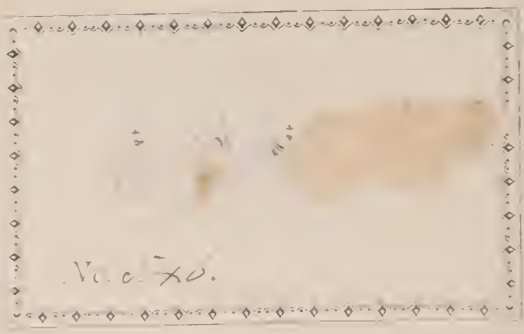
Vol. XV.

THE

PRINCETON REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1865.

No. IV.

Art. I.—*The First Miracle of Christ.*

[Continued from page 434.]

In our July number we brought to a close the exegesis of the evangelical account of the first miracle. We now fulfil our promise, and propose to glance at the explanations that have been given of this miracle, to notice some of the leading objections, and to state the principle on which this miracle, and all the miracles of the New Testament, should be treated by believers in the divinity of Christ and the inspiration of the New Testament.

Lange, in his Commentary on John, p. 72, has a classified account of the explanations given to this miracle, which, for convenience' sake, we may adopt as the frame-work of ours.

I. Natural Explanations. *Venturini, Paulus, Langsdorf, Gfrörer, Kern.*

Paulus makes the miracle a merry wedding-jest on the part of Jesus, who intended to prepare the company an agreeable surprise by the sudden production of the wine which he had secretly brought along. His solemn words addressed to Mary are to *Paulus* uttered jocosely, and designed to prevent her spoiling his contemplated joke by her over-hastiness. The δόξα is "the free humaneness of Jesus," which "inspired con-

fidence" (ἐπίστευσαν), because the people expected the Messiah to be oppressively solemn.

Gfrörer, who pretends to explain the miracle from a "genuine historic" standpoint, admits it to be historic, but derides the belief that Jesus produced the wine by magic, because he might without difficulty have purchased it at a small expenditure. He holds that Mary had brought the wine as a wedding-gift for the poor couple, and at the proper time gave a sign to Jesus, to present the gift.

II. MYTHICAL EXPLANATIONS. *Strauss.*

The views propounded by this notorious writer, in his *Leben Jesu*, published about thirty years ago, are so well known, and have been so thoroughly refuted, that they might be despatched in a few lines. That work was written for theologians, and some of the positions taken by him in it will be briefly noticed in connection with the views of other theologians on this miracle. But this writer has recently published a *Life of Jesus*, professedly designed to do for the German people what *Rénan* has done for the French. This new work presents nothing substantially new in point of the mythical theory; but it is charged to overflowing with the gall of bitterness against *believing* theologians, and composed with the resolute and undisguised purpose of undermining and destroying the *belief* of the people. That it will fail in this wicked purpose, we have not a moment's doubt; and we are equally confident that one of its effects will be to estrange theologians from any and every theory that involves loose notions on the two cardinal points of evangelical faith, viz., the divinity of Christ and the inspiration of the New Testament. *Strauss* clearly shows by his contemptuous criticism of those who are not *strict believers*, that there is no middle position between rank infidelity and evangelical faith. In this respect, therefore, his new "*Leben Jesu*," and his still more recent "*Der Christus des Glaubens und der Jesus der Geschichte*," are likely to produce a wholesome and, in Germany we hope, a wholesale return to the well-defined landmarks of evangelical orthodoxy.

With a view to put our readers in possession of the extraordinary tissue of conjectures and schemes which this indefatiga-

ble and irrepressible destructionist weaves together in multiform combinations, and to enable them to draw their own conclusions, we produce as a specimen his account of this miracle, in the new *Leben Jesu.*

Having given an account of the miraculous feeding of the multitude, *Strauss* (l. c. p. 506, sq.) introduces his version of the miraculous supply of wine thus:

"The Mosaic history mentions, besides the miraculous supply of manna or bread, also a miraculous supply of water (Exod. xvii. Numb. xx.), and Jewish expectation transferred this also from the first Saviour (Moses) to the second, the Messiah. Allegorically also, in the sense of spiritual nourishment, the bread of understanding was placed alongside the water of wisdom (Sir. xv. 3); the water of life, to which the Lamb leadeth his own, the stream of which proceedeth from the throne of God and of the Lamb, is also a conspicuous feature of the Apocalypse (vii. 17, xxi. 6, xxii. 1, 17); and also in John's Gospel (iv. 10, 13, sq.) Jesus speaks of a living water, which he gives to them, and which slakes their thirst for ever.

"But elsewhere Jesus compares that which he brings to mankind rather with wine, and that with a new wine, which must not be put into old bottles (Matt. ix. 17); as in the course of his life he found himself variously and not in the best sense contrasted as a wine-bibber with the water-drinking Baptist (Matt. xi. 18, sq.) The usual comparison of the joys of the Messianic kingdom with a banquet (Matt. viii. 11, xxvi. 29; Rev. iii. 20), with a marriage-festival at which the Messiah is the bridegroom (Matt. xxii. 1—14, cf. ix. 15; John iii. 29; Rev. xix. 7, xxi. 2, 9, xxii. 17), *also brought the figure of the heart gladdening wine nearer than that of sober water.**

"It was John's vocation to baptize with water; the Messiah was to follow him with the baptism of the Spirit and of fire (Matt. iii. 11; Luke iii. 16; John i. 26, 33). According to the account of the book of Acts, the outpouring of the Holy Ghost on the disciples, after the departure of Jesus, actually took place in tongues of fire; the incidents belonging to that occur-

* The Italics are *ours*, and designed to call the attention of the reader to the characteristics of the Straussian theory, and to the valuable uses to which his perverted statements may often be turned.

rence, mockers accounted for by declaring those men to be filled with sweet wine (Acts ii. 13), whereas they were rather the effects of the Holy Ghost. *But if the fulness of the Spirit produced here the impression of 'a glowing as of new wine,' the reverse of a miraculous supply of wine might for once be used as the figure of the communication of the Spirit.*

"The Baptist belonged to the old covenant; his water-baptism was only the last of those purifications, of those works of the law, by means of which the Jewish people, since the time of Moses, had in vain striven to secure the Divine pleasure. *This opposition of the Old to the New in Christ, of the law to grace, of Moses to the Son of God, and that in such a manner that sufficiency and salvation can only be found in the latter, and nothing but imperfection and insufficiency in the former, is the peculiar standpoint of the fourth gospel.* 'The law,' we read at the end of the prologue, 'was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. And of his fulness,' was said immediately before, 'have all we received, and grace for grace.' (John i. 16, sq.) It has been rightly remarked that the narrative of the supply of wine at Cana, reiterates in the form of a fact, the identical statement in the prologue concerning the relation of Moses to Christ, and of the law to grace.*

"All these moments could not but have the tendency of making the miraculous supply of drink to be rather of wine than of water as in the case of Moses, if Jesus, as the second Moses, or the personified divine Wisdom, was to be represented as furnishing not only a miraculous supply of food, but also of drink, and were strengthened by the same consideration for the sake of which, in particular the Mosaic supply of manna, had been converted into a supply of bread, as in the case of Jesus. *If it was impossible to attribute to Jesus a miraculous supply of food without thinking of the bread of the Lord's Supper, it was equally impossible to report him to have, like Moses, also supplied a miraculous drink, without thinking of the wine of the Lord's Supper;* even as Paul used the manna in connection with the water from the rock in the wilderness as types of the elements of the Lord's Supper, (1 Cor. x. 3, sq.) *The substance of the miraculous supply of food being identical with*

* *Luthardt*, Das Johanneische Evangelium, I. p. 354.

that of one of the elements of the Lord's Supper, viz., bread, the expedient of making the substance of the miraculous supply of drink correspond with the other element, that is, of making it to consist in wine, lay near at hand. This explains also the circumstance that the account of the miraculous supply of wine occurs only in the Gospel of John. The first three Evangelists were satisfied with the feeding-story as an adumbration of the Lord's Supper, seeing they all give a special account of its institution, in which, along with bread, the other element, the wine, also gets its full due. *But the fourth evangelist, who had his reasons for evading the scene of the institution of the Lord's Supper, as we shall show in the sequel, felt himself called upon in order to mention, at least indirectly, both elements in his gospel, to place by the side of the miracle of food a miracle of drink, by the side of the miraculous supply of bread also a miraculous supply of wine.*

"He makes it the beginning of the signs of Jesus, (ii. 11). Having finished the historical statement of the prologue concerning the vocation and the testimony of the Baptist, he seems to have been anxious to put into action the above-mentioned passage of the relation of Jesus to Moses and of grace to law, as it were, as the programme of his whole gospel. This may also account for the form in which he clothes the miracle. Had Jesus increased a small quantity of wine and made it available for a considerable while and for many men, his miracle would then correspond to the evangelical miracle of feeding the multitude, and to the Old Testament oil-miracle of Elijah. But he changes water into wine. Moses also began his miraculous agency with a change of water, but it had been the punitive change of all the water of Egypt into blood. *The first miracle of Jesus, however, durst not by any means be a punitive miracle; the blood into which he changed the water durst not be real blood, but only the precious blood of the grape,* (Gen. xlix. 11; Deut. xxxii. 14), *which, in its turn, as taken in the Lord's Supper, is the sacrificial blood of the Messiah,* (Matt. xxvi. 28), *the life-giving blood of the heaven-descended Son of Man,* (John vi. 53—58).

