient method of disposing of the question. If a man does not agree with Paul, it is easy for him to say, Paul was mistaken, and therefore not inspired. Unless however the objector himself be infallible, his differing from the apostles as to the correctness of an interpretation, or the force of an argument, is no proof that the latter were not inspired.

5. Much the most serious difficulties which the advocate of the doctrine of inspiration has to encounter, arise from the real or apparent inconsistencies, contradictions, and inaccuracies of the sacred volume. With regard to this class of objections, we would repeat a remark already made, viz. that the cases of contradiction or inconsistencies, are, considering the age and character of the different books constituting the Bible, wonderfully few and trivial. Secondly, these inconsistencies do not concern matters of doctrine or duty, but numbers, dates, and historical details. Thirdly, in many cases the contradictions

are merely apparent, and readily admit of being fairly reconciled. Fourthly, with regard to those which cannot be satisfactorily explained it is rational to confess our ignorance, but irrational to assume that what we cannot explain is inexplicable. There are so many errors of transcription in the text of Scripture, such obscurity as to matters necessary to elucidate these ancient records, so little is known of contemporary history, that a man's faith in the divinity of the Bible must be small indeed, if it be shaken because he cannot harmonize the conflicting dates and numbers in Kings and Chronicles. We are perfectly willing to let these difficulties remain, and to allow the objectors to make the most of them. They can no more shake the faith of a Christian, than the unsolved perturbations of the orbit of a comet shake the astronomer's confidence in the law of gravitation.

The various classes of objections above mentioned are superficial, and probably produce little effect. They are used as means of annoyance, while the real ground of dissent lies much deeper. The common doctrine of inspiration does not admit of being brought into harmony with the reigning philosophy, and therefore it is rejected. Any great change of a man's views of the nature of God, of his relation to the world, of the constitution of man, of the principles of virtue, or nature of free agency, necessitates a change in all other related doctrines. It often happens, too, that when a new philosophy springs up in one country, and leads to a corresponding modification of Christian doctrine, these modifications are adopted even where the philosophy is either not known or not assented to. Thus there are views of inspiration current in this country and in England, the product of German philosophy, adopted by many who know or care little or nothing about the real basis and genesis of the views which they embrace. The two great points, so far as our present subject is concerned, on which the new philosophy has introduced principles which of necessity modify the doctrine of inspiration, are the nature of God, and the nature of religion.

The doctrine of inspiration, in common with those of creation, providence, regeneration, sanctification, &c., rests on the assumption of Theism, that is, of a personal, extra mundane God,

existing before and independent of the world. They assume that God and the world are not identical; that man is a person distinct from God, and capable of being the subject and object of divine acts. Now, though we are told by the latest authority,* that Pantheism, which denies all this, is dead in Germany; that Feuerbach has run Hegelianism into the ground, and thereby killed it; still its fruits remain, and enough of its principles survive to give those fruits vitality and continuance. The very latest speculative theology essays to keep up a distinction between God and the world, but not a separation. God is not an individual, in the presence of other individuals; he is all, pervading all, the indwelling energy in all that is finite. *Schwarz*, p. 305. In all its forms this new philosophy makes the world and history a process, a development of God, in which process there is no room for any special intervention of God. All is growth. Revelation is not outward, but inward; not once for all, but constant; not particular, or to particular persons, but universal; not supernatural, but according to fixed and necessary laws. In some men, and at some periods, this process of divine development is more remarkable than at others; and those are the men who may be said to be the inspired, and those the periods of revelation. The fundamental idea that God and the world are one, however distinguished; that God is the life of the world, and that all history is the self-evolution of God, determines the nature of all the doctrines of religion. There is, of course, according to this view, no such thing as miracles, supernatural revelation, or inspiration. This idea pervades a large part of the theology of Germany, and determines the views of Cousin, Coleridge, Carlisle, and others, so far as their writings touch on religion, or treat philosophically of its nature. To a Christian who holds fast the fundamental doctrine of a God who is the real Creator and Governor of the world, distinct from it, though everywhere present in it, who is not bound to a process of development, and to act according to fixed laws, but may act how and when he pleases, the objections

* See Schwarz: Geschichte der neuesten Theologie. "Feuerbach," he says, "is in one view the necessary consequence of the Hegelian philosophy, in another, a great advance beyond it. He is the sequence of the system, and its destruction," &c. p. 219.

founded on the denial of that fundamental doctrine, can have no force.

As to the nature of religion, the new philosophy teaches that it is not a form of knowledge, not a mode of action, but a life, a peculiar state of feeling; and Christianity is a life, or form of the religious consciousness produced by Christ, or in some way due to him, and derived from him. Theology is the intellectual forms in which the religious sentiment expresses itself, or the scientific interpretation of the intuitions of the religious consciousness. Revelation is that process (natural or supernatural) by which those intuitions are awakened in the mind; and inspiration is the inward influence by which the mind is enabled to seize on those intuitions. These radical ideas are the life-blood of two-thirds of what passes for orthodoxy in Germany, and of the affiliated systems in this country. That Christianity is not a system of doctrine, but a new life, or principle, or leaven introduced into the world, is the spinal cord of Neander's History; it is the substance of Ullmann's "Wesen des Christenthums;" the basis of Twesten's Dogmatik; the sole distinction of the "Mercersburgh Theology;" the beginning and end of Morell's "Philosophy of Religion." It is the shibboleth and pass-word of an extended school of theology, including many men of science and mere sciolists. It is the formula of incantation by which ghosts are raised and laid, and by which all positive doctrines, all fixed forms of faith, are blown into thin air, whenever the occasion calls for it. The forms in which this general theory are held, are indefinitely numerous. In Schleiermacher it was a form of Pantheism—or at least it arose out of the pantheistic philosophy which he at one time openly avowed, and which underlies all his theology.

On this subject Schwarz says, Schleiermacher "began in his *Reden über die Religion*, with undisguised Pantheism," p. 28, and in another place, "Schleiermacher stands in his Ontology and Cosmology, in all that concerns the relation of God and the world, entirely on the ground of their identity. This is true even of his doctrines of Creation and Preservation, as unfolded in his Dogmatik. God and the world are inseparable correlatives; the relation of God to the world is necessary, uniform, indissoluble. No place is allowed for extraordinary

action, or special intervention on the part of God. He is indeed above nature, as its author, nevertheless all his activity is according to the laws of nature, and in connection with them. It is however admitted, that this philosophical view of the immanence of God in the world is not strictly carried out by Schleiermacher, as a theologian. Miracles, banished from his Ontology and Cosmology, appear in his Christology. The person of Christ is a miracle, an exception from natural law, it stands alone," p. 256. Christ was however only a new starting point; from him the process of development according to law goes on. The life (the theanthropic life) of which he was the germ, expands and unfolds itself in the Church. It is not pertinent to our object to trace out this theory, or to notice the different forms in which it is presented. Neither is it consistent with our purpose to enter on any attempt to refute the philosophy on which this theory is founded. It is enough for us to show that the view of revelation and inspiration derived from the doctrine that religion is a form of feeling, that Christianity is merely an inward life, or form of the religious consciousness derived in some way from Christ, is unscriptural and antichristian. Revelation, as just stated, according to this doctrine, is not the communication of truths, of facts and doctrines to the understanding, but the production or calling up of intuitions in the reason; and inspiration is not a divine, special operation of the Spirit of God on the mind, guiding it in the communication of truth, but the elevating influence by which the mind is enabled to see spiritual objects. The distinction, however, between revelation and inspiration is seldom made or adhered to by the advocates of this theory. They include both under the word *Eingebung*.

The simple fact is, or is assumed to be, that when Christ appeared on earth, his person, life, works, and words, made a certain impression on those about him, which awakened to an extraordinary degree their religious consciousness. The effect of this was to elevate and purify their minds, so that they saw truths which they never saw before. They had intuitions of spiritual things which were new, not only to their experience, but to the experience of all other men. Had this inward purification been perfect, their intuitions would have been perfect.

They would have seen all spiritual truths which the human intellect can receive. But it was imperfect in all, and different in each. It was however greater in the apostles than in others, and therefore their writings have a certain normal authority for us. "What the first *Begeisterung* (enthusiasm) is for a gifted man, that" says Martensen, "is inspiration for the church. The first *Begeisterung*, the first influx of this life, is canonical for those who follow." *Dogmatik*, p. 382. The difference however between our inspiration and that of the apostles is only a matter of degree, not of kind. Thus even Morell says, "Revelation and inspiration indicate one united process, the result of which upon the human mind is to produce a state of spiritual intuition, whose phenomena are so extraordinary, that we at once separate the agency by which they are produced from any of the ordinary principles of human development. And yet the agency is applied in perfect consistency with the laws and natural operations of our spiritual nature. Inspiration does not imply anything generically new in the actual process of the human mind; it does not involve any form of intelligence essentially different from what we already possess; it indicates rather the elevation of the religious consciousness, and with it, of course, the power of spiritual vision, to a degree of intensity peculiar to the individuals thus highly favoured of God—indicating, in fact, an inward nature so perfectly harmonized with the Divine, so freed from the distorting influences of prejudice, passion, and sin, so simply recipient of the Divine ideas circumambient around it, so responsive in all its strings to the breath of heaven, that truth leaves an impress upon it, which answers perfectly to its objective reality." *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 148. Inspiration, he says, "is a higher potency of a certain form of consciousness, which every man to some degree possesses," p. 159. All the leaders of this school unite in teaching that inspiration was not peculiar to the apostles; they only participated with other Christians therein. See *Hase's Hutterus Redivivus*, p. 104. The Bible, according to this doctrine, does not contain a revelation. As Christianity does not consist in propositions, but is a life in the soul, the apostles did not go forth to teach a system of doctrine, says Morell, but to awaken man's power of spiritual

intuition. The doctrines which they present in their writings are not revealed, they are not from God, they are the human, imperfect intellectual forms in which the sacred writers gave expression to their feelings and intuitions. These forms were of necessity Jewish. The ideas of God, sin, redemption, immortality, considered as "eternal verities," are presented in the form given to them by the understanding of men trained in Judaism. We may clothe those verities in different forms. Because the apostles conceived of redemption under the form of a purification from guilt by a sacrifice, is no reason why we should so conceive of it. It may be to us the destruction of a sinful life by the infusion of a new life, the purification of a polluted stream by the influx of pure water. Of course the Bible is not infallible; it is full of human imperfections; of the misconceptions, or imperfect conceptions or expressions of eternal truths. It simply records the scenes which awakened the religious consciousness of the apostles, and the thoughts and feelings which this awakening produced in their minds. The followers of this school, therefore, do not hesitate, however they may differ among themselves in the degree of reverence which they feel for the Scriptures, as the record of the views and experience of holy men, not only to question the accuracy of the narratives therein contained, but the correctness of the doctrines there set forth. The apostles not only failed in memory, made false quotations and erroneous expositions, but they misconceived in many cases the teachings of their Master, and present the truths which he desired to awaken in their minds in the imperfect forms of their Jewish modes of thought.

In reference to this whole theory, we would remark, that the principle on which it is founded is contrary to the general judgment and common consciousness of men. Intellectual apprehension produces feeling, and not feeling intellectual apprehension. There must be the perception or conception of beauty, before there can be the emotion. This is specially true of the religious affections. They cannot exist, and can have no character, except as they terminate on some object. What is the love of God, without the idea of God? What is reverence for Christ, without the apprehension of his excellence? What is penitence for sin, without any perception of its contrariety to

the law and character of God? How do we act when we desire to awaken right feeling, but exhibit the proper object of that feeling. The Scriptures everywhere take this great truth for granted. They lay no stress on feeling, except so far as it is excited by proper objects. They inculcate everywhere the exhibition of truth as the only possible means of producing holiness.