"If, after these preliminary remarks, we now pass on to the Johannine account of the miracle at Cana, (John ii. 1—11), we

find that the scene—a marriage festival—is defined by the forementioned conception of the joys of the Messianic kingdom by the figure of a banquet, and further by that of a marriage-festival. If the scene of such a banquet was laid in the future, or its conception intended merely as a comparison, as in Matt. ix. 15; xxii. 1, sq.; John iii. 29, Jesus might, in virtue of a figure probably derived from the Song of Solomon, be the bridegroom to whom the church was sometimes represented as the bride, (Eph. v. 25—27; xxix. 32, and the above cited passages in Revelation). *But in the case of a scene laid as history in the human life of Jesus, such a turn was inadmissible; the bridegroom must here be some one else, Jesus can only be a wedding guest; but he is after all the person from whom the festal joy finally proceeds. For the natural bridegroom (this is necessary as the motive of the miracle) did not, or could not, provide a sufficient quantity of wine.*

"The mother of Jesus informs him of the beginning want, just as in the first history of the feeding of the people of the synoptics, the disciples remind him that it was time to send the people away that they might buy food. But the mother of Jesus gives him the information, as is evident from his reply, in the sense of a request for the exercise of his wonder-working power. Although according to the Evangelist's own statement, the subsequent miracle was the first that Jesus did, and although he records nothing of the wonderful events of his childhood, *he yet thought it fitting* that the mother of Jesus should have known, or at least anticipated, the higher nature of her son from the beginning. But while by such an anticipation he raises her on the one hand, he lowers her on the other far beneath the unapproachable highness of Jesus by his repelling reply. *It would seem that the fourth Evangelist wanted, by the cutting, 'Woman, what have I to do with thee?' to cast into the shade the question which the third Evangelist makes the twelve years old Jesus address to his parents: 'How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?'* (Luke ii. 49); but everybody, who does not duly consider that we have here not to deal with a naturally-human, but with the imaginary relation of the infleshed creative Word to every human authority, the most holy of which must be

repelled by him, will judge that his (John's) attempt has turned out rather harshly. Jesus adds moreover as a special reason of this repulse, that his hour had not yet come. It is the concurrent view of the first three Evangelists that no man, but God the Father alone, knows the day and the hour of the advent of the Messiah, (Matt. xxiv. 36, xxv. 13; Mark xiii. 32; Acts i. 7,) which ignorance the second Evangelist expressly extends also to the Son, the Messiah. While here God alone knows, and men, more or less explicitly the Messiah also, are ignorant, the fourth Gospel, in characteristic significance of its entire standpoint, opposes to ignorant men the Son of God, the incarnate Logos, as the only One who does know, and the time and hour referred to relate not to his future coming, but to his present glorification; first by miracles, and finally by his death. This latter is referred to, when it is often said that the persecutions of his enemies were unsuccessful, because his hour had not yet come, (vii. 30, viii. 20,) and afterwards that he had known and declared that his hour had come, (xii. 23, xiii. 1.) On the other hand, the reference is to the time of his public appearance at Jerusalem, of which he says to his brothers that it had not yet come, (vii. 6, 8,) just as here he replies to his mother that the hour of his working miracles had not yet arrived; although here, as there, he speedily undertakes that which he was desired to do before the proper time. That Mary knows this beforehand, and in consequence of this knowledge charges the servants to do what her Son might command them, serves to raise her again, while she, although reminded of her distance from him that is above all, (iii. 31,) does not relinquish the hold of her knowledge.

"The six stone jars set there after the manner of the purifying of the Jews, (of washing of hands before meals, Matt. xv. 2; Mark vii. 2 sq.,) are unmistakable as to their symbolical import; by ordering them to be filled with water, Jesus supplies the ground-work of his miracle; while *the specification of their enormous capacity*, (altogether $1\frac{1}{2}$—$2\frac{1}{2}$ Würtemberg Eimer, or 3—5 Baden Ohm,*) *and that they were filled up to the brim, is intended to represent Jesus as him who dispenses*

* For the contents of the jars, see p. 424.

out of his fulness, (John i. 16); *who, like God himself, does not measure his gifts with niggard measure*, (iii. 34.)

"The jars, then, are filled with water; the servants then, at the bidding of Jesus, draw out and carry off the contents to the governor of the feast, who, as soon as he has tasted the beverage, identifies it as wine, and as better wine than had before been set upon the table. If the Evangelist here makes use of the expression, 'the water that had become wine,' and further on describes Cana as the place where Jesus made the water wine, (iv. 46); if he, moreover, designates the transformation of water a sign, in consequence of which the disciples believed in Jesus, (v. 11,) and connects it as the first Galilean sign, with a future cure as the second sign, (iv. 54,) he unmistakably characterizes thereby the act of Jesus as a miracle, and *the believing exegesis is entitled to the remark, that any and every explanation which interprets away the miraculous, is not only opposed to the words and the design of John, but also derogatory to his credibility and power of observation, and even sets the character of Jesus in an ambiguous light.** *If one believes John, one must also believe in the miracle;* if one cannot do the latter, one must also refuse to believe John, and not only here, but since he narrates a number of not less incredible miracles—yea, since almost every word of his Christ is as inconceivable as this miracle—one must refuse to believe him altogether, and especially *because he insinuates that he is the Apostle John.* Hase's expedient of making him absent, applied also here,† is so much the more ludicrous, because the disciples of Jesus were, according to ver. 2, invited with him to the wedding, and because Hase himself identifies John with the anonymous disciple, among the disciples before *enlisted* by Jesus; [German; '*angeworbenenen Jünger*,' an extraordinary expression, but natural to a man like Strauss. *Translator*,] see John i. 35, 41; *the appeal of* SCHLEIERMACHER *and his followers*, (among whom we must count here, and altogether more frequently than he is willing to admit, Ewald, die Johanneischen Schriften, i. 149 sq.,) *to the circumstance that nothing is said of the impression which the supposed miracle produced on*

* *Meyer*, Commentary on John, 3d ed., p. 108. † *Leben Jesu*, § 50.

the guests, and that indeed the whole narrative is not sufficiently clear (anschaulich), *is a* COWARDLY CHICANERY *of an account altogether unmistakable to any sincere reader; while* NEANDER'S* *attempt of substituting a mere intensification of water into wine-like properties for the change of water into real wine, can only be pronounced* A PITIABLE PRODUCTION OF EQUAL WEAKNESS OF FAITH AND THOUGHT.

"Now follows a speech of the governor of the feast, which has caused much bootless pain to the commentators to verify as a usage, which in the speech is even designated as general, observed anywhere in the world. The governor of the feast says that every man does first set forth good wine to the guests, and, after they have freely drunk, worse; but on the contrary, no man does such a thing because it is contrary to the nature of the human organs of sense, which demands an intensified attraction. *The whole of this pretended usage is of the Evangelist's own making, or more correctly, of his manufacture from a synoptical saying of Jesus. If throughout his narrative he had before his mind that speech of Jesus in which he compared that which he had brought to mankind with new wine, he found it in Luke* (v. 39), *accompanied by the additional words, 'and no man having drunk old wine straightway desireth new; for he saith, the old is better.' This is meant, in the third Gospel, to illustrate men's attachment to the old, (here Judaism and Jewish usages), and their prejudice against the new, (the principles advanced by Jesus), by an observation founded on experience. Our Evangelist, on the other hand, wants to show the reverse, viz., that the new brought in by Jesus is more excellent than the old, and that consequently in his miracle narrative the wine provided by him afterward tasted better than that supplied by the bridegroom. This he seeks, after his manner, to illustrate by a contrast; now as his narrative, unlike the passage in Luke, does not deal with the difference between old wine (wine of an earlier vintage), and new wine (wine of recent vintage), but only with wine set forth sooner or later, he connects the natural and frequent expression of Luke, 'The old is better,' in the pretended usage, (which*

* *Leben Jesu Christi*, p. 271.

cannot be shown to obtain anywhere), of first setting forth the better wine, and the fact that new wine does not prove palatable immediately after old, into the imaginary custom of setting worse wine before the guests after they have partaken of better.

"Against this symbolical view of the miracle at Cana, as formerly advocated by *Herder* without any attack of its historical value, and recently chiefly by *Baur* with explicit rejection of the latter, the only remaining objection from the standpoint of criticism is, that the Evangelist does not even by a single word intimate such a meaning to belong to his narrative, and that especially he does not, as in the case of the food-miracle, connect with it speeches of Jesus, which serve to bring out this meaning. But it is just this reference to the food-miracle which aids us to untie this knot. The two miracles of the supply of bread and of wine are so essentially connected together both as to form and contents, as well as by their common relation to the Lord's Supper, that the significance of the one could not be well determined by that of the other, and that the question was simply, whether the higher significance of the food-miracle should be mentioned in connection with the drink-miracle, or that of the latter on occasion of the former. *Now, if the connection, in which the synoptics narrate the food-miracle, assigns to it a position which makes it stand in about the middle of the narratives of Jesus, and if the fourth Evangelist had reasons for placing the wine-miracle at the beginning of his Gospel, it is not difficult to account for his disinclination of appending that ample explanation to the first miracle he records; with a view to infuse into his Gospel an increasing animation, he reports the first two miracles* (ii. 1, *sq.;* iv. 46, *sq.*) *in simplicity and brevity, attaches first to the third miracle more extensive speeches, which rise in significance at the fourth—the feeding-story—and onward (the walking on the sea is rather treated as a mere appendix to the feeding-story), until at the last, the resuscitation of Lazarus (although there, on account of the dramatic character of the scene only in dialogistic allusions) they culminate. From the speeches appended to the feeding-story it followed then* per se, *that Jesus represented himself as the spiritual nourishment of mankind in every sense, his flesh as food, and his blood as drink, and thereby intimated the*

significance of the drink provided at Cana, at least according to its relation to the Lord's Supper; while the relation of the Old and the New, of Judaism and Christianity, as involved in the change of water into wine, had already been explained in the passage of the prologue already commented upon above."

If our readers have held their breath during the perusal of this bold and unblushing assault on the miracles, the integrity of the Canon, and the fundamental and cardinal doctrines of our most holy faith, they have only done, what we have experienced ourselves, and they will like ourselves, we hope, become only more resolutely purposed to ask the Lord for strength to cling with increasing tenacity to the tenets of orthodox evangelical truth, to know no middle or neutral position, no parleying with rebels and traitors in disguise, and putting on the whole armour of God, to acquit themselves as Christ's faithful soldiers and servants unto their life's end. They will, we hope, be convinced of the justness of the criticism with which we introduced the passages from *Strauss*, and from the careful and thoughtful consideration of the passages we have italicized, acquire many valuable suggestions, which they may abundantly turn to good and holy uses.

IV. Symbolical Explanation.

Baur: "Representation, that the time has come for Jesus, the true bridegroom, to lead men from the water of the preparatory standpoint of the Baptist to the wine of the higher Messianic glory."

Besides the patristic symbolical explanations given above, those in favour of such an interpretation may learn much from the preceding extract from *Strauss;* many of the points he makes and makes well, but perverts, may be rescued from that perversion, and in competent hands made to redound to the glory of Christ. The symbolical explanation, on *believing principles*, and as *collateral* to the REALITY of the miracle, will always command the attention of those who love to trace on earth and in things seen the footprints of the unseen Creator.

V. Historical Explanations.

a. An *absolute* miracle of change of substance, without

the recognition of a medium, as held by the ancient supernaturalists.

b. A historical miracle, admitting a medium.

Change of substance with a medium.

Augustine: "Ipse enim fecit vinum illo die in nuptiis in sex illis hydriis quas impleri aquâ precepit, qui omni anno facit hoc in vitibus. Sicut enim quod miserunt ministri in hydrias, in vinum conversum est opere Domini. Illud autem non miramur, quia omni anno fit: assiduitate amisit admirationem." (Ev. John, Tract 8.)

"Quæ aqua erat, vinum factum viderunt homines et obstupucrunt. Quid aliud fit de pluviâ per radicem vitis? Ipse illa fecit, ipse ista; illa ut pascaris, ista ut mireris. (Serm. 123, c. 3, cf. also De Gen. ad Litt. l. 6, c. 13.)