2. The idea that Christianity is a form of feeling, a life, and not a system of doctrines, is contrary to the faith of all Christians. Christianity always has had a creed. A man who believes certain doctrines is a Christian. If his faith is mere assent, he is a speculative Christian; if it is cordial and appreciating, he is a true Christian. But to say that a man may be a Christian, without believing the doctrines of Christianity, is a contradiction. A man may be amiable or benevolent, without any definite form of faith, but how is he to be a Christian, Jew, or Mohammedan, without a specific belief? It is true that there is an inward state, answering to the objects of faith; and it is also true that this subjective state is necessary to complete the idea of a Christian, Jew, or Mohammedan, but the inward is due to the objective, and cannot exist without it. The idea that Christianity is a feeling, analogous to amiability or benevolence, and, therefore, that a man may be a Christian, although an atheist or pagan, destroys all distinction between truth and falsehood; between God and idols; between good and evil. It is, indeed, admitted by the consistent advocates of this theory, that there is no proper distinction between religions as true and false. There are not true trees and false trees; there are trees more or less perfect; but every tree is a genuine product of vegetable life; and every religion is a genuine expression of the religious sentiment.

3. Nothing can be more opposed to Scripture than this depreciation of the importance of doctrine. It is one of the fundamental principles of the Bible, that truth is as essential to holiness as light is to vision. Hence, on the one hand, the reception of the truth is made essential to salvation, and, on the other, false doctrine is denounced as the source of sin, and the precursor of perdition. The knowledge of God is eternal life. Paul renounced everything for the excellency of the

knowledge of Christ Jesus. He declares the gospel to be the word of God; the doctrines which he preached, to be the power of God, and the wisdom of God, unto salvation. He teaches that it is impossible to exercise faith without knowledge, and that without faith men cannot be saved. Those who renounced the gospel, or the doctrines which he taught, he declares must perish. "If our gospel be hid," he says, "it is hid to them that are lost." The whole Bible is pervaded by this idea of the saving power of truth, and of the destructive influence of error. It is a thoroughly infidel sentiment, as commonly understood, that his creed cannot be wrong whose life is in the right. The reverse is true, his life cannot be right, whose creed is in the wrong. The inward life of the soul is as much sustained by truth, and as much dependent on it, as the life of the body is dependent on air and food. This doctrine thus clearly taught in Scripture, is confirmed by all experience, and by the testimony of the whole Church. In no part of the world, and in no period of its history, has holiness been found without truth; and the only possible way in which we can promote holiness among men, is by the diffusion of the truth. Even the Edinburgh Review, some years ago, admitted that the character of an age depends on its theology. A doctrine, therefore, which avowedly makes truth of subordinate importance, which claims that feeling, as distinguished from doctrine and independent of it, is the essence of religion, is as thoroughly antiscriptural as any doctrine ever advanced by man.

4. It need hardly be remarked that this doctrine destroys the authority of Scripture. The Bible is not a revelation. It does not contain a revelation. This is expressly asserted, see *Morell*, p. 143. It contains only the narrative of "the scenes which awakened the religious nature of the writers to a new life, and the high ideas and aspirations to which that life gave origin." Everything about the Bible is human, all its narratives, all its doctrines, all its precepts, all its promises, and all its predictions. There is nothing divine in the book itself. There was some divine agency in ordering the circumstances which awakened a new life in the sacred writers, and there may have been, as others admit, some divine influence, some sanctifying power exerted on their minds, to make them holy. But the

doctrines and predictions of the Bible are nothing more than the forms in which holy men expressed their thoughts and aspirations, and derive all their authority from the holiness of the writers. Now, as holy men are still men, fallible, imperfect, short-sighted, there can, on this theory, be nothing but human authority attributed to the Bible. How does this agree with, "Thus saith the Lord," found on every page of Scripture? How is the awful voice of God, which sounds through the Bible from beginning to end, before which the heart quakes and the people tremble, reduced, on this theory, to the cooing of a dove or the hooting of an owl. It is lamentable when open infidels take this ground; but it is enough to make a man cover his face with his hands in shame, to see those who profess to be Christians, and who are set for the defence of the gospel, through treachery, vanity, or weakness, assuming the same position. We bow with reverence before Neander and other advocates of this doctrine in Germany, for in their case it shows heroic faith to hold fast even thus much in the flood of Atheistic Pantheism which has deluged that country. But because a man, by superhuman exertion, escapes shipwreck in his shirt, it is no reason why men on dry land should denude themselves, and then glory in their costume. The great and good Neander deprecated the republication of his "Life of Christ" in this country. He knew that Christians in Germany had been despoiled by the enemy of much precious truth, which it was of the last importance for the Christians of America to preserve. This is perfectly consistent. A man's faith is not under his control. It is no uncommon thing to hear unbelievers say that they know that the gospel is true, and that they would give the world to believe it. Paradoxical as it may sound, it is nevertheless a fact of consciousness and experience, that a man may know a thing to be true which he cannot believe. It is so with these German Christians. Their moral nature and religious experience assure them that things are true, to which their speculative principles forbid their assent. The Christians, therefore, in England and America, who strip themselves of their clothing that they may encounter *in puris naturalibus* the wintry blasts of error, are not exactly the objects of admiration to their German brethren which they imagine themselves to be. That the

theory in question does destroy the authority of Scripture, as a rule of faith, is not a matter of inference. Its advocates do not profess to feel bound to receive as true any fact or doctrine of the Bible on the authority of the Bible itself. They receive just what pleases them and reject what they dislike, or what conflicts with their critical or philosophical principles. The miraculous conception of our Lord is a myth; the account which Paul gives of his conversion is only a record of his inward experience, there was no voice, no preternatural light, no visible appearance of Christ; all that is said about demons and demoniacal possessions, is of course accommodation; the gospel appears in one form in the Evangelists, but in a very different and worse form in the Epistles: Paul had one view of Christianity, Peter another, John another, and James another. They differ not merely in different aspects in which they view and present the same truths, but they differ in doctrine. The one affirms to be true, what the other declares to be false. Their religious life expressed itself in different intellectual forms. Of course there is no one form which is authoritative; no doctrinal propositions which we are bound to accept. As the advocates of this general theory differ indefinitely in their likes and dislikes, and in their principles of criticism and of philosophy, there is, of course, a corresponding difference among them as to what they receive as genuinely Christian, and what they reject as Jewish or spurious. This, however, is only a difference of detail, it does not affect the general principle common to them all.

5. As we occupy the position, that what is unscriptural is untrue, and as our only object is to show that the theory of inspiration under consideration is contrary to the Bible, it is unnecessary to pursue the subject any further. There is, however, one other respect, to which it may be well to advert, in which this theory stands in the most obvious contradiction to the Scriptures. According to this theory, revelation and inspiration are that process or influence by which the inward life of the soul is awakened and quickened, so that the mind takes cognizance of "eternal verities." But a large portion of the doctrines of the Bible are not eternal verities; they do not fall under the category of universal and necessary truths which alone are the objects of intuition. The doctrines of Scripture

concerning the creation and fall of man, redemption, the person of Christ, his atonement, resurrection, ascension, second coming, and kingdom, are not necessary truths. No elevation of the religious consciousness of angels could enable them to perceive these things to be true. Much less are historical facts the objects of the intuition of the religious consciousness. This theory of inspiration precludes the possibility of prophecy so far at least as historical events are concerned. What amount of holiness could enable a man to foresee that Abraham was to have possession of the land of Canaan; that his posterity were to be bondsmen in Egypt; that they were to be delivered and brought back to the promised land; that Jerusalem was to be destroyed, and the people led into captivity for seventy years, and then restored to their own country; that Christ was to be born of a virgin, in the city of Bethlehem; that he was to be crucified, dead, and buried, and rise again on the third day; that Jerusalem was to be again destroyed, and the Jews scattered over the earth, and yet preserved a distinct people? All these events were predicted long before they came to pass; but no degree of spiritual elevation, no elevation of the religious consciousness, could enable a man to foresee them. They do not belong to the class of objects of which the religious consciousness takes cognizance. You might as well assert that a man, if he had a good telescope, could see who is to be king of France a thousand years hence. It is out of the question, therefore, that this theory can be reconciled with the facts and doctrines of Scripture, and this its intelligent advocates have the candor to admit.

The reader will not fail to notice how analogous this modern theory is in its results, although not in its principles, with the old doctrine of the Quakers. According to the original doctrine of the Friends, the Holy Spirit is given to all men to guide them to the knowledge of truth and duty. The clearness and correctness of their apprehensions on these subjects, depends on the degree of their spiritual illumination. Inspiration is the same in kind, in the sacred writers, and in other men; the difference is only in degree. As the sacred writers were preëminently holy, their teachings have a corresponding authority. The ultimate appeal, however, is to the inward light. The

points of analogy between these theories are, 1. That the design of inspiration is to produce holiness, i. e. "the elevation of the religious consciousness" in its subjects. 2. That the authority of the teachings of inspired men is to be measured by their holiness. 3. That the doctrines of the Bible are merely the views which certain holy men were led in their circumstances to entertain on religious subjects. 4. That as these doctrines are really the product of the human mind, more or less under the influence of personal or national prejudices, we may receive or reject the teachings of the Bible, according as they agree or disagree with the teachings of our own inward life. Both theories are subversive of the authority of the Scriptures. Any doctrine of inspiration which assumes that its object is to produce holiness, and that the knowledge of inspired men flows from the elevation of their religious feelings, and that the authority of their teachings depends on the measure of that elevation, is entirely irreconcilable, both with the assertions and the phenomena of the Bible. Inspiration, as we learn both from the teachings and facts of Scripture, was not designed to make men holy, and did not, in point of fact, do it. It was simply designed to guide them in the communication of truth; and therefore, according to the Bible, a man might be as wicked as Judas, and as infallible as Paul. True, indeed, all the writers of the Scriptures, so far as we know, were not only inspired, but holy. But their inspiration did not make them holy. The contents of the Scriptures, therefore, are not derived from the human mind; they are not due to its elevation and purity, but are derived from the Holy Ghost, and consequently the authority of its teachings is not human, but divine. The Bible is the word of God, and not the word of man.

ART. VI.—*Albanesische Studien*, von Dr. jur. JOHANN GEORG VON HAHN k.k. Consul für das östliche Griechenland. 1854. In three Parts. Royal 8vo. pp. 347, 169, and 241.

THE author of this work had, at the time of its publication, resided nineteen years in the Levant, four of which were employed upon the researches here given to the world. He does not claim to have furnished a complete and systematic exhibition of the life, history, and language of Albania. He only modestly professes, by the facts which he has gathered, and the views he has based upon them, to call the attention of others to a new and important field, and to suggest topics for more extended and careful investigation. His exceeding anxiety to keep what may be relied upon as facts distinct from the theories which he propounds for their explanation, and to present the former in their nude form precisely as they were observed, imparts to the book more of a fragmentary appearance than really belongs to it. It is beyond comparison the fullest and most faithful repertory of information extant upon the subject of which it treats. And if the views here propounded of the origin of the Albanese, and of their language, shall approve themselves as correct, this obscure and hitherto unregarded portion of Turkish territory will assume an unexpected importance in the eyes of the historian, the antiquary, and the philologist.

The modern territory of Albania, comprising the ancient Epirus, and the greater portion of Illyricum, is a narrow strip extending along the eastern coast of the Gulf of Venice, from 30° to 43° north latitude, with a coast line of one hundred leagues, and thirty leagues of average breadth, which is increased by about one-third in the north, and diminished to the same extent in the south. Though nominally one country, and one in the isolation effected by its high natural boundaries, it is nevertheless disunited in its physical characteristics, its political connection, its population, and its religion. Von Hahn divides it into four districts, succeeding each other from north to south.