Chrysostom: (Hom. 22 in John.) *Δεικνὺς ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐν ταῖς ἀμπέλοις τὸ ὕδωρ μεταβάλλων, καὶ τὸν ὑετὸν διὰ τῆς ῥίζης εἰς οἶνον τρέπων, ὅπερ ἐν τῷ φυτῷ διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου γίνεται, τοῦτο ἀθρόον ἐν τῷ γάμῳ εἰργάσατο.*

Trench takes substantially the view of these fathers.

Olshausen also adopts this explanation of this miracle, which he and others describe technically as an accelerated process of nature. It is really, in our humble opinion, one of the best, if not the best *account* that can be given of the miracle.* We say the best *account*, not the explanation of it,

* We cannot agree with our respected contributor in this remark. 1. Because this and all other explanations of what is confessed to be inexplicable are futile. They remove no difficulty; they give no light, but only mystify and complicate the simple. 2. Because they are positively unsatisfactory. They not only in an unphilosophical way mingle the natural and the supernatural, but they are inconsistent with the facts of the case. There are no natural processes or forms supernaturally intensified to produce the effect. The chemical and vital forms by which the water in the root of the vine is transmuted into wine were all absent from the jars of water. 3. All these explanations, especially the preposterous view of Lange associating the miracles of our Lord with animal magnetism and clairvoyance, are degrading and revolting. 4. They all overlook or contradict the true idea of miracle, which is an event in the external world produced by the simple volition of God. All cooperation of natural causes is precluded. Germany (in the sense of philosophy and theology, if not in that of physical geography,) is the natural land of fogs. German writers may be expected to see even through a misty medium; but it is surely unwise for Americans to put their heads into an artificially produced vapour in order to render their vision the more

for the *miracle* cannot be *explained*, it must be *believed*. Those who start on the premise that a miracle is impossible and scorn all belief in the supernatural and the Divine, occupy a position so diametrically opposed to that of faith in the Omnipotence of God, that it were idle folly on our part to argue with them on their own premises. But this much we may say. Does not nature present an analogy not *equal*, but certainly *similar* to the miraculous supply of wine at Cana? Is the annual production of wine in the grape by the double absorption of the moisture of the earth and the rain of heaven and the transmutation of the elementary substance of water into the vegetable juice of the wine not a similar miracle of creative agency? We prefer putting the question in this form rather than in describing the difference between the miracle of Cana and the annually repeated miracle in the grape as an *accelerated process of nature* in the case of the former, in order to forestal the dry and sarcastic remark of *Strauss* and others, that in the miraculous change of water into wine at Cana was wanting the chief essential, namely, the vegetable factor of the wine. Even so—that factor was wanting, but its absence constitutes the miracle. The miracle is miracle only to man the creature, not to God the Omnipotent Creator. No exercise of his creative agency and omnipotence can astonish him, although every new and unprecedented exhibition of his glorious attributes must astonish us and thus become a miracle. Admit the omnipotence of God or admit a *Personal* God, and you admit not only the possibility of an Incarnate God, but also the possibility of a revelation and an attestation of that revelation by such exhibitions of his glorious Godhead which we denominate miracles. With faith in a revelation, in a Saviour, in an Omnipotent Creator the transmutation of inorganic matter into organic by means of organic processes, such as we daily witness in the vegetable kingdom, presents to our mind a perfect analogy to the transmutation of

distinct. We recognize the importance of American students of theology being informed as to the manner in which German Christians deal with the Scriptures; but we confess that we have no manner of respect for the mystical element with which, as above exhibited, their explanations are so often mingled.—Editor.

water into wine, and if it be further objected (as *Strauss* and others have done) that the juice of the grape is something very different from wine which is the result of artificial means, we answer that the creative agency of God must be conceded to be at least as potent as human art and contrivance. (See for a similar treatment of this subject, *Tholuck*, Johannes p. 99, 6th ed.)

c. Change of accident with a medium.

Neander says that he cannot place this miracle among the highest of Christ's miraculous acts and conceives it thus: "He brought out of water, by his creative energy, a substance (wine), which is naturally the joint product of the growth of the vine and of human labour, water being only one of the coöperating factors; and thus substituted his creative power for various natural and artificial processes. But we are not justified in inferring that the water was changed into *manufactured wine;* but that, by his direct agency, he imparted to it powers capable of producing the same effects; that he *intensified* (so to speak) the powers of water into those of wine." He illustrates his view by the analogy of *mineral springs*, in which by natural processes, new powers are given to water; and the ancient accounts of springs which sent forth water like wine—intoxicating water, to wit: *Athenæus*, Deip. II. § 17, 18: *πολλαχοῦ, ὃ εἰσὶ κρῆναι αἱ μὲν ποτιμώτεραι, καὶ οἰνοδέστεραι, ὡς ἡ περὶ Παφλαγονίαν, πρὸς ἣν φάσι τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ὑποπίνειν προσιόντας.*

Theopompus: τοὺς πίνοντας αὐτὸ μεθύσκεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τοὺς τὸν οἶνον. (*Neander*, Life of Christ, p. 176, Bohn's Translation.) To these illustrations may be added that cited by *Casaubonus* from Vitruv. 8, 3.

In connection with *Neander's* view we call attention to the unsparing terms in which *Strauss* denounces it. (see above, in the extract from his *Leben Jesu*); and although that criticism is unjust and vulgar, *Neander's* unfortunate phrascology, and still more unfortunate illustration, provoke censure. We cannot but think that he *believed* more than is here expressed, and are justified in this opinion by his own sentiments. "Miracles," he says, "are entirely different from results of the *power of nature intensified.* The question of their character cannot be

decided on the ground either of Deism or Pantheism, (opposed as these theories are to each other; the one incorrectly separating the idea of God from that of the world, the other, as incorrectly blending the two together), but only in regard to the final causes of the government of God, considered as an *Omniscient and Omnipotent personal Being.*" (l. c. p. 136). Again: "Omnipotence is *always* as directly operative in nature as it was at the creation; but *we* can only detect its workings by means of the law of cause and effect in the material world. Under this veil of natural laws, religious faith always discovers the Divine causality, and the religious mind, although it may, indeed, contemplate natural phenomena from different points of view, and may distinguish between *free* and *necessary* causalities in nature, will always trace them back to the immediate agency of Almighty Love. Just so in miracles, we do not see the Divine agency *immediately*, but, as it were, in a veil; the Divine causality does not appear in them as co-efficient with natural causes, and therefore cannot be an object of external perception, but reveals itself only to faith." (P. 137). And lastly, he does not hesitate to declare that "the manifestation of Christ, the founder of the kingdom of God, the bestower upon mankind of that Divine life which constitutes the essence of the kingdom, was the highest miracle, the central point of all miracles, and required other and analogous phenomena to precede and follow it." (P. 138).

These more explicit statements show plainly that the charge of *weakness* cannot be brought against *Neander's* faith and intellect, however unhappy he may have been in the choice of his terms and illustrations. The *intensification* of the powers of water into those of wine, of which he speaks, are to him an act of *creative* energy, and his illustration of mineral springs is merely designed to present an analogy, showing the existence of such an intensification, although vastly inferior to that produced by the miracle. Neander really erred in attempting to *explain* something, which, by his own showing, cannot be explained, but must be believed.

d. Transfiguration (Verklärung) of the substance *in actu.*

This is the phrase by which *Lange* characterizes his view of the miracle (Comm. on John ii. 1—11), but what he exactly

means by it is far from clear. He charged *Tholuck* with having misunderstood him, and evidently relishes the idea that a man like *Meyer* is at a loss what to make of it. Before we express our opinion, let us hear *Lange* himself. The account he gives of the miracle in his *Leben Jesu* (ii. p. 479), is thus. "Thus Christ translated a circle of pious and devoted men into heaven and made them drink from the mysterious fountain of his highest life-power. He showed how in his kingdom want is absorbed by the riches of his love, water by the wine of his wonder-working Divine power, the common appetite (*Lust*) of the carousers by the ecstatic delight allied to the first enjoyment of the contemplation of his glory. He changed the water not into a drink of the gods (*Göttertrank*, nectar), but into a divine (*Göttlich*) drink." This passage, however, must be connected with a previous statement (*Leben Jesu*, vol. i. Bk. 2, p. 306—308). After describing the impression which the personal presence of Christ produced on receptive minds, how the power of his divine Spirit which inspired them, and the glow of sympathy which enraptured them, were able to raise them momentarily to heaven, and exalt them to a common frame of divine joy, of a sense of peace, and of festal joy, in which life seemed to them to have become altogether new, and the world apparently transfigured, he proceeds to postulate such a frame of mind in the case of the guests at the marriage festival at Cana, where, he continues, "a Christian circle was for the first time festively assembled in the presence of Christ." The mother of Jesus is full of great, anxious, and joyful presentiments; she imparts her frame of mind to the servants of the family. These, in their turn, are filled with the utmost confidence in the word of Jesus; they fill the water-jars, they carry the draught in decided submission to his direction. Meanwhile the festive company were so engrossed by their soul-joy, that they know not what has taken place without. But the wine, of which they partake now at the height of the festival, is also designated by the ruler of the feast the good wine, or distinguished from the former as the better. In the element of a singular (*einzig*) frame of mind, in which the guests as the branches become one with the real vine, *i. e.*, Christ as the principle of the world, transfiguration, the water is changed

for them into wine. We have here to deal with the effects of a higher ethical ecstasy, with the effects of an absolutely beautiful miraculous frame of mind, in which the festive company of Jews is by the powers of the Spirit of Christ translated from the beginnings of the world to the heights of the transfigured world. The drink, whereof they partake in that frame of mind being blessed to them by the communion of Christ, is to them the most noble wine." In a note, he says, moreover: "We may conceive the operation of Christ, which changed water into wine, in various gradations. It is known from the history of somnambulism that in high degrees of magnetical *rapport* all the sensations and tastes of the magnetizer are reciprocated by the person in psychical subjection to him. Here, indeed, is not a circle of magnetized individuals assembled round the Lord, but a circle of souls put into ecstasy by him. That which may occur as a fact in the sphere of magnetism, may recur here in increased force and life-freshness of form, (as *e. g.*, the circumscribed, morbid clairvoyance of somnambulists in the free, healthy clairvoyance of the prophets.) If, therefore, Christ, in virtue of his original and creative power, calls up in himself the intuition of wine, if Christ drinks good wine, the others also drink it by means of this psychical connection with him. But the company, which surrounds the Lord, is not merely a circle of passively receptive beings. His associates (*Genossen*, those intimately connected with him) are in and through him rendered (German, *gestimmt*, tuned like an instrument) productive. As the branches do not only receive the sap which the parent stem brings to them, but produce wine out of it and with it, so these guests at the marriage festival exert all their plastic life-power in the moment of their union with the Lord, in order to complete the change. This is the first gradation of the immediate operation of Christ. But the second takes place in the element of the drink itself, of which they partake. And here we will call attention to the tastes of magnetized water, but again only in order to intimate how in a higher cycle of life the same phenomenon may recur in a higher key. 'The tastes of magnetized water,' says *Fr. Fischer*, in his work on Somnambulism, p. 235, 'are said to be extraordinarily diverse. It is said to have first a bitter, then a sweet taste, sometimes acid

like Selters water, and again strong and wine-like, sometimes fiery, sometimes tart like sulphur and ink, and sometimes like salt. *Indeed a certain constancy is said to show itself with one and the same magnetizer.*'"