The first he calls the Alpine territory, as the Alps proper here find their termination, and govern the physical features of the country. These mountains do not form parallel ranges as in Bosnia on the northeast and east, nor as in Montenegro on the north mountain basins, the streams flowing to the centre, without apparent exit, but a knot which sends off its branches in every direction. Its centre is at Bor, where the principal chains cross, running to the northwest and southwest respectively. The waters upon the southern side are carried off by the Drin and the streams flowing into the lake of Scutari; those upon the northern by the tributaries of the Danube. The great altitudes of these wild and almost impassable mountains would lead one to expect that they would control by their slopes extensive regions of country, but in point of fact their influence is very limited. The deep valleys of the White Drin on the east, the united Drin on the south, and the lake of Scutari on the west, completely hem them in, in these directions, while the chains lying to the northward seem to owe their elevation to another impulse than one proceeding from this quarter.

The second or Pre-Alpine territory (Alpen-vorland) presents upon its eastern side the main chains of two distinct mountain systems, running north and south, containing between them the Black Drin and its source, the lake of Ochrida, and sending off secondary ranges in opposite directions. The easternmost chain may be called the backbone of the Græco-Illyrian peninsula, dividing it throughout its whole extent, in fact, into an eastern and a western half, just as the Appenines similarly divide Italy; with this difference, however, that in Greece the eastern, and in Italy the western half is most favoured of nature, and through them it is that the great routes of trade chiefly lie. Hence, although the Albanian summits can be seen upon a clear day from Italy across the straits of Otranto, Italian culture never penetrated this land, nor exerted any marked influence upon it, not even when the Via Egnatia, which led through the district of which we are now speaking, was the principal military route of the Romans to Asia, nor when Italian princes in later years held possession of points along the Albanian coast. This chain of mountains is known by no single name. Griesbach calls successive portions the Scardus, Grammos, and Pindus ranges,

the first being the reproduction of an ancient appellation, and the last two an extension of the proper names of single peaks over the ranges to which they belong. The only break in these mountains through four degrees of latitude occurs south of Lake Ochrida, forming the pass through which the Devol flows, not into the Scumbi, (as marked on Johnston's Atlas,) but south of the Scumbi into the Adriatic. To all north of this pass is given the name of Scardus, which sustains no other relation to Albania than that of forming its lofty and impregnable eastern boundary. Its numerous offshoots are all sent out in the opposite direction, forming thus a basis for the physical divisions of the eastern half of the peninsula. The other chain, however, which flanks the Black Drin and the lake from which it arises on the west, sends off at intervals three branches perpendicularly westward, limiting the basins drained respectively by the Ischm, the Arçen, and the Scumbi. This last forms the southern boundary of the Pre-Alpine territory, as the united Drin its northern. Of the passage of the Drin between the northernmost mountain branch just spoken of, and the southern extremity of the Alpine knot of the first division of the land, Griesbach, in his Journey through Rumelia and to Brussa, gives the following description: "About five leagues west of the confluence of the Black and White Drin, the united river forces itself into a narrow ravine of rocks, and everything like a passage way upon its banks soon ceases. According to the accounts of the Albanese, the Drin maintains a northwesterly direction in this narrow inaccessible valley for some leagues, until it impinges against the Bertiscus, (the southern extremity of the main southwestern chain of the Alpine knot above described,) here called Caradag. It then turns to the southwest and west, and flows in an enormously deep, unvisited channel, between inaccessible walls of rock, as it enters the cleft between Bertiscus and Dueadshin. No road conducts through this wild region, no boat has ever navigated it. None can say whether there are any waterfalls or rapids. There are points here, perhaps, where the southern wall of the valley rises two thousand feet, and the northern five thousand, abruptly from the river. How fruitful of results, and yet how adventurous, if some one interested in the study of mountains would make his way through these abysses, which

skirt the southern border of the Alps! And this is not a mere gateway of rocks, which the river soon overcomes; the length of the channel probably amounts to twenty leagues. Where the Drin placidly leaves the mountain at the fords of Scala, I was told that no way leads into the valley there either, since the rocks everywhere extend quite to the river; and there the river was known to those of whom inquiry was made, but half a league. Wherever I sought for information about the valley of the river within, the invariable answer was, "It is not inhabited—all rock —no road."

Next follows the Grammos region. The name Grammos is explained as covering all that portion of the great eastern chain which lies between the Devol pass, and the heights of Konitza and Greveno. Various ranges branch off from it running westward, and the Devol and the Ljum Beratit, (river of Berat,) forming by their junction the Semen, take their rise in it. This division has less of a distinct and independent character than either of the others, and may very properly be joined with the second under the common designation of Central Albania. This portion of the country possesses in the Via Egnatia and the Devol pass, the best avenues to the East, and hence has always gravitated more strongly eastward than either the northern or southern portions.

The last division is the Pindus region, which corresponds precisely to the ancient Epirus. This has not, as Central Albania, a system of parallel streams, flowing in a direction at right angles with that of the axis of the principal chain, and along the whole extent of its eastern slope. The streams here all spring from a mountain knot in the northeast corner, whence they radiate to the south, southwest, and northwest. The influence of this Pindus knot upon the mountain systems of this region is limited to its eastern portion, where it sends out two branches, one to the south, and the other to the northwest, but none in a westerly direction. The entire west of the country is filled with mountain ranges, running like the main chain of the Pindus north and south, but having no organic connection with it. The course of the streams, however, justifies the assumption of a gradual rise in the land from all parts of the coast toward their common origin in the northeast. Janina,

which lies as near this radiating centre as sufficient space could be found for its existence, is the natural capital of the region.

Albania is thus not only of so wild and inhospitable a character, as not to invite cupidity and aggression, but it is by its natural boundaries secluded to a great extent from contiguous territories. On the north and east it is shut in by high mountains, capable of being crossed only at a few narrow and difficult passes, which are said by those who have examined them with a military eye, to admit of a more ready defence on the Albanian than on the opposite side. Only in the northeastern corner there is a considerable breach in its mountain walls, between the Gljep and the Scardus, filled up by none but moderate elevations, and these cut by broad and deep valleys. On the south the gulf of Arta forms a partial boundary; but from its eastern extremity to the crest of the Pindus, the land opens upon Grecce, with which it here joins. It is hence to be explained that this southeast corner of the land is peopled by Greeks, and that during almost the whole of the Middle Ages, and down to the most recent times, it has been connected with Ætolia and Acarnania. These Greek states, however, are at too great a remove themselves from routes of trade, or from prominence in history, to have exerted any important influence upon Epirus. We hear at least of nothing but predatory excursions undertaken from the south. And when the lands were united, it was not a southern city, but the Epirotic Arta, which was the seat both of the civil and ecclesiastical government. In Turkish times, too, the governors of Epirus have had more or less influence in these lands lying to the south.

The seacoast of Epirus is bordered by the Chimara range of mountains, the old Acroceraunian, which, extending from the gulf of Awlona, (Valona,) on the north, to the island of Corfu, rise in a precipitous, almost unbroken wall, directly from the sea. South of this, the elevations are lower and recede somewhat from the shore, while they afford several broad valleys for the passage of streams, which by their alluvial deposits are perpetually tending to push out the coast line yet farther. This formation is here, as usually elsewhere, productive of numerous harbours and roads. North of Awlona, the coast imme-

diately assumes an entirely opposite character. It is open, flat and bordered by shoals, the work of the streams, which are here quite yellow from the earthy particles with which they are laden. Heavy rains change this flat country into a vast morass, and all communication from north to south, is frequently interrupted for weeks by the overflow of the rivers. The fevers which prevail here, particularly late in the summer, are one reason why middle and north Albania are so little known. The Bojanna fever, so named from the mouth of the river, where it is most frequently found, is especially dreaded. Our author was himself overtaken by a ten months' illness, and barely escaped with his life.

The unity of Albania consists more in its isolation from other countries than in any coherence of its several parts. It has never, in fact, formed one political whole, whether in the periods of its separate existence, or when it belonged to some larger empire, as the Roman, Byzantine, Bulgarian, Servian or Turkish. In ancient times it had not even a common name, but was divided between Epirus and Illyricum, the latter embracing the first three divisions of the land as above given, and the former, the fourth. Ptolemy assigns Northern Albania to Illyricum, Central, to Macedonia, and Southern, to Epirus. Strabo, or the author of the third fragment ascribed to him, departs from Ptolemy in making the Via Egnatia the southern limit of Macedonia, including thus the Grammos with the Pindus region under the name of Epirus. This corresponds precisely with the modern division. The pachalic of Janina embraces the Pindus and Grammos regions. Its capital is Janina, situated, as before stated, in the natural centre of the land. Turkish Middle Albania is the Pre-Alpine region. It has no common political or commercial centre. Its centres lie to the east, quite outside of its own bounds. Its various districts, of which there are seven, are all subject to the Kaimakam of Ochrida, and he is again subordinate to the Rumeli Walessi of Monastir, which is itself the residence of the Seraskier or commandant-general of all Rumelia. The north of the land is at present divided between the pachalic of Scutari, on the west, and that of Prisrend on the east. The main routes of trade, of which there are four, one for each of the physical regions above described, run from west

to east, crossing by their several passes the eastern boundary of mountains. The trade from north to south, whether by land or sea, amounts to almost nothing.

The Albanese proper are divided into the Toscans and the Gegans, the former inhabiting Southern, the latter, Middle and Northern Albania. Their respective dialects differ about as much as High and Low Dutch, each being unintelligible to those acquainted only with the other. Speaking in general terms, the river Scumbi may be said to form the boundary between them; and it is a remarkable fact that this is almost identical with the line, which in Strabo's days divided the Epirotes from the Illyrians. The Toscans and Gegans cherish a hereditary antipathy which often breaks out into open quarrels. Such is the readiness with which they fight against each other, that the Turkish government employs, with the greatest effect, soldiers from one part of the country to suppress disturbances in the other.

The Albanese are not, however, confined to Albania; nor are they its sole inhabitants. A few have settled in Servia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Dalmatia. In the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, apart from those who have in the course of time become assimilated to the Italians, there are eighty-six thousand who retain their own language, dress, and manners. In the kingdom of Greece, they are variously estimated at one hundred thousand, one hundred and seventy thousand, or a larger number still. The number of Albanese in the whole Turkish empire may be about one million six hundred thousand.

In southern Albania there are many Greeks, particularly in the southeastern portion, where the Greek language is exclusively spoken: in the Pindus mountains, there are many Wallachians, who also preserve their own language. In middle Albania there are no Greeks, but Wallachian colonies are numerous. In northern Albania there are some Servians. The Greeks and Wallachians are all attached to the Greek Church. The Servians are divided between Mohammedanism and Roman Catholicism. It is commonly assumed, that among the Albanese the Christian preponderates over the Mohammedan element, though it would be impossible to state the proportion even approximately. Originally they were all Christians. Their transition to Islam was in order to escape the vexations

and oppressions of their Turkish rulers. Since the adoption of the recent reforms in Turkey, the Mohammedan population is as liable to conscription as the Christian, and all temptation to change their religion has been taken away. There is even a strong disposition among many to return to the open profession of Christianity, which they have secretly adhered to, notwithstanding their nominal adoption of Mohammedanism. The Christian population of southern, and of the adjacent portion of middle, Albania, belongs entirely to the Greek Church. In the northern part of middle Albania, and in the Pachalic of Scutari, the Christians are Roman Catholics. In the Pachalic of Prisrend, there are both Greeks and Catholics. The Catholic clergy of northern Albania, as is usual *in partibus infidelium*, are under the direction of the *Congregatio de propaganda fide*, upon whose nomination the bishops are appointed by the pope. There are in all seven dioceses, embracing one hundred and three parishes, and ninety-six thousand souls. There are besides five apostolic prefectures, of the Franciscan order, with several convents subject to each. Only two or three of these have anything like respectable endowments, however, and these are each tenanted by but a single monk. The rest are poor, and many of them deserted.