This is *Lange's* view in his own words. We think we understand what he means by his transfiguration of the substance *in actu*, and perhaps may characterize his theory as a transcendental, or at least highly poetical symbol of the Lord's Supper, rather in the sense of *consubstantiation* than of transubstantiation. It seems to us that this pretended *explanation* of the miracle amounts to a virtual explaining it away; at least, to a transfer of the visible, material, sensible miracle to the sphere of spiritual intuition. Translated into plain English, *Lange* makes the spectators of the miracle for the time being so thoroughly united to Jesus in spirit and feeling, that the water which he wanted to be wine and made wine in his intuition, became wine to them, they themselves becoming by spiritual affinity with Jesus his coefficients in the miracle. The reference to magnetism and somnambulism is interesting and highly ingenious, but the application of the principles or phenomena of those sciences to the solution of the miracle unsatisfactory in the highest degree. It affects the reality of the miracle and postulates a frame of mind on the part of the guests and the servants, which simply is improbable; there is nothing in the evangelical record to warrant the assumption of such a spiritual preparation; the miracle is narrated as a fact in history, but it is not explained; the effect it produced on the disciples also is mentioned, beyond this we have no data whatsoever. The frame of mind in which *Lange* supposes that wedding company to have been is evidently drawn from that with which Christians now commemorate the dying love of Christ in the Lord's Supper, and incompatible with what we know of the singular slowness in spiritual things which characterized even the most intimate of our Lord's followers before his crucifixion. *Lange* anticipates this objection by describing that frame of mind as transient, but its transitoriness is an index to the frailty of the foundation on which this poetically fascinating structure has been raised. In his commentary on John ii. 1—11, he points out the analogy of similar moments

of a control of nature and transfiguration. "By the communion of the Spirit of Christ the food of his supplying becomes miraculous, by the communion of the Spirit of Christ alone Peter walked on the water, in the hearts of believers lie throughout the conditions of the miracles of Christ. But along with this reference of the miracle to its christological centre, *i. e.*, the principle of the transfiguration of the world, we assume that Christ in the present instance did also momentarily develop a latent, mysterious formative power of the water, which may also have extended to the quantity *per se*. Our chief business is here with the δόξα of Christ in his first self-revelation." These analogies do not much elucidate the subject, they merely show that there are other incidents as inexplicable on natural, metaphysical, and spiritual grounds within the limits of our compass, as this miracle; and the unprejudiced judge must admit that *Lange's* failure to explain it is not more surprising than the failure of so many others. The miracle cannot be explained, it must be *believed*.

VI. Historico-symbolical and Typical Explanation.

a. Exhibition of the contrast of the Old and New Testaments: *The Fathers*, *Lampe*, *Baumgarten Crusius*, *Luthardt*.

b. The miracle designed to show the antithesis between the doctrine of Christ and the asceticism of John the Baptist: *Flatt*, *Olshausen*.

c. The miracle a typical representation of the communion of Christ with his people on the heights of the glorified world. *Lange*. *Leben Jesu*, pp. 307, 479.

d. The miracle a typical representation of the heavenly banquet, (with a simultaneous reference to the old covenant), Rev. xix. 8. *Hofmann*, *Luthardt*. (*Lange* calls this treatment of the miracle the translation of his ideal view into the real).

e. The miraculous supply of wine the counterpart of the miraculous supply of bread, and both together analogies of the Lord's Supper. *De Wette*. (*Strauss* also makes the symbolical reference of both miracles to the Lord's Supper the occasion of his fancied myth).*

To this part of our subject may be added *Lange's* account of

* Cf. *Lange's* Commentary on John ii. 1—11.

the *symbolical import* of the miracle. He describes the miracles of Jesus as *signs;* that is, they are not only facts, but reflections of the Christian idea, of the Christian principle and of its universal efficacy. He calls attention to the significant declaration of John that this was the first sign of Jesus, and the manifestation of his δόξα, and points out that this manifestation of his δόξα explains the extent of the symbolical import of the miracle. He then enumerates the changes of which it was symbolical. 1. The Old Testament vessels of water, of purifying and of the law, are changed into the New Testament vessels of wine, of animation and of unfettered festiveness. 2. The misery of the old life, in which end the festivities of the old world has been changed by the grace of Christ into the fountain of the higher joys of the kingdom of heaven. 3. Mary, the highest representative of the faith of the Old Testament, the servants and the ruler of the feast, are changed into ministering mediators of the revelation of the New Testament glory of Christ. 4. Earthly marriage changed into the basis of a loftier marriage, of the espousal of Christ to the new confirmed faith of his people. 5. The supply of wine made a sign of Christ's δόξα, which as grace turns all misery into happiness, and as truth dispenses all symbols, and also the wine of earth in heavenly reality (Christ himself being the real vine). 6. The supply of wine a sign of the Lord's Supper, the type of the transfiguration of life in course of development, and of the future perfect transfiguration and glorification in heaven. There is much originality and poetic beauty in some of these thoughts, but while recognizing the christological element in the gospel and in nature as a profound truth, we must not suffer ourselves to be led by such recognitions into a region where the real is absorbed by the ideal, and sober facts are neglected for the more fascinating interpretations of poetry. The christological system of interpretation is edifying and ennobling only where it unfolds and illustrates great truths, but it is liable to degenerate in inexperienced and unguarded hands into transcendentalism, and to substitute poetical conceptions for great facts. Let the reality of the facts be first established, the lessons they teach, the truths they illustrate, and the duties they enjoin as such be duly brought out, and

then their secondary import from a symbolical or christological point of view will be in place. The adoption of the opposite course is dangerous to subjective holiness, and to the interests of objective truth.

There is an objection often brought against this miracle, which remains to be considered; it is directed against its propriety, and insinuates that it is immoral. The notorious destructionist *Strauss* designates it a miracle of luxury (*Luxuswunder*). Singular to hear him make such a charge, but after all not surprising, for the class of objectors whom he represents, are ready for any and every expedient, provided they see a good chance to injure and traduce the systems they so much hate. They allege that while the other miracles of Jesus are of a beneficent character and supply real wants, the scope of this miracle is not the beneficent removal of a natural evil, but the supply of inexhaustible means for the gratification of sensual indulgence; that the creation of "so large and perilous a quantity of wine," was putting the temptation to intemperance in the way of the wedding company. *Trench* justly remarks that *Strauss* (and we may include his confrères) belongs to "that generation that call Jesus a wine-bibber, and say that John has a devil; with whom that which is godlike can in no form find favour." It is by no means too difficult to find a solution of the enormous, the truly royal supply of wine. The family, in which Mary felt at home and which Jesus honoured with his presence on that festive occasion, was in all probability poor and pious. The deficiency of wine favours the supposition that they were poor, for a deficiency in that article on such an occasion could hardly have occurred in a wealthy family of Palestine. It was probably our Lord's purpose not only to supply their present want, but to honour their piety, and thus by providing a surplus, to alleviate and cheer their poverty and to preserve a monument of the miracle he had wrought. (*Maldonatus:* "Voluit Christus non solum præsenti inopiæ subvenire, sed multum etiam vini sponso remanere, tum ut illius paupertatem sublevaret, tum ut duturnum testimonium ac monimentum esset facti miraculi.") The insinuation of the enormous quantity of wine presenting a temptation to the company is very shallow and rests on a false ethical principle.

Temptation belongs as much to scantiness as to abundance, and temperance in affluence and abundance, with every means to gratify our desires ready at hand, involves a self-restraint, which shows that we are temperate on principle; for surely temperance in indigence, with no opportunity or means of indulgence, while it may be independent of those conditions and founded on solid virtue, does not impose the same degree of self-restraint as is necessary in the opposite case. (*Calvin:* "Nostro vitio fit, si ejus benignitas irritamentum est luxuriæ: quin potius hæc temperantiæ nostræ vera est probatio, si in mediâ affluentiâ parci tamen et moderati sumus.") We may safely take it for granted that if there had been any danger in that direction, the Lord would not have wrought this his first miracle, which was to the family a wedding-gift and to the disciples a means of grace.

It is not necessary here to reiterate our view of the miracle itself, because it has necessarily come out in our discussion of the views of others. It remains, however, to state in conclusion the principle on which this miracle and all the miracles of the New Testament should be treated by believers in the Divinity of Christ and the inspiration of the sacred volume.

First let us define a miracle *theologically*. In doing so it is necessary to explain the nature of the phenomenon and to state the design of its occurrence. And for our present purpose it will be sufficient to say with *Horne* (Introd. p. 93.) "A miracle is an effect or event, contrary to [we prefer to substitute for *contrary to*, the words *beyond and above*] the established course of things, or a sensible suspension or controlment of, or deviation from the known laws of nature [that is our observation of the operations of Divine Providence in the material universe], wrought either by the immediate act, or by the assistance, or by the permission of God, and accompanied with a previous notice or declaration that it is performed according to the purpose and by the power of God, for the proof or evidence of some particular doctrine, or in attestation of the authority or divine mission of some particular person."*

* We should rather say that a miracle is an event in the external world produced by a Divine volition; *i. e.*, by the immediate efficiency of God. God

To this definition of a miracle, which, with the qualifications in brackets, will be found to cover all the miracles of the Bible and to oppose all infidel and rationalistic definitions of a miracle, we may add respecting the apologetic value of miracles the thoughtful remark of *Pascal* (Pensées sur les Miracles) that "we must judge of the doctrine from the miracles and of the miracles from the doctrine. The doctrine proves the miracles and the miracles prove the doctrine. All this is true and no contradiction."

Then as to the question, "Is a miracle, thus defined, *possible?*" we say that it cannot be entertained by Christians, for the denial of its *possibility* is the virtual denial of the existence of a personal, omnipotent Creator.

The question, "Is a miracle *probable?*" is equally incompatible with the Christian character, for the denial of its *probability* is a virtual denial of the *moral* perfection of God.

The question, "Are the miracles of the Scriptures *true?*" we answer in the affirmative, and their historical reality is established by a chain of evidence that cannot fail to carry conviction to the minds of all who do not oppose a *nolo persuaderi* to the force of argument.

"Upon these grounds we may safely leave the subject in the hands of any wise and considerate man; and we may venture to affirm that no person of such a character will, after an attentive examination of these points, ever suffer his faith in the miracles, by which the Divine authority of the Christian revelation is supported, to be shaken. Convinced that, by a fair chain of reasoning, every one who denies them must be driven to the necessity of maintaining atheistical principles, by questioning either the power, or wisdom, or goodness of the Creator, the true philosopher will yield to the

said, "Let there be light, and light was;" Jesus said to the leper, "Be thou clean, and he was clean." A miracle is distinguished from the regeneration of the soul, by the sphere in which it occurs, and by its design. This definition renders all such explanations as those given above from Neander, Olshausen, and Lange, not only inadmissible, but shows them to be belittling and offensive. That by Lange especially is revolting, by associating the miracles of the Redeemer with the feats of mesmerisers. How a pious mind can get in a state to indulge in such speculations, it is hard for an American Christian to understand.—Editor.

force of this consideration, as well as to the overpowering evidences of the facts themselves, and will thankfully accept the dispensation which God has thus graciously vouchsafed to reveal. He will suffer neither wit, nor ridicule, nor sophistry, to rob him of this anchor of his faith; but will turn to his Saviour with the confidence so emphatically expressed by Nicodemus: "Rabbi, we KNOW that thou art a Teacher come from God, FOR no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him." (*Van Mildert*, Boyle Lectures, Sermon 21.) We would like to have spoken on this subject more fully, and to have examined the position occupied by many modern authors with regard to the miracles, but having already transgressed the limits set to this article, we were compelled to compress into a few hints matter that might easily and we believe profitably be enlarged into a volume. But we have tried to make these hints sufficiently plain to mark clearly the ground we hold, and which we firmly believe is the only true ground to be occupied by those who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth, believe in him as their Saviour, and receive the Scriptures as the revelation of the Divine Will.

ART. II.—*Eugénie and Maurice de Guérin.*

THESE two names, as yet but little known in this country, have become quite familiar to foreign readers of modern French literature. This brother and sister have won a posthumous fame which he with an extreme self-distrust would never have dared to aspire to, and which she, however much she coveted it for him who was her idol, would never have dreamed of for herself. In his case it came tardily, in the face of obstacles which his intimate friends long sought in vain to remove, and almost too late to shed its longed-for radiance over her closing years; in hers it came unsought and unlooked for, from an appreciative public which demanded access to a literary treasure lovingly and sacredly guarded

within the family circle, and which met the favourable answer to its demand with testimonials of approval so hearty and so unanimous as to offer to her surviving relatives a grateful solace for a loss with whose greatness it served anew to impress them.

The published writings of Maurice de Guérin consist of his Journal, a selection from his letters, and a few poems, either in a metrical or in a prose form. Those of Eugénie de Guérin consist of a Journal followed by some poetical fragments, and a volume of Letters. In the year after Maurice's death, one of his most striking productions, a prose poem called the "Centaur" was published in the "Revue des deux Mondes," accompanied by a warm tribute from Mde. George Sand. But owing to the difficulty of gaining access to his manuscripts, some of which had been carried out of the country, and others were withheld by their possessors, twenty years elapsed before the promise of their publication, which was then made, could be fulfilled. On their appearance, M. Sainte Beuve, the first of living French critics, welcomed them with a most cordial and appreciative notice: Other writers, both French and English, did the same. Mdlle. de Guérin's Journal, preceded by a brief biographical notice and followed by a few of her letters, was soon after her death printed for private distribution. On its publication, in a slightly altered form at the earnest request of multitudes of her admirers, it passed through eight editions in sixteen months, and soon had its place in French literature permanently fixed by the favourable decision of the "Academy." Since then it has steadily increased in popularity, and has been enriched by the recent publication of a volume of her letters, which serve at once as a valuable supplement and commentary. There is so large a proportion of modern current French literature that cannot be recommended to our readers, or at least can claim no mention in a religious periodical, that we the more readily welcome these works, which are in every way worthy of our praise, and propose to give some account of them and their authors.

Eugénie was the second and Maurice the youngest of a family of four children, two brothers and two sisters. The De Guérin family, akin to the Italian family of the Guarini, could

boast of an ancient nobility, honoured by high ecclesiastical trusts and gallant feats of arms. These its modern representatives dwelt in the Chateau du Cayla in Languedoc, the sole relic of their former wealth left them by the wide-spread reverses of the French Revolution. Here, occupying its scantily furnished rooms, and tilling its ancestral fields with their grain, and vines, and olive-trees, they lived in complete seclusion, associating only with the neighbouring clergy and a few family connections, and surrounded by an humble peasantry, who must have revered their goodness, even had they lost respect for their impoverished lineage. Eugénie was born in 1805 and Maurice in 1810. Their mother died in 1819, leaving this eldest daughter to comfort her bereaved father and to care for his young and orphaned children. Maurice, for whom from his birth she had manifested peculiar affection, thenceforth became for her an object of the tenderest solicitude. He was her very life. She watched over the development of his dreamy poetical genius, while he still tarried a child within the towers of Cayla; and when he went forth to be trained at the little seminary at Toulouse and at the Collège Stanislas at Paris, and still later to submit himself to the powerful influence of Lamennais at La Chenaie, and to struggle with life in the crowded capital, she followed him with loving letters, and especially with this beautiful journal of hers, which owes its origin to his wish to have a record of her every-day life and thoughts, and is fragrant with the essence of her saintly piety and sisterly affection.

We know of nothing in modern literature more cheering in its simplicity and tender grace than this record of the daily life within and about this old chateau in Languedoc, and this unconscious picture of the noble and devout maiden which it enshrines. It belongs to this practical nineteenth century of ours, but in the remoteness of the scene where it is laid, in the occasional slightly ascetic spirit which it breathes, in the poetical contemplative manner in which it deals with nature and the outward world where it comes in contact with it, it seems to belong to a former century. It is the inartificial story of a real experience, yet it reminds one of some of our ingenious modern fictions, like "The Household of Sir Thomas More," "The

Maiden and Married Life of Mary Powell," "The Schönberg-Cotta Family," which aim to reproduce the spirit and the events of a by-gone age.

We have always thought that French prose is peculiarly worthy of study for the sake of culture in style. Its vocabulary is indeed less copious than that of some other tongues, but it is wonderfully precise, and capable of presenting nice shades of thought. The structure of its sentences, owing perhaps in part to the lively colloquial habits of the French people, is always simple. It seldom employs such long, unwieldy, closely-packed periods as abound in German. Whatever the skilful writer wishes to express by means of it, he says with a clearness, a point, a grace, and an animation, unequalled in the literature of any other nation of modern Europe. It is these qualities which have made French authors, in an eminent degree, the expounders of the thoughts of our race. If they do not explore the deepest veins of the mine, they coin what others have dug out, with an image and superscription of peculiar distinctness and beauty; and what they cannot thus coin, they refuse to deal with. In the hands of Eugénie and Maurice de Guérin this wonderfully flexible, precise, and elegant instrument, loses none of the qualities which we have ascribed to it. Nature has rarely found a better interpreter of her changeful moods and various languages than he, in his occasional bits of landscape painting in his Journal and letters, and his more elaborate poems. While the easy and unaffected correspondence of his more gifted sister, and her exquisitely natural and beautiful Journal, designed for no other eye than his, show in their playful grace, their pensive, sometimes even morbid, melancholy, their rich contemplative habit of finding "good in everything," that she found in her native tongue a fitting medium for the expression of the most diverse emotions. We feel that no translation can adequately convey the indescribable grace of her style, but we shall try to show our English readers that the French Academy did not err when they gave their highest approval to this simple and beautiful picture of the inner life of that secluded family in Languedoc.

It was a life utterly barren of incidents. We catch a few glimpses of its earlier years from the reminiscences of the Jour-

nal and the Letters. We see the eldest sister's childish jealousy of the caresses lavished on the youngest born, giving place to entire devotion when their mother's death left him to be her peculiar charge. We behold him standing for hours in dreamy abstraction beneath some of his favourite trees in the grounds of the chateau, or by his devout and pleasing ways winning from the common people the title of "the little saint," or, in anticipation of his destined calling, swinging a censer in the village church of Andillac, or preaching infantile discourses, with his loving sister for an auditory. At length he leaves home for Toulouse, and later for Paris. His talents and his diligence attract attention, and two high ecclesiastics, the Archbishop of Toulouse, and the Archbishop of Rouen, each offer to take charge of his education, but his father declined their offers. Gradually he lost his inclination for the priestly office, without at the same time losing his religious feelings. There are indications that he cherished for one of Eugénie's dearest friends, Louise de Bayne, an unrequited affection. Just at that time Lamennais gathered about him his little circle of disciples, and Maurice came to submit himself to the Master's powerful sway, and to surrender himself to study amidst scenes and under a sky quite unlike those of sunny Languedoc. Here he formed friendships which lasted to the end of his short life, and to which we are indebted for many a pleasing reminiscence of his studies, his conflicts, and his achievements at La Chenaie. But the church silenced the bold and earnest utterances of Lamennais, and dispersed his followers. After a brief sojourn with one of his companions in Brittany, Maurice betakes himself to the precarious calling of a private tutor in Paris, and of a contributor to some of the Parisian journals. With varied success and very scanty pay he toils on—the chilly air of the north aggravating a tendency to pulmonary disease, which was undermining his constitution, and at the same time strengthening a habit of morbid melancholy and self-distrust, whose real physical cause was little suspected. A gleam of sunshine broke in upon his clouded life, giving promise of a brighter day, when he married a gentle and lovely Creole lady, whose fortune raised him above the constant anxiety about his support, and seemed to assure him a future of congenial literary activity and

success. It was, however, but a fitful gleam. Ease and happiness could not bring him health. His brighter married life lasted but a few months. By slow and painful journeys he returned to the warmer climate of the south. But all was in vain. He lingered a few weeks in his early home, and there, in his twenty-ninth year, gave up his young and promising life, surrounded by loving relatives who would willingly have surrendered theirs to prolong his.

But the engrossing occupations of his weary sojourn in Paris had not made him a stranger to the home whither he came to die. Its daily routine, the various interests, the hopes and fears of all, the inmost heart of at least one of its inmates had been faithfully reported to him by Eugénie in her Journal. "This," she says, "is not for the public; it is the record of what is most intimate, of the soul; it is for one alone." This is the secret of its charming naturalness. There are no side-long glances at a possible publicity and fame which it is to win. She conceals it from even her father, lest its unreserved expression of occasional sadness and fear should sadden him. To Maurice, however, it fulfils the promise of the motto from St. Hildegarde prefixed to it: "I place myself in your soul." It extends from November 1834, to October 1841. An earlier portion of it has never been recovered, of which she thus writes in a letter to Maurice: "I will write to you every day until the departure of your friend. It will be but a letter of thirty pages, more or less, according to the course of events and the current of ideas, for oftentimes many things occur to the mind and in the household, and at others, nothing at all." The Journal, with an occasional gap, also extends beyond the limit of Maurice's life, for the pen which had been wont to chronicle the daily experiences of Cayla for his eye, could not forego its wonted pleasure when that eye was closed in death. For a while, as it were deceiving itself with a touching illusion, it goes on: "Still for him, for Maurice dead; for Maurice in heaven." But it could not be sustained, even at the request of a dear friend of his, who would have her consider and call him her brother. The entries become rarer and more meagre; and for some years before the close of her life, in 1848—years occupied with earnest efforts and hopes for the publication of

Maurice's literary remains, her letters form our only source of information respecting her life.