Albania has no connected history. Its name is but rarely mentioned, whether in ancient or modern times, and for the most part only when the course of events brings it into some new relation with other countries. As soon as this relation ceases, or is definitely settled, the land sinks back again into its former obscurity. Hence all that we know of it, is confined to a few fragments grouped about a few distinguished characters, or the roll of some brief dynasties. Such fragments may, by ingenious and careful combination, sometimes be made to supply the lack of more abundant materials. But when the chasms extend over centuries, and almost millenniums, the utmost ingenuity is set at defiance. And such is the case with Albania; for from the time of Strabo and Ptolemy, to that of the Normans, we never hear of it, except in connection with the irruptions of some barbarian horde. The Normans called it, at least its central portion, Bulgaria, in the same way as it had in former times been called Macedonia, notwithstanding the

fact that the kingdom of Bulgaria had for centuries been subject to the Byzantine emperors. The geographical names preserved by historians of the Middle Ages, have mostly a Slavic look, and upon the maps of modern Albania, Slavic names are frequent, and are found in the most widely sundered districts. Very soon, however, after the land comes into notice, it is discovered to be in possession of a people who do not speak Slavic, who are called Albanese, and who become possessed of such sudden vigour as to overflow their bounds, and for centuries to support a large emigration in all directions. These emigrations seem to have been forcibly stopped by the Turkish government, and but for this it is probable that they might have endured some time longer. This people is very plainly distinguished from their Slavic neighbours on the north and east; and in the land itself the Slavic element has completely vanished, though another foreign element, the Wallachian, has penetrated it. Albania seems thus, like Greece, to have had its Slavic period, though the vanishing of the once predominant foreign element, and the restoration of what had been apparently eradicated, to its pristine power, is more difficult of explanation in the one case than in the other. The gradual hellenizing of Greece, is due to the sway which ancient Greek culture, aided by ecclesiastical and civil advantages, naturally gained over uncultivated masses; but the preponderance of the Albanian over the Slavic, can have arisen from no such causes. However it is to be explained, the fact nevertheless remains, and the question now arises, Who are these Albanese? Are they the original inhabitants of the land, and is the Slavic period but an episode in their history, or have they entered the country within the historical period, like the Slaves, as a subsequent wave of emigration, effacing the traces of the preceding?

Our author maintains, and it is in fact one of the principal aims of his book to establish, the former of these alternatives. He first deduces the negative conclusion that as the Albanese are not Slaves, and as they bear no near relationship to any other known people, and as there is no historical account of any other immigration than the Slavic, which would be considerable enough to form a great people, it seems probable that the modern Albanese are the descendants of the original

pre-Slavic inhabitants of the territory. To this he adds various positive arguments drawn from various quarters. The first is taken from the manners and customs of the Albanese. These are dwelt upon with considerable detail as they fell under his own observation, or as he learned them by inquiry among the natives. Their agreement with old Roman and Hellenic customs is so intimate, and extends to so many particulars, that he feels authorized to conclude that it could not have been casual, but must be traced to community of origin. This coincidence is such as cannot be satisfactorily accounted for by the assumption that the Albanese proceeded from the same stock with the Greeks and Romans, though leaving their original seats at a comparatively modern date. For even supposing the tenacity of these customs to have been such, as not to have been obliterated in so long a period, nations in their migrations are like metals in a fluid state, receiving a new shape from everything with which they are brought into contact; and especially if they have always been nomadic previously, they have the great changes to undergo which are involved in their passing from that to a settled condition. The ancestors of the Albanese must, he thinks, upon this ground, have been established in their present seats in the old Greek and Roman period; and they have preserved the original customs common to them all, freer from change and foreign admixture, than the descendants of the Greeks and Romans have done. This was greatly favoured by the secluded character of the country, which, obstructing intercourse with other nations, saved them at once from the humanizing effect of commercial contact, and from being overwhelmed by the political storms which raged around them. Club-law, blood-revenge, and the family-bond in its extended patriarchal sense, are still in full force amongst them, so that even at the present day they have not yet risen above that stage of culture through which the Greeks and Romans had already passed, when they first appear upon the stage of history. The conservative spirit of the Albanese is particularly apparent from the fact, that although a large part of them, their flower one may say, spend the best portion of their life abroad, they are yet perfectly unaffected by what they see around them, and thus the people abide from generation to generation, and

from century to century, precisely what their fathers were. From these considerations our author is disposed to infer that the relationship apparent between the Albanese and the Greeks and Romans is that between nations sprung from the same origin, and settled about the same age, and under somewhat similar circumstances, rather than to suppose that the former directly adopted the manners of the latter; although either supposition would make the ancestors of the Albanese contemporaneous with the old Greeks and Romans, and so answer the end of making them the original occupants of the soil.

A second positive argument is drawn from considerations of language. In order to prepare a basis for the application of this argument, Von Hahn endeavours to fix, by the testimony of classic historians, the affinities of the early inhabitants of this region. His theses upon this subject are the following: The Epirotes and Macedonians were barbarians, that is to say, they were not Greeks. They belonged to the wide spread family of the Illyrians. The Epirotes and Macedonians formed the heart of that Tyrrheno-Pelasgic race, whose outer borders project into history in Italy and Thrace. The Illyrians were Pelasgians in the wide sense.

To the question, how the Epirotes and Macedonians could be called barbarians, if they were either Pelasgians or their descendants, he replies, that in his view the Pelasgians were not Hellenes, but were, in the Hellenic mode of speaking, barbarians. They were a people distinct from the Hellenes in language, customs, and descent, whose numerous tribes in the earliest historical period occupied the coast of the Adriatic, the greater part of what was subsequently Hellas, including the Peloponnesus and considerable districts in Italy. The diversity between the Pelasgians and Hellenes is not, however, to be thought of as fundamental and total. It is rather like that which divides the Albanese from the modern Greeks, with whom they have many elements in common, without these being explicable from the mere circumstance of their proximity on the one hand, or justifying the assumption on the other of so close a community of origin, as that for example which subsists between the Germans and Scandinavians. This view is maintained in opposition to that which supposes the name *Pelasgic* to desig-

nate merely an antecedent period in the civilization of the Hellenic race itself, on the ground of the improbability that the Greeks would have used so distinct a term to designate a prior stage of their own culture, or, if they had done so, that its true meaning should have been so completely obscured, that Herodotus and subsequent writers should have supposed it to express a different nationality.

The flower of Greek civilization was not the unaided development of a single seed. It was the mixture of races which quickened it into growth, and prepared for it so glorious a maturity: just as a like cause operated with like effect in Rome, and as the absence of it in Albania explains its torpor and stagnation. The Hellenes entering among the Pelasgians, gradually absorbed those who were in their vicinity into their own body, so that they adopted the Hellenic language and customs, and in fact became Hellenes; just as this same operation has been repeated in the same country in modern times, in the case of their descendants, the Albanese and modern Greeks. Only in this instance the incomers are absorbed by the original inhabitants, not the reverse.

The Albanese made their appearance in Greece about the fourteenth century. They gradually penetrated into almost every part of the main land, either peopling whole districts, or adding themselves to the population of Greek cities and villages. Attica, Megara, Bœotia, Southern Eubœa, Argolis, and Corinthia are occupied entirely by Albanese, the city population only being either wholly, (as in Carysto, Piræus, Nauplia, Corinth,) or prevailingly (as in Athens, Megara, Argos,) Greek. Hydra, Spezzia, Poros and Salamis are so exclusively Albanese, that it is said not a woman upon those islands understood the Greek language before the revolution. The same ignorance of Greek is asserted of the Albanese women of Argos and Athens. The Greek navy was then limited to the two islands first named and to the little Psara, which was alone inhabited by Greeks. The Albanese element, therefore, predominated in the fleet, and its idiom is the seamen's language still. There were Albanese in the army on land likewise. Bozzaris, Zawellas, the Grivas, and Crisiotis were of this race: as indeed, many of those who distinguished themselves in that struggle were of other races

than the Greek; Coletis was a Wallachian, Wasso a Montenegran, Chadshi Christo a Servian, etc.

These two races continued for centuries, even where they dwelt together in the same places, in a state of complete separation from each other. No intermarriages ever took place between them. The Greek revolution first completely broke the ice. From that time the inclination has developed itself amongst the Albanese, to a constantly increasing extent, to become assimilated to and identified with the Greeks. The Albanese in Greece are no longer willing to be so called. This appellation is equivalent in their eyes to barbarian. They call themselves Greeks, and feel no small degree of pride in the name. Albanese women may be constantly heard speaking Greek in the larger places of Attica, and probably there are few females in Hydra, Spezzia, or Salamis, who do not understand it. At the present rate of progress it will scarcely require three generations to banish Albanese to the remotest and most out of the way districts; and in double that time it will have died out completely from within the limits of the kingdom.

While, however, the Pelasgians and other barbarians who were settled in Hellas, gave up their own language and adopted that of the Hellenes, who had established themselves amongst them, the tribes of this same people lying farther north in Epirus, Macedonia and Illyria, retained their native idiom until the Bulgarians entered Macedonia, and the Servians Illyria, when what remained of the Pelasgians yielded there too before the language of the invaders. Albania was likewise entered by Bulgarians and Servians, but here the old Pelasgic element maintained its place against the intruding tongue, and succeeded in subjecting it to itself. According to this view the Albanese have as much right to the name of modern Pelasgians as the modern Greeks have to their name. And in fact the Jews living in the Levant continue to apply to them the name Pelishtim, which some eminent scholars consider identical with *Πελασγοί*, though Von Hahn is of a different opinion.

If now the old Macedonians, Epirotes and Illyrians, were related branches of the Old Pelasgic race, (the boundary between the Epirotes and the Illyrians lying, according to Strabo, precisely where that between the Toscans and Gegans

is found at the present day,) and it can be shown that the old Macedonian language, or one at least strongly related to it, still lives in the mouths of the Albanese, then our author's second proof of the Pelasgic origin of these latter, and consequently of their "autochthonity" will be made out. The comparison is, however, encumbered by many and serious difficulties. In what has been preserved to us as Macedonian, it is necessary to distinguish from the old period of its native purity, not only what belongs to the second period when it was hellenized under Philip and Alexander, but also what belongs to the third when it was subsequently barbarized by the Macedonians being mingled with Egyptians, Persians, and others in different quarters of the globe. The language of those Greeks, too, who lived upon the coasts of Macedon, and from whom their first knowledge of this tongue would be derived, was by no means pure; and it is perhaps attributable to this, that of the words which have been alleged to be Macedonian, a considerable proportion are simply Doric, Æolic, Archaic, or corrupted Greek forms. Removing these, a number remain which are evidently not Greek, and, though some of these may have been derived from the other barbarian sources above alluded to, the probability is that the majority are really Macedonian. Their number is altogether so few, however, that it is not surprising if the results to which they lead is not very satisfactory; for with all the intimacy of relationship subsisting between the Toscan and the Gegan, it would not be difficult to find three times the number of words in each totally unconnected with any root existing in the other. Besides, Polybius states that the diversity between the Macedonian and the old Illyrian was such, that Macedonian ambassadors journeying to Scutari, needed to take an Illyrian interpreter with them, in the same manner as Toscans need one at the present day among the Gegans. A farther difficulty arises from the fact that no complete thesaurus has yet been constructed of the Albanese language, nor of the Wallachian, which probably stands upon the same footing, and ought also to be taken into the account. Notwithstanding these embarrassing circumstances, however, our author makes the attempt to explain a few Macedonian words and proper names from the Albanese. The resem-

blances, however, appear to be too remote and doubtful to admit of their being built upon with any great degree of confidence.

A third argument is drawn from the geographical nomenclature of the country, and that in a two-fold way; according as the ancient names have been preserved to modern times, or as the appellatives from which they were formed still exist in the modern language. The correspondence of ancient with modern names, and even their continued application to the same places are not of themselves decisive proofs of the derivation of its present inhabitants, by direct descent from those of former times. For even a new people entering a country find it as a general thing more convenient to retain the geographical names which they already find in use, or merely to modify them to the extent of making them more readily pronounceable, than to invent new ones. In Dalmatia, for example, many names have been preserved from the days of the Romans, though the country is now inhabited by people of Slavic descent. And in Greece and Albania there are many Slavic names, though that language no longer exists in either of those countries.