Eugénie's friend, Louise de Bayne, once told her that "where others would perceive nothing, she would find much to tell." "See," said she, pointing to the latch of a door which she lifted as she went out, "you would have a hundred things to say about that." "Certainly," adds Eugénie, "there is much to be said and thought about a piece of iron which so many hands have touched, which has been lifted with such diverse emotions, under so many eyes, by so many men, through so many days and years. The story of a latch would be very long." It is in this spirit that her journal is written. Her contemplative mind transmutes into fine gold some of the commonest and most trivial objects around her. There are few things which cannot offer her a theme for poetical, lively, or devout reflection. "The beautiful," she says finely, "is not what one seeks, but what one meets." Her ready pen lent itself to this pleasant task of recording her daily life, and moralizing on its even course. "I do not know how it is," she says, "that it is as easy for me to write as for a fountain to flow. I need everywhere my tablets and paper, for everywhere my thoughts follow me, and must find utterance for you. When water flows, it foams along at first, and gradually becomes clear in its course. The course that I like is towards God or towards a friend, but especially towards God. There I find my proper channel, and am calm."

The familiarity of the themes, the devout improvement of the affairs of every-day life, even the very turn of the expression in this Journal, constantly remind us of the "Occasional Meditations," the "Three Centuries of Vows," and the "Specialties" of Bishop Hall. Take, for example, the following picture of one of her days. "I resume my Journal because I am alone in my chamber. Solitude prompts us to write because it prompts us to think. We take our own souls to converse with. I ask mine what it has seen to-day, what it has learned, what it has loved, for every day it loves something. This morning I looked up to a clear sky, saw the green chestnut tree, and listened to the song of the birds. I heard them under the great oak, near the fountain, the basin of which was wash-

ing. These sweet songs and this washing of the fountain suggested to me various thoughts. The birds gave me pleasure, and when I saw the water, before so clear, flow away darkened with mud, I was sorry that it had been disturbed, and I thought of the soul when something troubles it. Even the most beautiful loses its charm when we touch the bottom of it, for there is a little mud in the depths of every human heart. Then I read a sermon; being unable to go out and hear one, I made a sanctuary of my little chamber, where I find God, it seems to me, and that without distractions. When I have prayed, I reflect; when I have meditated, I read, then I sometimes write;—all this before a little cross on my table as upon an altar; beneath is the drawer where are my letters, my relics."

> "He prayeth well who loveth well,
> Both man and bird and beast,"

says the poet; and the brute creation, the dumb dependents of the household found a warm friend in the devout Eugénie. She had that love for "pets" which is one token of broad and tender sympathies. When a mere child, she tore out of the tapestry in her brother's chamber, the pictured hand of a man who was about to destroy a bird's nest. Some of the liveliest and tenderest sentences in her Journal describe her joys and her griefs at the varied fortunes of her birds and her dogs. "My turtle-dove died this evening of I know not what. Poor little creature! what pain it gives me. I loved it, it was white, and every morning, in summer and in winter, its note beneath my window was the first sound I heard. Was it a note of sorrow or of joy? I know not, still it gave me pleasure; and now I have one pleasure less. Thus, each day, we lose some enjoyment. I shall bury my dove beneath the rose-tree on the terrace. It will be well placed there, and its soul, if soul it has, will repose sweetly in this nest under the flowers. I believe a little in the soul of animals, and I wish there was a little paradise for the good and gentle, such as doves, dogs, and lambs. But what shall be done with the wolves? Shall we damn them? that perplexes me." Trilby, her pet spaniel, her linnet rescued from the claws of a cat, the little birds whose red feet in the snow look like coral tracery, the nightingale

whose early song in the spring is like the warning note of the leader of the orchestra, the myriad flies and insects that teem in the air and the water, furnish themes for touching or beautiful reflection.

It must be a devout heart that is thus fully set to find instruction or pleasure in all things. And Mdlle. de Guérin's devout spirit gives the chief charm to her Journal. She lived and died in the Roman Catholic faith, but the "religion pure and undefiled" which she displayed may well put to shame many a Protestant maiden. Her type of piety is one which the better sort of culture in the Church of Rome developes; and her naturally contemplative habit of mind peculiarly fitted her for this style of discipline. The seclusion of her life varied only by the visits of the neighbouring ecclesiastics, her almost exclusively devout reading of the "Lives of the Saints," with now and then a Waverley novel, a furtive glance into Victor Hugo, or a play of Racine or of Shakspeare, her rigid devotional habits in both public and private worship, and the many opportunities for charitable offices among the poor and sickly peasantry, gave to her life an air of peculiar purity and saintliness. The convent, with its hallowed retirement and uninterrupted religious service, strongly attracted her, but her domestic and social duties, and her love for her father and her home attracted her yet more strongly, and tempered the ascetic tone of her piety. The faith in which she was reared, and of which she was so bright an ornament, may account for her credulousness in respect to miracles, her confidence in the efficacy of relics and medals, but it rarely offers side by side with these a piety so intelligent and healthy as that which expresses itself in words like the following, which we select here and there from the pages of the Journal:—"I like to have leisure before going to chapel, that I may thoroughly review my soul before God. It often requires a long time, for my thoughts are scattered like leaves. Every burden that we throw off makes us lighter, and when the soul has laid its load of sins at the feet of God, it feels as if it had wings. How admirable is confession! What relief, what light, what strength I find each time that I have said, 'It is my fault.' 'To-morrow (New Year's day) is the day for presents; all mine come from heaven. I draw every

thing thence, for truly earth offers few things to my taste. The longer I stay here, the less I like it, and I see without regret the years succeed each other, so many steps towards the other world. This is the home-sickness which seizes every soul that thinks habitually of heaven." "What is prayer but love flowing forth from the soul, and diffusing itself like water from a fountain?" "Prayer is a subdued desire. The free union of the human will with the Divine is the sublimest act of a poor creature, the complement of faith, the most intimate participation in that grace which flows from God to man, and works wonders."

Through many of these beautiful utterances, with which we might fill pages, we cannot fail to detect an undertone of sadness, a morbid melancholy, the presence of unconquerable "ennui," "the most malignant, the most obstinate, the most thoroughly domesticated, which enters at one door when we expel it from another, and can hardly be prevented from being mistress of the house." In another faith, and in another state of society, one for example like our own, which opens to woman a broader sphere and more numerous interests, and allows her greater liberty of action, she might have found relief from this "inexorable ennui, this substratum of human life," in the great charitable and benevolent institutions and efforts which constitute one of the glories of our age. The Sanitary and Christian Commissions have dispelled the cloud that has settled upon many a lonely, morbid, introverted soul in our American households. They have done scarcely less good at home than they have done at the front and in the hospital. But Eugénie de Guérin, the Roman Catholic maiden, had no such wholesome remedial influence exerted over her. Living far from the busy haunts of men, secluded by her social standing from the humble society around her, making but one or two visits to Paris during her whole life, she was shut within the narrow circle of her own thoughts and feelings. It is not strange that dark presentiments should often have filled her soul. She anticipated for herself an early death. She hears the winds wail around her chamber like "an organ pealing forth a requiem for the dead." To her mind the festivities that attended her brother's marriage were clouded by

the ominous meeting of a funeral train, as the bridal company left the church. Unfortunately, the constant tidings of his failing health but increased her confidence in her evil augury.

Her journal, sad as it often is, offered her a favorable diversion from such gloomy thoughts. It is wonderful that, written in such seclusion from the culture of the world, with so meagre a library at command, it should possess such peculiar merits of thought and of style. But nature had so endowed her that she needed not the culture of art. When she came to Paris, and appeared in some of the literary and fashionable salons, she was as much at home, and won as much admiration as though she had been reared in such scenes, instead of living almost alone in a country chateau.

Her extensive correspondence also healthfully occupied her mind. "Write me," said every one to her, "your letters do me good." We wish that our space allowed of quotations from her tender and beautiful letters. They are excelled in grace and beauty by her Journal alone. They gladdened many a kindred heart, as they must still do, now that they have a larger circle of readers. One delightful series of them was addressed to the Baronne de Maistre, an invalid friend of Maurice's, whom she had learned to love long before she ever saw her. Another scarcely less attractive belongs to Louise de Bayne, the friend of her early youth, for whom Maurice had hopelessly sighed. A touching charm gathers around the closing letters of the collection, which are filled with anxious concern for the publication of Maurice's remains, and the establishment of his posthumous fame. She indignantly rejects Mde. Sand's representation that he was not a sincere believer. She exhorts his friends to correct this false impression, by repeating the closing scenes and the penitent confessions of his dying hour. She would fain send to Mde. Sand her idea of Maurice, that "like a crown it may hide the stain she has put upon his brow."

We have said that she never coveted publicity for her Journal. It was designed to be her legacy to her brother alone. But as she survived him, she left orders that, with her other papers, it should be destroyed. Happily for us, the wish was disregarded. She had however some worthy literary aspira-

tions. Prompted by her poetical genius she once proposed to write a series of poems for children—"Enfanteries" she called them—which should embody for their instruction the lives of saintly children. Maurice, recognizing her fine poetical gifts—"poet in spite of herself," as he called her—and with his broader culture giving her wise counsel, encouraged her to go on with her scheme. But some of her morbid feelings hindered her from versifying; various obstacles presented themselves, and though she felt the constant inspiration for this good work, she made but a few slight sketches, and left the project unaccomplished. "Religion, history, nature, offer rich pictures," she said, "but who will be the Raphael?"

Mdlle. de Guérin's dearest wish was for her brother's fame. For her own she cared not. But both have been worthily established. An Edinburgh reviewer has beautifully called her "An Antigone of France, sublimed and ennobled by Christian faith." She has secured for Maurice, her Polynices, worthy sepulture, and a perpetual memorial, at no such painful cost as her pagan prototype's. The daily offering of her affection has won for her a perennial fame. She sought for her brother a chief place in the world's affection and regard, willing herself to be forgotten, and that world has said to her in her humility, "Come up higher," and associates for ever in its loving remembrance the henceforth indissoluble names of Eugénie and Maurice de Guérin.

ART. III.—*The Hagiology and Hagiolatry of Romanism.*

THE Bible knows but one worship, the worship of the only true and living God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. In the New Testament, the expression ἅγιοι, *sancti*, *saints*, is often used by the apostles of all baptized and converted Christians, without distinction, as being chosen of God, separated from the world, consecrated to God's service, and, notwithstanding their remaining imperfections, called to perfect holiness. But the word is never applied, as in the Greek and Roman churches, to a particular class, or a spiritual aristocracy. The apostles address their epistles to the "Saints," *i. e.*, the Christian believers at Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, &c.*

It was only after the whole mass of heathenism flocked into the church under Constantine and his successors in the fourth and fifth centuries, and were baptized by the *water*, though by no means generally by the *spirit* of Christianity, that the title of saints came to be restricted to bishops and councils, and to departed heroes of the Christian faith, especially the martyrs of the first three centuries. When, on the cessation of persecution, the martyr's crown, at least within the limits of the Roman empire, was no longer attainable, extraordinary ascetic piety, great service to the church, and subsequently also the power of miracles, were required as indispensable conditions of reception into the Catholic calendar of saints. The anchorets especially, who, though not persecuted from without, voluntarily crucified their flesh and overcame evil spirits, seemed to stand equal to the martyrs in holiness and in claims to veneration. A tribunal of canonization did not yet exist. The popular voice commonly decided the matter, and passed for the voice of God. Some saints were venerated only in the regions where they lived and died; others enjoyed a national homage; others, a universal.

* Compare Acts ix. 13, 32, 41, xxvi. 10; Rom. i. 7, xii. 13, xv. 25, 26; 1 Cor. i. 2, vi. 1; Eph. i. 1, 15, 18; Phil. i. 1, iv. 21, 22; Rev. xiii. 7, 10, &c.

The veneration of the saints increased with the decrease of martyrdom, and with the remoteness of the objects of reverence. "Distance lends enchantment to the view;" but "familiarity" is apt "to breed contempt." The sins and faults of the heroes of faith were lost in the bright haze of the past, while their virtues shone the more, and furnished a pious and superstitious fancy with the richest material for legendary poesy.

Almost all the Catholic saints belong to the higher degrees of the clergy, or to the monastic life. And the monks were the chief promoters of the worship of saints. At the head of the heavenly chorus stands Mary, crowned as queen by the side of her divine Son; then come the apostles and evangelists who died a violent death, the protomartyr Stephen, and the martyrs of the first three centuries; the patriarchs and prophets also, of the old covenant, down to John the Baptist; and finally, eminent hermits and monks, missionaries, theologians, and bishops, and those, in general, who distinguished themselves above their contemporaries in virtue or in public service. The measure of ascetic self-denial was the measure of Christian virtue. Though many of the greatest saints of the Bible, from the patriarch Abraham to Peter, the prince of the apostles, lived in marriage, the Catholic ethics, from the time of Ambrose and Jerome, can allow no genuine holiness within the bonds of matrimony, and receives only *virgines* and some few *vidui* and *viduæ* into its spiritual nobility.* In this again the close connection of saint-worship with monasticism is apparent.

To the saints, about the same period, were added angels as objects of worship. To angels there was ascribed in the church from the beginning a peculiar concern with the fortunes of the militant church, and a certain oversight of all lands and nations. But Ambrose is the first who expressly exhorts to the invoca-

* To reconcile this perverted view with the Bible, the Roman tradition arbitrarily assumes that Peter separated from his wife after his conversion; whereas Paul, so late as the year 57, expressly pre-supposes the opposite, and claims for himself the right to take with him a sister as a wife on his missionary tours, (ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν,) like the other apostles, and the brother of the Lord, and Cephas, 1 Cor. ix. 5.

tion of our patron angels, and represents it as a duty.* In favour of the *guardianship* and interest of angels appeal was rightly made to several passages of the Old and New Testaments: Dan. x. 13, 20, 21, xii. 1; Matt. xviii. 10; Luke xv. 7; Heb. i. 14; Acts xii. 15. But in Col. ii. 18, and Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 8, 9, the *worship* of angels is distinctly rebuked.

Out of the old biblical notion of guardian angels arose also the idea of *patron saints* for particular countries, cities, churches, and classes, and against particular evils and dangers. Peter and Paul and Laurentius became the patrons of Rome; James, the patron of Spain; Andrew, of Greece; John, of theologians; Luke, of painters; subsequently, Phocas, of seamen; Ivo, of jurists; Anthony, a protector against pestilence; Apollonia, against tooth-aches; &c.

These different orders of saints and angels form a heavenly hierarchy, reflected in the ecclesiastical hierarchy on earth. Dionysius the Areopagite, a fantastical Christian Platonist of the fifth century, exhibited the whole relation of man to God on the basis of the hierarchy; dividing the hierarchy into two branches, heavenly and earthly, and each of these again into several degrees, of which every higher one was the mediator of salvation to the one below it.

These are the outlines of the saint-worship, which dates from the Nicene and post-Nicene age, and has continued one of the chief elements in the cultus of the Greek and Roman churches; while Protestantism rejects it as a refined form of idolatry, contrary to the word of God. Now to the exposition and estimate of it, and then the proofs.

The worship of saints proceeded originally, without doubt, from a pure and truly Christian source, to wit: a very deep and lively sense of the communion of saints, which extends over death and the grave, and embraces even the blessed in heaven. It was closely connected with love to Christ, and with gratitude for everything great and good which he has done through his instruments for the welfare of posterity. The church fulfilled a simple and natural duty of gratitude, when, in the consciousness of unbroken fellowship with the church

* De viduis, c. 9: "Obsecrandi sunt Angeli pro nobis, qui nobis ad præsidium dati sunt." Origen had previously *commended* the invocation of angels.

triumphant, she honoured the memory of the martyrs and confessors, who had offered their life for their faith, and had achieved victory for it over all its enemies. She performed a duty of fidelity to her own children, when she held up for admiration and imitation the noble virtues and services of their fathers. She honoured and glorified Christ himself, when she surrounded him with an innumerable company of followers, contemplated the reflection of his glory in them, and sang to *his* praise in the Ambrosian *Te Deum:*

"The glorious company of the Apostles praise thee;
The goodly fellowship of the Prophets praise thee;
The noble army of Martyrs praise thee;
The holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge thee;
The Father, of an infinite majesty;
Thine adorable, true, and only Son;
Also the Holy Ghost, the Comforter,
Thou art the King of glory, O Christ;
Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father.
When thou tookest upon thee to deliver many, thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb;*
When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers."

In the first three centuries the veneration of the martyrs in general restricted itself to the thankful remembrance of their virtues and the celebration of the day of their death as the day of their heavenly birth.† This celebration usually took place at their graves. So the church of Smyrna annually commemorated its bishop, Polycarp, and valued his bones more than gold and gems, though with the express distinction: "Christ we *worship* as the Son of God; the martyrs we *love* and *honour* as disciples and successors of the Lord, on account of their insurpassable love to their King and Master, as also we wish to be their companions and fellow-disciples."‡ Here we find this veneration as yet in its innocent simplicity.

* "Non horruisti Virginis uterum." The translation in the American Episcopal Liturgy has softened this expression thus: "Thou didst humble thyself to be born of a virgin."

† *Natalitia*, γενέθλια.

‡ In the Epistle of the church of Smyrna De Martyr. S. Polycarpi, cap 17 (Patres-Apost. ed. Dressel, p. 404): Τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν· τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας, ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ κυρίου, ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως, κ. τ. λ.

But in the Nicene age it advanced to a formal invocation of the saints as our patrons (*patroni*) and intercessors (*intercessores*, *mediatores*) before the throne of grace, and degenerated into a form of refined polytheism and idolatry. The saints came into the place of the demigods, Penates and Lares, the patrons of the domestic hearth and of the country. As once temples and altars to the heroes, so now churches and chapels* came to be built over the graves of the martyrs, and consecrated to their names (or more precisely to God through them). People laid in them, as they used to do in the temple of Æsculapius, the sick that they might be healed; and hung in them, as in the temples of the gods, sacred gifts of silver and gold. The graves were, as Chrysostom says, more splendidly adorned and more frequently visited than the palaces of kings. Banquets were held there in their honour, which recall the heathen sacrificial feasts for the welfare of the Manes. Their relics were preserved with scrupulous care, and believed to possess miraculous virtue. Earlier, it was the custom to pray for the martyrs (as if they were not yet perfect), and to thank God for their fellowship and their pious example. Now such intercessions for them were considered unbecoming, and their intercession was invoked for the living.†

This invocation of the dead was accompanied with the presumption that they take the deepest interest in all the fortunes of the kingdom of God on earth, and express it in prayers and

* Memoriæ, μαρτύρια.

† Augustine: Serm. 159, 1 (al. 17): "Injuria est pro martyre orare, cujus nos debemus orationibus commendari." Serm. 284, 5: "Pro martyribus non orat [ecclesia], sed eorum potius orationibus se commendat." Serm. 285, 5: "Pro aliis fidelibus defunctis oratur [to wit, for the souls in purgatory still needing purification]; *pro martibus non oratur;* tam enim perfecti exierunt, ut non sint suscepti nostri, sed *advocati.*" Yet Augustine adds the qualification: "Neque hoc in se, sed in illo cui capiti perfecta membra cohæserunt. Ille est enim vere *advocatus unus*, qui interpellat pro nobis, sedens ad dexteram Patris: sed advocatus unus, sicut et pastor unus." When the grateful intercessions for the departed saints and martyrs were exchanged for the invocation of their intercession, the old formula: "Annue nobis, Domine, ut animæ famuli tui Leonis hæc prosit oblatio," was changed into the later: "Annue nobis, quæsumus, Domine, ut intercessione beati Leonis hæc nobis prosit oblatio." But instead of praying for the saints, the Catholic church now prays for the souls in purgatory.

intercessions.* This was supposed to be warranted by some passages of Scripture, like Luke xv. 10, which speaks of the *angels* (not the saints) rejoicing over the conversion of a sinner, and Rev. viii. 4, which represents an *angel* as laying the prayers of all the saints on the golden altar before the throne of God. But the New Testament expressly rebukes the *worship* of the angels (Col. ii. 18; Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 8, 9), and furnishes not a single example of an actual *invocation* of dead men; and it nowhere directs us to address our prayers to any creature. Mere inferences from certain premises, however plausible, are, in such weighty matters, not enough. The intercession of the saints for us was drawn as a probable inference from the duty of all Christians to pray for others, and the invocation of the saints for their intercession was supported by the unquestioned right to apply to *living* saints for their prayers, of which even the apostles availed themselves in their epistles.

But here rises the insolvable question: How can *departed* saints hear at once the prayers of so many Christians on earth, unless they either partake of divine omnipresence or divine omniscience? And is it not idolatrous to clothe creatures with attributes which belong exclusively to Godhead? Or, if the departed saints first learn from the omniscient God our prayers, and then bring them again before God with their powerful intercessions, to what purpose this circuitous way? Why not at once address God immediately, who alone is able, and who is always ready to hear his children for the sake of Christ?