It is an irrefragable proof of unbroken national descent, however, if the old geographical names can be shown still to exist as appellatives in the modern language. Such names as Waterford, New Haven, Newfoundland, Rocky Mountains, Long Island, Lake Superior, imply the existence of an English speaking people at the time they were applied. If now old Epirotic or Illyrian names reappear as Albanese appellatives, it follows that those who first gave such names, spoke a language related to the Albanese, and the nearer the forms are to each other, the more intimate must that relation be assumed to have been. There are fifty-three such names which our author adduces in evidence of this point.

A fourth argument is drawn from the names of the old Greek mythology, as compared with their roots still preserved in the Albanese; and upon this, our author is disposed to rely as the most decisive of his proofs. After pointing out these coincidences in detail, he adds, "A part of these attempted derivations, when weighed in the balances of philology, may be found wanting. We hope nevertheless that a sufficient number will

remain to demonstrate the connection between the language still spoken at Dodona and the gods worshipped there three thousand years ago, and to show that the priests of Dodona told Herodotus nothing but the truth, when they said that the Pelasgians had no names for their gods, but designated them by appellatives expressive of their nature. And it is worthy of note that the names here compared are taken almost exclusively from the Titan period of Greek mythology, and that nearly all the names of the Olympic deities disown any connection with the Albanese."

The last argument for the high antiquity of the Albanese is derived from an alphabet found in their possession, consisting of fifty-two characters, of which eight are vowels, twenty-nine single consonants, and fifteen double consonants. A comparison of these with the corresponding Phœnician letters, shows a surprising resemblance, greater even in some cases than can be traced in the oldest known form of the Greek. Of the Greek alphabet, Diodorus says, "The letters are commonly called Phœnician, because the Greeks brought them from Phœnicia; but they should properly be called Pelasgian, for the Pelasgians first adapted these characters to their language, and made use of them." Upon this and other classic testimony taken in connection with the internal evidence from the forms of the Albanese letters themselves, Von Hahn has constructed the following theory. The Pelasgians who were the first historical inhabitants of Greece, learned the art of writing from Phœnician immigrants. The Hellenes, who entered the country subsequently, continued to maintain their own language, which was adopted even by the Pelasgians, who were there before them. But among other things which they borrowed from the Pelasgians was this alphabet, which had been received in the manner already stated, and which, in the hands of the Hellenes, went through the transformations, which have made it what the Greek alphabet now is. The Pelasgians of Albania, however, preserved the original form of their written characters with the same rigorous tenacity, that they did their customs. So that even yet after an interval of thousands of years it bears evident traces of its origin, some of its present forms being even more antique than those which the very oldest monuments of Greece present.

It is to be regretted that the external evidence as to the real origin and antiquity of this alphabet is not more unequivocal. Von Hahn met with it nowhere but at Elbassan, and even there not more than fifty persons probably were acquainted with it. Tradition connects it with a teacher of the Greek school there, of the name of Theodore, who seems to have died about the close of the last century, and who is said to have translated the Scriptures into Albanese. But whether he was the inventor of this alphabet, or only first brought it to Elbassan, no one could say. Unfortunately, all his writings had been burned by his relatives, after a season of the prevalence of the plague, from fear of the infection.

Theodore had studied in Moschopolis, ten leagues east of Berat. This was, about the middle of the last century, the most cultivated city of all Albania, possessing a school of great distinction, which dated from the Middle Ages, and also a printing press. This school owed its reputation to several distinguished scholars of Constantinople, who fled thither after the overthrow of that city by the Turks. It was richly endowed, too, by the benefactions of opulent citizens. About the time already referred to, however, in consequence of the advances which Islam was making in that vicinity, the oppressions practised upon this rich Christian city became so intolerable, that its wealthy inhabitants formed the common resolution to leave the place, and take their families with them. It is reputed to have contained twelve thousand houses before; now it numbers but about two or three hundred. Von Hahn thinks that Theodore learned the alphabet in this school, where it had been traditionally preserved.

Our author made a diligent search in Elbassan for native manuscripts, but succeeded only in finding a folio sheet containing a fragment of a Gegan translation of the gospel of John, and two fragments in quarto of a Gegan translation of a Greek Horologion. The transcriber of the oldest of these manuscripts was still living. A fac-simile is given of John xvi. 1–23, as well as the printed text of the same, in both the Gegan and Toscan dialects.

The Christian school at Elbassan has been in existence from time immemorial. It is well endowed, and has at present two

teachers and fifty or sixty pupils. The branches taught there are the Greek language, history, geography, and geometry. Similar institutions exist in Berat, Ochrida, and Argyrocastron. The gymnasium at Janina has seven teachers and three hundred pupils, more than half of whom are from abroad. It receives its support from rich bequests which have been deposited for that purpose in the Russian bank. In the northern part of the country, the instruction is under the direction of the Roman Catholic clergy. Turkish educational institutions are likewise found in the larger cities; these confine themselves to giving instruction in the oriental languages.

As an illustration of Albanese customs, we will borrow here an account of their marriage ceremonies. Children are often betrothed in their cradles; boys are generally married by the time they are fifteen, and girls when they are twelve years of age. The affair is arranged by the parents or relatives on both sides, without consulting the wishes of the parties concerned. The betrothal is ratified by the exchange of tokens. They commonly use for this purpose ancient uncurrent coins, of which there are great quantities in the country, belonging to the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine periods, and which are worn as ornaments by women and children. As the time of marriage approaches, a still more formal ratification of the engagement takes place, by an exchange of gold or silver rings: this is sometimes done but three days before the wedding. The bridegroom purchases the bride, who brings him no dowry, and does not furnish even her own apparel. He sends her her bridal attire on the Saturday before the wedding, accompanied by a sum of money fixed by the usages of the place, but which does not exceed one hundred piastres. Monday is regarded as the beginning of the nuptials, and is called meal-Monday. The wheat which is to be converted into the bread to be used upon the occasion, is then taken to the mill, amid songs and salutes of firearms, by the friends of the groom. After this the wedding cannot be postponed, except on account of death, or some other disaster. Thursday is the wood-day. The women of the invited families go singing to the woods, early in the morning, and return laden with sticks ornamented with leaves or ribands to the bridegroom's house. Then the

kneading and baking begins. A maiden, both of whose parents are living, and the more brothers she has the better, must be the first to put her hands in the dough. As the work proceeds, she takes a plate of dough, and, making the circuit of the company, solicits a piece of money from each, which she is to keep as her own; when she comes to the bridegroom she endeavours to besmear him with the dough, while he defends himself as well as he is able. The whole is concluded with a dance.

On Saturday the bridegroom invites his near relations to an entertainment; each of whom comes bringing a lamb. Dancing and carousing are then kept up throughout the entire day and night. Meanwhile, in the house of the bride, all is quiet.

On Sunday all the relatives and friends are invited to the wedding. In towns and the larger class of villages, the party is scarcely ever under one hundred. The guests bring cracknels, flasks of wine, and small sums of money, varying according to their ability, or the degree of their relationship. At the appointed hour, the procession sets out from the house of the bridegroom to that of the bride, the clergyman taking the lead, the bridegroom following on horseback, attended by his male friends, and a party of young maidens, with a horse for the bride, bringing up the rear. Arrived at her house, the bridegroom is received by his mother-in-law, and kisses her hand, and she sprinkles him with a nosegay dipped in water. The men go into an apartment where an entertainment is provided for them; and the women into the chamber of the bride, who kisses the hand of every one as she enters. When they are ready to return, the bride kisses the hands of her parents and relatives, and after some show of resistance, is set on horseback, wearing a red veil, and follows in the procession to her husband's home. Her own relatives accompany her half way, and then turn back. As they approach, the bridegroom's mother scatters handfuls of rice over the wedded pair, as well as over the rest of the party. His father, or some near relative, assists the bride to dismount. When they enter the door, a hoop is held through which the bride and bridegroom must creep together, and which is then broken over them, signifying that their union is to last until death. The groomsman then unveils the bride, and the nuptial ceremony is concluded by the

godfather crowning the heads of the wedded pair. Dancing and feasting fill up the rest of the day. Monday and Tuesday are devoted to an interchange of hospitality between the families thus related, the bridegroom inviting his wife's relations the first day, and being invited by his father-in-law the next.

The exhibition of the phenomena of the Albanese language, and particularly of the Toscan dialect, presented in the second and third parts of this volume, is wonderfully complete and thorough, considering the facilities at our author's command. He had the aid of native teachers instructed in the Greek, but who had never thought of committing their own language to writing, nor of bestowing any theoretical treatment upon its forms. As he was at that time unacquainted with the Albanese alphabet already spoken of, he made use of the Greek, employing diacritical points, and italic letters, to express such additional sounds as it was necessary to represent. The only printed books upon which he could draw for assistance in this part of his labours, were the Toscan translation of the New Testament, by Gregorius, archbishop of Eubœa, published in Corfu, in 1827, and Von Hylander's Albanese Lexicon, published at Frankfort, in 1835. The distinguished philologist Bopp,* instituted a careful examination into the peculiarities of this language, and pronounced it to be without doubt a member of the great Indo-European family, bearing striking analogies to the Greek and Latin, while it was not, however, a direct derivative from either, but was, like them, descended from a common parent stock. The specimens which are given of Albanese poetry, proverbs, riddles, and tales, are interesting, not only as exhibiting the structure of the language, but as reflecting to some extent the genius of the people. The substance of their tales, furnishes, in Von Hahn's esteem, an additional bond of connection with the Indo-European race, by their similarity to legends found among other European nations.

We close our account of this elegant and scholarly volume

* In his treatise, Ueber das Albanesische in seiner verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen. Berlin, 1855. The materials of his discussion are chiefly drawn from Von Hahn, though he also makes use upon occasion of Blanchus' Dictionarium Latino-Epiroticum, Rome, 1635, and Lecce's Osservazioni Grammaticali, 1716, both of which relate to another dialect of the same language.

by an incident which suggested to our author a new method of tracing the affinities of nations: "The band of the Athenian garrison has for some time past been in the habit of playing a piece, which touches the hearts even of those Greeks, and they compose the majority, to whom occidental music is utterly unintelligible. They recognize in it strains which they have heard and sung from their youth; 'that sounds like the Kalamatyanos.' I long supposed the piece to be some idealized Grecian melody, until to my astonishment I learned that it was a Highland Scotch air. In the fundamental diversity of Grecian and occidental music, which is such that scarcely one in a hundred from the west of Europe can retain and repeat a Greek popular melody, this fact may deserve attention from musicians. The study of the Greek national music will certainly be fruitful in results bearing on ancient ethnography."

SHORT NOTICES.

The Knowledge of God objectively considered: Being the First Part of Theology considered as a system of Positive Truth both inductive and deductive. By Robert J. Breckinridge, D. D., LL.D., Professor of Theology in the Seminary at Danville, Kentucky. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1858.

Through the kindness of the publishers we received a copy of this volume, together with several others scarcely less imposing, a few days before these sheets were sent to the press. It would require weeks of study to be prepared to express an intelligent judgment on its contents. What we have to say, therefore, must be said on the old principle *ex pede Herculem.* Trusting to that principle we incur little risk in predicting that this work will greatly increase the already high reputation of its author. He is well known to the Church, not only for vigour of thought and power of expression, but for the higher faculty of compass of mind, which enables him to master and marshal the complicated details of any subject which he undertakes to discuss. These qualities are here exhibited in a higher field than any which he has hitherto occupied. The plan of the work, so far as we know, is original. It is certainly grand.

The author first presents the knowledge of God, or the truth concerning him, objectively considered. As we attain the knowledge of God through ourselves, by his works and word, and in the person and work of Christ, this division of the subject includes an exhibition of the truth concerning man, concerning Christ, and concerning God, as revealed in his word and in the works of creation, providence, and redemption. After this exposition of the truth objectively considered, is to come the exposition of divine truth subjectively considered. By which we understand the exposition of the inward effects of objective truth on the soul of man. This, unless our casual inspection of the book has misled us, is its general idea. This is just the opposite of the favourite German method. The German theologians are wont to begin with the subjective, and thence deduce the objective, spinning, as the spider its web, their theology out of their own bowels. This gives nothing sure; nothing but what is human and conjectural. The method proposed in this work assumes that there is a reality in truth independently of the human mind, and that true doctrine is the parent and not the offspring of right feeling and experience. We anticipate from it great and permanent good.

Analytical Exposition of Paul the Apostle to the Romans. By John Brown, D.D., Senior Minister of the United Presbyterian congregation, Broughton Place, Edinburgh, and Professor of Exegetical Theology in the United Presbyterian Church. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1857. Pp. 638.

This work is the fruit of forty years' study. It is called an analytical exposition, because the interpretation is logical, and not verbal or grammatical, designed to put the English reader into possession of the real mind of the Apostle. It is a rich storehouse of doctrinal and practical instruction, and specially suited to the wants and uses of ministers.

An Exposition of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians. By the Rev. Jean Daillé, minister of the French Reformed Church at Charenton, A. D. 1639. Translated from the French, by the Rev. James Sherman, minister of Surrey Chapel, London. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 821 Chestnut street. Pp. 471.

We are glad to see Paul called Saint Paul, in a work emanating from the Board. We are apt to carry to an extreme the discarding of the use of a thing because of its abuse. That the Romanists canonize sinners, is no good reason why we should reject an appropriate and scriptural designation. Paul was a saint, not only as a believer, but officially. He was one of the Holy Apostles, as he himself calls them, men specially consecrated to a high vocation. This work is a series of sermons,

expository and doctrinal, on one of the most interesting epistles, by one of the brightest ornaments of the French Protestant Church in its best days.

Expositions of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. By Robert Leighton, D.D., Archbishop of Glasgow. With a Preliminary Essay, by John Pye Smith, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 530 Broadway. 1858. Pp. 292.

It was part of the daily devotions of Luther, to repeat the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments—wonderful compends of divine truth—the two latter having the sanction of God's word, and the former adopted by the universal Church. Few men whom that Church has produced had a spirit more in harmony with these great symbols than Archbishop Leighton. Any one who has ever derived refreshment from the fountains of spiritual instruction in his Exposition of the First Epistle of St. Peter, will turn with delight to this other production of the same eminently holy man.

The Grammar of English Grammars: With an Introduction, historical and critical; the whole methodically arranged and amply illustrated, with Forms of correcting and of parsing; Improprieties for correction; Examples for parsing; Questions for examination; Exercises for writing; Observations for the advanced student; Decisions and Proofs for the settlement of disputed points; Occasional Strictures and Defences; an Exhibition of the several Methods of Analysis, and a Key to the Oral Exercises; to which are added four Appendixes, containing separately the four Parts of Grammar. By Goold Brown, formerly Principal of an English and Classical Academy, New York, author of the Institutes of English Grammar, the First Lines of English Grammar. Second Edition, revised and improved. New York: Samuel S. & William Wood, 389 Broadway. London: Sampson Low, Son & Co., 47 Ludgate Hill. 1857. Pp. 1070.

The above title-page is a table of contents. We cannot pretend to have read a book of this size. It is like an Encyclopedia of the whole range of grammatical knowledge. The man capable of producing such a work must have been created for the purpose; he must have had a devotion and zeal for the subject, which furnish a guaranty that whatever can be collected or said on Grammar, is to be found in his book. The author had earned a wide reputation, and this edition of his great work is the crowning labour of his life.

The Great Law Book: The Kingdom and Reign of the Messiah: His Subjects, Precepts, and Government: with Preliminary Remarks on the Bible, its Author, Dispensations, and other kingdoms. By Harmon Kingsbury. New York: William Gowans, 1857.

The evident sincerity and zeal of the author in behalf of the principles he advocates, entitle him to respectful consideration.

The intensity of his mental action in reference to these subjects, has for a long time been such, he informs us, as to shatter his health, impair his vision, and compel him to publish his thoughts in a fragmentary and otherwise unfinished state. This fact, together with the intolerably fine type in which the book is printed, will greatly diminish its readers and its influence. So far as we can find, after some pains-taking to ascertain what the author is so zealous to bring before the world, his object is: 1. To show that the original norm or standard of moral excellence, and consequently of all right laws and ordinances for the government of moral agents, is to be found not elsewhere than in the eternal and uncreated perfection of God himself. This precious and familiar truth he developes with all the amplitude and ardour of one who feels that he has made a new discovery of capital importance, and of power to revolutionize, or rather destroy all the civil and ecclesiastical organizations of Christendom. Although no Pantheist, he runs into exaggerated modes of stating this truth, which border on the pantheistic. "God himself is and was the established law and order by which he *must* construct or constitute man," p. 56. The Deity "consists in his order, his plan," p. 58. "Call it law or something else, no matter what, the thing is what we seek for, the constitutional property of his being." This sort of phraseology constantly recurs.

2. As a consequence of this, the sound maxim that no human law can annul the laws of God, and that no positive law can subvert the immutable laws of morality, is intensified by Mr. Kingsbury into an utter negation of all legislative power in men. The Bible is the perfect law book, not the law, for this is an "ingredient of God," but a "commentary" on that law by its author. There is no occasion, therefore, for any human laws. They are usurpations. "Even if it could be shown, that law was not an attribute of Deity, or an element of God's being, and that it proceeded from his will, still our argument would hold good as an estop to all human legislation touching human conduct; and this is the principal thing we care for in our present undertaking," p. 54. This, of course, subverts all civil and ecclesiastical authority.

3. As another consequence, the author seems to have at heart especially the destruction of all church organizations and officers. All Christians alike are called to minister in holy things, and no official class is exalted above their fellow Christians in this regard. A distinct clerical or ministerial class is in his view a hierarchy in whatever form it may exist. It generates church organizations, sectarianism, and the whole progeny of

mischiefs with which the Church is afflicted. Having thus shown what principles are advocated in the volume, it is needless to characterize it further. Our opinion of this sort of radicalism is known and read of all men.

Modern Reform Examined; or the Union of the North and South on the subject of Slavery. By Joseph C. Stiles. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. 1857.

Dr. Stiles labours in this volume with characteristic force and warmth, 1. To expose the vulnerable points in doctrine, spirit, and practice, of modern abolitionists; 2. To do a like service with reference to the recent action of the American Home Missionary Society, refusing aid to feeble churches having slave-holding members; 3. To enlist American Christians North and South, in a united effort to evangelize the coloured population, and to transport them as rapidly as their preparation and other circumstances may admit, to Africa, where they may found free Christian commonwealths. On these several points he has made a strong and effective appeal. As he is a Southern man, we are glad to see that in denouncing those ultraists who pronounce slaveholding a sin, he no less emphatically condemns the counter ultraism, which regards slavery as the normal social state, and therefore strives to prevent the Christian improvement of the servile class, in order to prevent their ultimate possible preparation and fitness for emancipation.

The Divine Life; a Book of Facts and Histories, showing the Manifold Workings of the Holy Spirit. By Rev. John Kennedy, M. A., F. R. G. S. Philadelphia: Parry & McMillan. 1857.

This title-page has the merit of giving a succinct and intelligible account of the volume. Beginning with Paul, it presents a condensed account of a long series of the most remarkable evangelical biographies, at the great crisis, when the subjects of them found peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus, by a copious induction of such facts, it shows that experience evinces and illustrates the great law of the Christian life—that Christ received by faith is the power of God unto salvation. The work is thoroughly evangelical, discriminating in matter; in style, highly readable and interesting.

Evenings with Jesus; a Series of Devotional Readings for the Closet and the Family, carefully prepared from Notes of Sermons preached by the late Rev. William Jay of Bath. Philadelphia: Parry & McMillan. 1857.

One advantage of these readings is, that they are severally short, and therefore likely to be read and pondered by praying people in their ordinary devotional exercises. The other is, that

they are marked by that scriptural insight, and that sound doctrinal, experimental, and practical cast, which have won for Mr. Jay's writings so wide an acceptance among evangelical Christians.

The Five Gateways of Knowledge. By George Wilson, M. D., F. R. S. E., Regius Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh; President of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts; and Director of the Industrial Museum of Scotland. Philadelphia: Parry & McMillan. 1857.

The five gateways of knowledge treated of by Professor Wilson, are the five senses. These, at least, are the inlets of all our knowledge of the material world. Although the mind has an inner eye for super-sensual truth, this no way detracts from the high functions of the organs of external perception. In this little volume the author evidently says, what had either not been said at all, or not so well said before. The thoughts are rich and fresh, and are presented in a style of unusual chasteness and beauty.

Lessons from the Great Biography. By James Hamilton, D. D., F. L. S. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1857.

Dr. Hamilton is one of the few prolific writers whose fecundity does not outrun their substantial merit. This volume, instead of being a biography of our Lord's life on earth, is, in substance, a series of sermons, preached upon various incidents of this life. Dr. Hamilton's qualities as a preacher and writer, abundantly appear in this work. They will ensure for it a wide circle of admiring readers, and the more the better. They set forth the common places of evangelical truth and piety, with an exuberance of vivid illustration, and a glowing brilliancy of expression, with which it is the prerogative of genius to invest familiar objects. This is the highest secret of power in preachers, otherwise sound, searching, and instructive—the gift of arraying in fresh and startling colours, those "truths of all others the most awful and interesting, which are ofttimes so true that they lie bed-ridden in the dormitory of the soul, side by side with the most despised and exploded errors."

The City, its Sins and Sorrows: Being a Series of Sermons from Luke xix. 41. By Thomas Guthrie, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1857.

Dr. Guthrie stands at the head of living preachers in Scotland, if not in Britain. In order to understand why he is so, it is sufficient to read his sermons without hearing them. Others may surpass him in the compass of their learning, the depth and breadth of their thinking; but none equal him in that *red-hot logic*, which not only enlightens the intellect but melts the

heart. He possesses the high power of graphic portraiture, which makes all objects stand out before his hearers and readers as life-like realities; so that they not only may, but must see and feel their force. The sins and sorrows of the cities of christendom cry to heaven. The Church is too slightly awake to them, and so far as she is thus awake, is, to a great extent, baffled and paralyzed by their vastness and enormity. We rejoice to hear a trumpet tongue ringing out a timely alarm on this great subject.

Funeral Eulogy at the Obsequies of Dr. E. K. Kane; delivered in the Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. By Charles W. Shields, Pastor of the Church. Philadelphia: Parry & McMillan. 1857.

There is the less need to characterize this rich and classic specimen of eulogistic oratory, as there are few of our readers who have not already perused it.

An Exposition of the Assembly's Catechism, with practical Inferences from each Question: As exhibited in the Lord's Day Exercises, in Dartmouth, in the first year of Liberty, 1688. Revised and corrected from several London editions. By Rev. John Flavel. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1857.

Notwithstanding the many expositions and commentaries upon this admirable summary of Christian Doctrine, there is no surfeit. This of Flavel is too rich, in its unfoldings not only of doctrine, but of Christian practice and experience, to become obsolete. It is all the more precious because so full of the unction which is a marked trait of his writings.

Thoughts on Prayer: Its Duty; Its forms; Its Subjects; Its Encouragements; Its Blessings. By Jonathan Greenleaf, Pastor of the Wallabout Presbyterian Church, of Brooklyn, New York. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

This is a very complete manual with reference to the subject of prayer in its manifold relations. It is all the more valuable as presenting the mature thoughts of one who can speak from a long and ripe experience of the true way, blessedness, and efficacy of communion with God.

The Refuge: By the Author of Domestic Happiness. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Christ is the Refuge, to which, by appropriate counsels and expostulations, this volume directs those in pursuit of happiness.

"*The Elect Lady.*" A Memoir of Mrs. Susan Catharine Bott, of Petersburg, Va. By A. B. Van Zandt, D. D., New York. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

This Memoir of an excellent Christian lady, distinguished for zeal, wisdom, and activity, is adapted to provoke its readers

to love and good works. It has an additional interest, as giving some account of the labours of Dr. John H. Rice, in founding the First Presbyterian Church in Petersburg, and furnishing a glimpse of Presbyterianism in Virginia.

Faith the Principle of Missions. By Thomas Smyth, D. D. Presbyterian Board of Publication.

As Faith is the life of all religion, so it must be the only sustaining power of Missions, which can only live while faith in the word and promise of God lives. This cardinal principle Dr. Smyth illustrates in the tract before us, with a copiousness and warmth which cannot fail to kindle the hearts of his readers.

Daughters at School: By the Rev. Rufus W. Bailey. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

In this volume the author has collected a series of judicious letters written to two young ladies at school. They are largely devoted to the subject of personal religion, while they contain much sensible counsel on the culture of female intellect, and the concerns of every-day life.

Meditations in Sickness and Old Age. By Baptist W. Noel, M. A. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

This little volume consists of brief and appropriate chapters on those great points of personal religion, which all need to have settled beyond a peradventure, in view of impending death.

Marion Harvie: A tale of Persecution in the seventeenth century. By the author of Ella Clinton. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Aunt Ruth, or Persecuted and not Forsaken. By the author of Ella Clinton.

It is well in these days, and in this land of unmolested and luxurious Christianity, to let our children know something of martyrology, and to show them what is to be expected whenever and wherever the seed of the serpent has fair opportunity to act out his enmity against the seed of the woman. The heathen rage in India even now, and are making martyrs of our beloved missionaries, who are compelled to seal their faith with their blood. It is well that we know not how soon in Christian lands we may be scourged by the thong of infidel or papal persecution. The first of these little volumes is a tale of one of the victims of persecution in Scotland. The second is a story of the sufferings of the Madiai, unfolding the character of the recent Madeira persecution. Both are prepared more especially for children, and in a style fitted to interest them.

The Joy of Morning: Written for the Board of Publication.

A pleasant and instructive story of the conversion of two young persons, and of other incidents illustrative of the workings of the Holy Spirit.

Elements of Logic: Designed as a Manual of Instruction. By Henry Coppée, A.M., Professor of English Literature in the University of Pennsylvania, and late Principal-Assistant Professor of "Ethics and English Studies" in the United States Military Academy at West Point. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co. 1858.

Ever since the publication of Archbishop Whateley's Treatise on Logic, writers on the subject in the English tongue have been multiplying. Of late they have become somewhat numerous among ourselves. We have had occasion to notice, within the past year, the works of Wilson, Tappan, and Mahan. All these, while evincing high ability in their several ways, labour under serious defects of different kinds, which diminish their value either as manuals of Logic, or as text-books for the class-room. This treatise of Professor Coppée is quite clear of these defects. It neither treats of Metaphysics, nor Psychology, nor "Philosophy in General," under the name of Logic. Nor is it too tedious in useless detail, or in real or affected profundity, for the use of the juvenile student. It scrupulously confines Logic to its true sphere, as the science of legitimate inference from given premises. It is clear, concise, yet thorough in its analysis of the principles and forms of the syllogism. If any one puts a lighter estimate on the historical review at the close, it may be easily ignored, without damage to the residue, which is the substance and body of the book. On the whole, while the author is avowedly much indebted to Whateley, he has come nearer making a successful effort to remedy the defects of his work for the purposes of instruction, than any who have tried before. As we think favourably enough of the work to hope that it may pass through successive editions, we call attention to an occasional error which has caught our eye in a first perusal. On page 90, he gives as a reason why a particular negative proposition cannot be converted simply, that a term "which is distributed in the *exposita*, would not be distributed in the converse." If that were all, the conversion would be good, for it would be illative. This is precisely what occurs in the legitimate conversion of universal affirmatives, (A.,) as in the example given by our author. *All men are mortals.* If we convert it thus: *Some mortals are men*—it is legitimate. The latter is implied by the former. But the term *men*, distributed in the first of these, is undistributed in the second, because

it is here the predicate of an affirmative proposition. The real difficulty is the reverse of that mentioned by our author. It is, that a term *un*distributed in the *exposita*, is distributed in the converse of O. Thus, if we convert the proposition, *some quadrupeds are not horses*, simply, it becomes, *some horses are not quadrupeds*. This is absurd. And the fault is, that the term *horses*, which was *un*distributed in the *exposita*, is distributed in the converse, by becoming the predicate of a negative proposition.

On page 198, in reference to the fallacy of *Quid*, he speaks of "reasoning from the broad sense of a term, (*secundùm quid*,) to its special reference or application, (*ad dictum simpliciter*.")

He gives, on the same page, as an instance of the fallacy of division:

> The Christians were persecuted at Rome.
> Constantine was a Christian.
> Therefore he was persecuted at Rome.

This seems to us a plain and unequivocal instance of undistributed middle.

The few slips of this kind surprise us the more, as the book generally discovers a penetration of mind, which we should suppose would be proof against them.

A Semi-Centenary Discourse; Delivered in the First African Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, on the fourth Sabbath of May, 1857, with a History of the Church from the first organization, including a brief Notice of Rev. John Gloucester, its First Pastor. By Rev. William T. Catto, Pastor: also, An Appendix, containing Sketches of all the Coloured Churches in Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson. 1857.

Few subjects have a profounder interest than the evangelization of the coloured population of our country, bond and free. So far as this goes forward, it brings the solution of all the great problems concerning them. This large pamphlet is a valuable contribution, historical and statistical, towards elucidating the subject, so far as Philadelphia is concerned. It is gratifying to find that for thirty thousand people of colour, there are eighteen church edifices, with accommodations for eleven thousand persons; four thousand three hundred and fifty-four communicants; two hundred and twenty-seven thousand dollars in church property. The discourse of Mr. Catto was published by recommendation of the Presbytery of Philadelphia.

National Changes—Ruin and Safety: A Sermon delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, Scranton, Pa., July 5th, 1857. By Rev. M. J. Hickok, Pastor of the Church.

An eloquent exhibition of righteousness as the defence, and of wickedness as the ruin of nations.

Godliness a Great Mystery: Thoughts on the Atonement of Christ, and the Offices of the Three Persons in the Godhead. By J. Cogswell, D. D. New Brunswick, N. J.: J. Terhune. 1857.

The venerable author of this pamphlet shows a watchful solicitude for the doctrine which is according to godliness. He evidently is of opinion that the law of God, in its precept and penalty, is not sufficiently prominent in much of the popular preaching of the present day: that the labour of the pulpit is too exclusively directed to soothe the sinner by the benignant aspects of the gospel, while too little is said of the searching, humbling, alarming truths, which alone can produce a sense of the need of Christ, and open the heart to receive him. We fear there is some ground for such apprehensions: and it is not unlikely that many otherwise excellent preachers would be more successful, if they were more ready to pierce the tumours of carnal pride and self-righteousness with the arrows of divine justice. In our fallen state, the law must slay, before the gospel will make alive, and they will seldom be constrained by the love of Christ, who are not first persuaded by the terrors of the Lord.

On the "Tracts for the Times:" By the Rev. James Buchanan, D. D., LL. D., Divinity Professor, New College, Edinburgh. Second Edition. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1857.

We are glad that this able refutation of Oxford formalism, and systematic exclusiveness, has found a degree of favour which demands a second edition.

An Address to the Alumni of the Theological Institute of Connecticut, delivered July 15th, 1857, on the occasion of the Author's resigning his office of President and Professor of Christian Theology. By Bennet Tyler, D. D. Published by request of the Alumni.

The parting counsels and benedictions contained in this Address are peculiarly appropriate and tender. Beyond this, however, it is a vindication of Dr. Tyler's doctrinal attitude as the head of a Seminary, reared as a bulwark against the progress of New Divinity. He describes its Theology and that of its founders, as "Old School New England Calvinism." How "old" the system, so far as it differs from the *consensus* of Calvinistic symbols, is, he does not say. Its points of divergence from this latter system, so far as we can gather from his synopsis of it, appear to be the denial of the imputation of Adam's sin; a mode of stating the doctrine of atonement and imputation of Christ's righteousness, which is sometimes explained into accordance, and sometimes into disagreement with the old system; and a method of resolving inability, which is still more flexible in different hands. It is well known that of late, Dr.

Tyler has signalized himself chiefly before the public, in maintenance of the natural ability of the sinner to serve God, in a way which has delighted his ancient New School adversaries, and tried some of his Old School friends. This matter is not overlooked in his valedictory. What startled many, in his discourse on this subject which opened the controversy, was, that he defended this so-called natural ability by arguments, which, if valid at all, were valid for a complete ability to serve God aright. He has, however, defined his meaning to be "nothing more than the possession of those faculties which are essential to moral agency. And this is all that sound New England Calvinists ever meant by it. They had no sympathy with those who hold to a self-determining power in the will, or the power of contrary choice, nor with those who ascribe to sinners a gracious ability or any ability which implies a right disposition, or a disposition to get a right disposition, or anything which is inconsistent with the most absolute moral inability."* After this explanation of his meaning, the question is narrowed down to the use of terms. Is *ability* natural, moral, or acquired, a proper term to describe such a state? None dispute that fallen man possesses the faculties of moral agency. But can he be told that he has ability natural, or of any other sort, to do his duty, and still retain the impression that he labours under an *invincible inability* to do it? Does not such a statement confuse and perplex plain, pious people? Does it not afford a skulking place for Pelagians, from which no ingenuity can dislodge them? What does the experience of the last thirty years show on this point? As between old Calvinists and those who use these terms, defining their meaning as Dr. Tyler has done above, these questions present the real issue.

Dr. Tyler quotes in this valedictory, from an article published in this Journal over twenty-five years ago, a long extract, which is to the effect that so far as by natural ability is meant the absence of every disability, but which lies in a sinful disposition of the mind, *the thing meant by it is true.* About this there is no dispute. The question is as to the propriety of using the term "natural ability" to denote it. Had Dr. Tyler wished to present to the public the views of a journal, which he characterizes as of "unquestionable orthodoxy" on this point, he had only to continue his quotations from the same article, the justness of which has been so corroborated by every year's subsequent experience, that it now seems strange for an Old School champion to signalize himself as a defender of the sinner's ability, natural or otherwise.

* Address, p. 11.

After mentioning that the phrases, natural and moral ability, have served to perplex and mislead the people, and that they had therefore begun to be disused by many who had been tenacious of them, the article quoted by Dr. Tyler proceeds: "There is an obvious inaccuracy in speaking of two kinds of ability, both of which are requisite to accomplish the same object. If both are necessary to the end, then either by itself is not an ability. . . . . If the mere possession of natural powers to do the commandments of God is not of itself sufficient to reach the end, it is not properly called an *ability*. . . . .

"Again, the word natural is here used in an uncommon and technical sense; and the term being in common use, in relation to the same subject, in a sense entirely different, it is calculated to perplex and mislead. . . . . Man is naturally able to obey the commandments of God—man is naturally a depraved and impotent being, are contradictions, if the word *natural* be used in the same sense in both cases; but, as intended, (i. e. by sound men,) there is no contradiction; for the word in the first instance, has an entirely different meaning from what it has in the second. But surely such confusion in the use of terms should be avoided. And if you will inquire of the common people what they understand by natural ability, you will be convinced that it is a phrase which perplexes and obscures, rather than elucidates the subject. . . . .

"What is the sum of the obedience which the law of God requires of man? Is it not supreme and perfect love? What is moral ability? It is this very thing in which the essence of obedience consists. This moral ability should relate to something prior to love: but what ability is that which is prior to all holy affection? If you say the nature or disposition, the law requires this to be pure also as well as acts and exercises. There is, then, no such thing as an ability to obey as distinct from obedience itself. And, again, what is moral inability but sin itself? It is the want of a right temper and a holy will, the defect of that love which the law requires; and what is this but sin? It certainly can have no other effect but to mislead, to call the essence of disobedience by the name of 'moral inability.'"

We are sorry thus to be obliged to repeat ourselves in order to avoid being made to appear as the advocates of what we strenuously oppose.

Philological Studies, with English Illustrations, by Josiah W. Gibbs, Prof. Sac. Liter., Yale College. 12mo. pp. 244.

Professor Gibbs has long been admitted to stand in the front rank of American comparative philologists. He has in this vol-

ume applied to the English language that philosophical mode of treatment, which has been so successfully adopted in the investigation of foreign tongues. And it is only when language is regarded as the representative of thought and as reflecting in its forms and structure those mental operations, in which it has its origin, that its phenomena can be understood and satisfactorily accounted for. This method of analysis is here applied in detail to the various forms of the proposition with their several parts, as well as to different grammatical flexions, parts of speech, and rhetorical figures. The author has given a fragmentary appearance to his book by having in his rigorous exactness noted at the close of each article the date of its composition. On the whole, its unpretending character stands in marked contrast with that of many volumes which have as much more of pretension, as they have less of intrinsic merit.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

A second edition of Henderson on Isaiah has appeared. 8vo. pp. 500.

C. Wordsworth, The New Testament in the original Greek, with Notes. Part 2. The Acts of the Apostles. 8vo. pp. 166.

E. C. Bromehead, A popular Paraphrase of the Epistle to the Romans, with Notes. 8vo. pp. 220.

J. Brown, Analytical Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans. 8vo. pp. 660.

W. Graham, Practical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of John. 8vo. pp. 394.

E. Fry, Essays on the Accordance of Christianity with the Nature of Man. 12mo. pp. 220.

J. W. Mailler, The Philosophy of the Bible, or the union between Philosophy and Faith. 8vo. pp. 300.

E. B. Pusey, The real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, the Doctrine of the English Church; with a Vindication of the Reception by the Wicked, and of the Adoration of Jesus Christ truly present. 8vo. pp. 386.

E. B. Pusey, The Councils of the Church from the Council of Jerusalem, A. D. 51, to the Council of Constantinople, A. D. 381; chiefly as to their constitution, but also to their objects and history. 8vo. pp. 360.

J. H. Rigg, Modern Anglican Theology; Chapters on Coleridge, Hare, Maurice, Kingsley and Jowett, and on the Doctrine of Atonement. 12mo. pp. 400.

E. Geare, Essays on the Progressive development of the Divine Purpose in Creation, Providence, Redemption. 8vo. pp. 408.

J. H. Titcombe, Bible Studies, conducted on the principle of a progressive development in Divine teaching. 8vo. pp. 464.

J. Orr, Theism, a Treatise on God, Providence, and Immortality. 8vo. pp. 412.

T. Guthrie, The City, its Sins and Sorrows. 8vo. pp. 170.

J. Baylee, Genesis and Geology, the Holy Word of God defended from its assailants. 12mo. pp. 214.

Dr. W. Smith has in preparation a Dictionary of Biblical Antiquities, and a Mediæval Latin Dictionary.

W. H. Havergal, A History of the Old Hundredth Psalm Tune. 8vo.

G. Smith, History of Wesleyan Methodism. Vol. 1, Wesley and his times. 8vo. pp. 750.

H. Barth, Travels in North and Central Africa, being a Journal of an Expedition undertaken under the auspices of H. B. M.'s Government, in the years 1849–55. 5 vols. 8vo.

J. F. Davis, China, a General Description of that Empire, and its Inhabitants, with the history of Foreign Intercourse down to the events which produced the dissolution of 1857. New Edition. 2 vols. 8vo.

R. Fortune, A Residence among the Chinese Inland, on the Coast and at Sea, from 1853 to 1856. 8vo. pp. 436.

O. Oliphant, A Popular History of China. 8vo. pp. 230.

W. C. Milne, Life in China. 12mo. pp. 500.

M. Müller, Buddhism and Buddhist Pilgrims. 8vo. pp. 521.

W. Mure, A Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece. Vol. 5. 8vo. pp. 638.

E. Meeter, Holland, its Institutions, Press, Kings, and Prisons. 8vo. pp. 370.

C. Scherzer, Travels in the Free States of Central America, Nicaragua, Honduras, and San Salvador. 2 vols. 8vo.

Fowler's History of the Sovereigns of Russia is nearly ready for the press.

W. C. Perry, The Franks from their first appearance in history to the death of King Pepin. 8vo. pp. 508.

H. T. Buckle, History of Civilization in England. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 860.

Lord Campbell, Lives of the Chief Justices of England, from the Norman Conquest to the death of Lord Tenterden. 3 vols. 8vo.

E. Kirkpatrick, The historically received Conception of the University, considered with special reference to Oxford. 8vo. pp. 312.

J. Eadie, Life of John Kitto, D. D. 8vo. pp. 442.

The estimates of the British Museum for the current year, include £10,250 for bookbinding.

The first edition of Virgil was published in 1469, by John André, bishop of Alcria; the first edition of Cæsar's Commentaries, at Rome, in 1469; that of Homer, at Florence, in 1488; the complete works of Cicero, at Milan, in 1497; the orations of Demosthenes, at Venice, in 1504. The first English periodical was published in 1588, and was called the English Mercury. The Mercury of France, which was the first periodical in that country, made its earliest appearance in 1605.

R. G. Latham is preparing a new edition of Johnson's Dictionary, to be published in parts, forming 3 vols. 4to.

FRANCE.

L. Chave, Critical Dissertation on the book of Jonah. 8vo. pp. 38.

B. A. Piconio, Triple Exposition of Paul's Epistles, by way of analysis, paraphrase, and commentary. 3 vols. 12mo. pp. 1543. Written in Latin. The author is a Capuchin Minorite.

M. Schwall, Historical and Dogmatical Essay on the Epistle to the Galatians. 8vo. pp. 35.

A. Brayton, The Influence of Stoicism and of Christianity in the first three centuries. 8vo. pp. 94.

P. Lacour, Moral and Social Influence of Polytheism compared with that of Monotheism. 8vo. pp. 182.

C. A. Holmboe, Traces of Buddhism in Norway before the introduction of Christianity. 8vo. pp. 79.

A. Maury, History of the Religions of Ancient Greece. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 608. The work is to be completed in two volumes. This volume brings the history of the Hellenic Religion down to the age of Alexander.

J. Lapaume, Philology applied to History, or the origin and meaning of six names, Versailles and Trianon, Paris, Louvre, Tuileries, and Louis Napoleon. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 1572.

A. de Chevallet, Origin and Formation of the French Language. 8vo. pp. 561.

Puaux, History of the French Reformation. Vol. I. 18mo. pp. 394.

Eug. and Em. Haag. Protestant France, or the Lives of distinguished French Protestants. Seven volumes have been issued. One more will complete the work.

J. J. Clamageran, The actual state of Protestantism in France. 12mo. pp. 103.

E. Frossard, A summary Account of the religious State and Progress of Protestantism in France. 8vo. pp. 48. Written in English.

J. E. Alaux, Religion in the XIXth Century. 8vo. pp. 160.

Salvan, General History of the Church at Toulouse. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 507.

The hitherto unpublished Acts and Documents of the Council of Trent, which have been preserved in the Library of the Vatican, are about to be published at Rome by consent of the Pope. The complete Journal of the Council will occupy three volumes folio, and three additional volumes will be required for the correspondence of apostolic nuncios, sovereigns, and bishops, as well as for other documents of interest.

Gabriel, on the Life and Death of Nations. 8vo. pp. 464.

Historia Diplomatica Friderici II., Sive Constitutiones, privilegia, mandata, instrumenta quæ supersunt istius imperatoris et filiorum ejus. Vol. V. Pars I. 4to. pp. 650.

E. Domenech, Journal of a Missionary in Texas and Mexico, from 1846 to 1852. 8vo. pp. 479.

E. Garnier, Travels in Hindostan, Indo-China, the Sindhe, to Lahore, to Cabul, and in Afghanistan. 12mo. pp. 143.

P. Le Bas, Archæological Tour in Greece and Asia Minor, made by order of the French Government, during the years 1843 and 1844, and published under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction. This work is to consist of twelve volumes, one in folio, the rest quarto, and will embrace the four following divisions: I. The Itinerary, 2 vols. 4to. with 72 plates. II. Greek and Latin Inscriptions, 5 vols. 4to. with 15 plates. III. Monuments of ancient figures, 1 vol. of text and 2 vols. with 153 plates. IV. Architecture, 1 vol. of text and 1 vol. folio, with 96 plates.

H. Barbet de Jouy, The Christian Mosaics of the Basilicas and Churches of Rome described and explained. 8vo. pp. xxxi. and 142.

P. A. Boudard, Iberian Numismatics. This work is prefaced by researches into the alphabet and language of the Iberians, and is to be published in eight numbers, containing ten quarto sheets of text and five plates each.

Lottin de Laval, Travels in the Peninsula of Sinai and in Egypt. The first volume is to contain 400 to 480 quarto pages of text. The second, also quarto, 500 or 600 Egyptian, Sinaitic, Greek, etc. inscriptions. The third, in folio, 15 lithographic views, 10 plates of ornaments, and a map of the peninsula.

L. Renier, Roman Inscriptions in Algiers. The nine numbers

which have been issued contain 3033 inscriptions, most of which have never been published before. The tenth number is to complete the inscriptions from Numidia.

M. Reinaud, Memoir on the Populations of Northern Africa, their language, beliefs, and social state, at different epochs of their history. 4to. pp. 18.

J. Oppert, Scientific Expedition into Mesopotamia, executed by order of the Government, from 1851 to 1854. This is to comprise, besides an Atlas of ten maps or plans, and twelve plates of views, part of which has now appeared, two volumes of text in quarto, which are in press.

GERMANY.

L. Reinke, The Messianic Psalms. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 450.

P. de Jong, De Psalmis Maccabaicis. 8vo. pp. 80.

J. A. Nickes, On the Book of Esther and the Prophecies and Psalms which relate to it. Part I. 8vo. pp. 358.

A. Dillmann, Grammar of the Ethiopic Language. 8vo. pp. 435.

C. F. Kœppen, The Religion of Buddha and its Origin. 8vo. pp. 616.

K. Lechler, The New Testament Doctrine regarding the Sacred Office. 8vo. pp. 452.

J. I. Dallinger, Heathenism and Judaism. Preliminary to the History of Christianity. 8vo. pp. 885.

Murawijeio's History of the Russian Church. Translated from the Russian (into German) by J. König. 8vo. pp. 258.

J. Roth, Vesuvius and the Environs of Naples. 8vo. pp. 540.

The Complete Works of Martin Luther. Vols. 66 and 67 contain the Index to the entire publication, which is now finished. It was begun in 1826: the first twenty volumes were edited by Dr. Plochmann, the remainder by Dr. Irmischer. It is said to be the most complete German edition yet issued. The works of Luther in Latin, publishing under the same auspices, have reached the 23d volume.

F. A. Leo has undertaken to produce photographic copies of several important passages of the Codex Argenteus of Ulphilas' Gothic Version of the Scriptures, in order to aid scholars in arriving at a correct text. Negative impressions of sixty-three passages, selected for the purpose, have been taken upon glass, whence as many copies will be taken upon paper as will be required to meet the demands of subscribers. The subscription price is eighty-five thalers. The manuscript in question is preserved in the library at Upsala.

END OF VOLUME XXIX.