Augustine felt this difficulty, and concedes his inability to solve it. He leaves it undecided, whether the saints (as Jerome and others actually supposed) are present in so many places at once, or their knowledge comes through the omniscience of God, or finally it comes through the ministry of angels.† He already makes the distinction between *λατρεία*, or adoration due to God alone, and the *invocatio* (*δουλεία*) of the saints, and

* Ambrose: De viduis, c. 9, calls the martyrs "nostri præsules et speculatores (spectatores) vitæ actuumque nostrorum."

† De cura pro mortuis (A. D. 421), c. 16. In another place he decidedly rejects the first hypothesis, because otherwise he himself would be always surrounded by his pious mother, and because in Isa. lxiii. 16, it is said: "Abraham is ignorant of us."

firmly repels the charge of idolatry, which the Manichæan Faustus brought against the Catholic Christians when he said: "Ye have changed the idols into martyrs, whom ye worship with the like prayers, and ye appease the shades of the dead with wine and flesh." Augustine asserts that the church indeed celebrates the memory of the martyrs with religious solemnity, to be stirred up to imitate them, united with their merits and supported by their prayers,* but it offers sacrifice and dedicates altars to God alone. Our martyrs, says he, are not gods; we build no temples to our martyrs, as to gods, but we consecrate to them only memorial places, as to departed men whose spirits live with God; we build altars not to sacrifice to the martyrs, but to sacrifice with them to the one God, who is both ours and theirs.†

But in spite of all these distinctions and cautions, which must be expected from a man like Augustine, and acknowledged to be a wholesome restraint against excesses, we cannot but see in the martyr-worship, as it was actually practised, a new form of the hero-worship of the pagans. Nor can we wonder in the least, for the great mass of the Christian people came, in fact, fresh from polytheism, without thorough conversion, and could not divest themselves of their old notions and customs at a stroke. The despotic form of government, the servile subjection of the people, the idolatrous homage which was paid to the Byzantine emperors and their statues, the predicates *divina*, *sacra*, *cœlestia*, which were applied to the utterances of their will, favoured the worship of saints. The heathen emperor Julian sarcastically reproached the Christians with re-introducing polytheism into monotheism, but, on account of the difference of the objects,

* Et ad excitandam imitationem, et ut meritis eorum consocietur, atque orationibus adjuvetur." Contra Faustum, l. 20, n. 21.

† De Civit. Dei, xxii. 10: "Nobis Martyres non sunt dii: quia unum eundemque Deum et nostrum scimus et Martyrum. Nec tamen miraculis, quæ per Memorias nostrorum Martyrum fiunt, ullo modo comparanda sunt miracula, quæ facta per templa perhibentur illorum. Verum si qua similia videntur, sicut a Moyse magi Pharaonis, sic eorum dii victi sunt a Martyribus nostris. . . Martyribus nostris non templa sicut diis, sed Memorias sicut hominibus mortuis, quorum apud Deum vivunt spiritus, fabricamus; nec ibi erigimus altaria, in quibus sacrificemus Martyribus, sed uni Deo et Martyrum et nostro sacrificium [corpus Christi] immolamus."

revolted from the Christian worship of martyrs and relics, as from the "stench of graves and dead men's bones." The Manichæan taunt we have already mentioned. The Spanish presbyter Vigilantius, in the fifth century, called the worshippers of martyrs and relics, ashes-worshippers and idolaters,* and taught that according to the Scriptures the living only should pray with and for each other. Even some orthodox church teachers admitted the affinity of the saint-worship with heathenism, though with the view of showing that all that is good in the heathen worship re-appears far better in the Christian. Eusebius† cites a passage from Plato on the worship of heroes, demi-gods, and their graves, and then applies it to the veneration of friends of God and champions of true religion; so that the Christians did well to visit their graves, to honour their memory there, and to offer their prayers. The Greeks, Theodoret thinks, have the least reason to be offended at what takes place at the graves of the martyrs; for the libations and expiations, the demi-gods and deified men, originated with themselves. Hercules, Æsculapius, Bacchus, the Dioscuri, and the like, are deified men; consequently it cannot be a reproach to the Christians that they—not deify—but honour their martyrs as witnesses and servants of God.

The ancients saw nothing censurable in such worship of the dead. The saints, our helpers and patrons, are far more worthy of such honour. The temples of the gods are destroyed, the philosophers, orators, and emperors are forgotten, but the martyrs are universally known. The feasts of the gods are now replaced by the festivals of Peter, Paul, Marcellus, Leontius, Antonius, Mauricius, and other martyrs, not with pagan pomp and sensual pleasures, but with Christian soberness and decency."‡

Yet even this last distinction which Theodoret asserts, sometimes disappeared. Augustine laments that in the African church banqueting and revelling were daily practised in honour

* *Cinerarios* et *idololatras.*

† In his Præparat. Evangelica, xiii, cap. 11. p. 663. Comp. Demostr. Evang. iii. § 3, p. 107.

‡ Theodoret, Græc. affect. curatio. Disp. viii. (Ed. Schulz. iv, p. 902 sq.)

of the martyrs,* but thinks that this weakness must be for the time indulged from regard to the ancient customs of the Pagans.

In connection with the new hero-worship a new mythology also arose, which filled up the gaps of the history of the saints, and sometimes even transformed the pagan myths of gods and heroes into Christian legends.† The superstitious imagination, visions, and dreams, and pious fraud, furnished abundant contributions to the Christian legendary poesy.

The worship of the saints found eloquent vindication and encouragement not only in poets like Prudentius (about 405) and Paulinus of Nola, (died 431,) to whom greater freedom is allowed, but even in all the prominent theologians and preachers of the Nicene and post-Nicene age. It was as popular as monkery, and was as enthusiastically commended by the leaders of the church in East and West.

The two institutions, moreover, are closely connected and favour each other. The monks were most zealous friends of saint-worship in their own cause. The church of the fifth century already went almost as far in it as the middle ages, at all events quite as far as the Council of Trent; for this council does not prescribe the invocation of the saints, but confines itself to approving it as "good and useful" (not as *necessary*), on the ground of their reigning with Christ in heaven and there interceding for us, and expressly remarks that Christ is our only Redeemer and Saviour.‡ This moderate and prudent

* "Comessationes et ebrietates in honorem etiam beatissimorum Martyrum." Ep. 22 and 29.

† Thus, *e. g.*, the fate of the Attic king's son, Hippolytus, who was dragged to death by horses on the sea shore, was transferred to the Christian martyr, Hippolytus, of the beginning of the third century. The martyr Phocas, a gardener at Sinope in Pontus, became the patron of all mariners, and took the place of Castor and Pollux. At the daily meals on shipboard, Phocas had his portion set out among the rest, as an invisible guest, and the proceeds of the sale of these portions was finally distributed among the poor as a thank-offering for the prosperous voyage.

‡ Conc. Trid. Sess. xxv: "Sanctos una cum Christo regnantes orationes suas pro hominibus Deo offere; *bonum* atque *utile* esse suppliciter eos invocare et ob beneficia impetranda a Deo per Filium ejus Jesum Christum, qui solus noster redemptor et salvator est, ad eorum orationes, opem auxiliumque confugare."

statement of the doctrine, however, has not yet removed the excesses which the Roman Catholic people still practise in the worship of the saints, their images, and their relics. The Greek church goes even further in theory than the Roman; for the confession of Peter Mogilas (which was subscribed by the four Greek patriarchs in 1643, and again sanctioned by the Council of Jerusalem in 1672) declares it duty and propriety (*χρέος*) to implore the intercession (*μεσιτεία*) of Mary and the saints with God for us.

We now cite, for proof and further illustration, the most important passages from the church fathers on this point. In the numerous memorial discourses of the fathers, the martyrs are loaded with eulogies, addressed as present, and besought for their protection. The universal tone of these productions is offensive to the Protestant taste, and can hardly be reconciled with evangelical ideas of the exclusive and all-sufficient mediation of Christ and of justification by pure grace without the merit of works. But it must not be forgotten that in these discourses very much is to be put to the account of the degenerate, extravagant, and fulsome rhetoric of that time. The best church fathers, too, never separated the merits of the saints from the merits of Christ, but considered the former as flowing out of the latter.

We begin with the Greek fathers. Basil the Great calls the forty soldiers, who are said to have suffered martyrdom under Licinius, in Sebaste, about 320, not only a "holy choir," an "invincible phalanx," but also "common patrons of the human family, helpers of our prayers, and most mighty intercessors with God."*

Ephraim Syrus addresses the departed saints, in general, in such words as these: "Remember me, ye heirs of God, ye brethren of Christ, pray to the Saviour for me, that I through Christ may be delivered from him who assaults me from day to day;" and the mother of a martyr: "O holy, true, and blessed

* Basil. M. Hom. 19. in XL. Martyres, § 8: *Ὦ χορὸς ἁγιος! ὦ σύνταγμα ἱερὸν! ὦ συναπίσμος ἀῤῥαγὴς! ὦ κοινοὶ φύλακες τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (o communes generis humani custodes)! *ἀγαθοὶ καινῶνοὶ φροντίδων, δεήσεως συνεργοὶ, πρεσβευταὶ δυνατώτατοι* (legati apud Deum potentissimi), *ἀστέρες τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὠνθη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν! ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἡ γῆ κατέκρυψεν, ἀλλ' οὐρανος ὑπεδέξατο.*

mother, plead for me with the saints, and pray: 'Ye triumphant martyrs of Christ, pray for Ephraim, the least, the miserable,' that I may find grace, and through the grace of Christ may be saved."

Gregory of Nyssa asks of St. Theodore, whom he thinks invisibly present at his memorial feast, intercessions for his country, for peace, for the preservation of orthodoxy, and begs him to arouse the apostles Peter and Paul and John to prayer for the church planted by them (as if they needed such an admonition). He relates with satisfaction that the people streamed to the burial-place of this saint in such multitudes that the place looked like an ant-hill. In his life of St. Ephraim, he tells of a pilgrim who lost himself among the barbarian posterity of Ishmael, but by the prayer, "St. Ephraim, help me!"* and the protection of the saint, happily found his way home. He himself thus addresses him at the close: "Thou who standest at the holy altar and with angels servest the life-giving and most holy Trinity, remember us all, and implore for us the forgiveness of sins and the enjoyment of the eternal kingdom."†

Gregory Nazianzen is convinced that the departed Cyprian guides and protects his church in Carthage more powerfully by his intercessions than he formerly did by his teachings, because he now stands so much nearer the Deity; he addresses him as present, and implores his favour and protection.‡ In his eulogy on Athanasius, who was but a little while dead, he prays: "Look graciously down upon us, and dispose this people to be perfect worshippers of the perfect Trinity; and when the times are quiet, preserve us; when they are troubled, remove us, and take us to thee in thy fellowship."

Even Chrysostom did not rise above the spirit of the time. He too is an eloquent and enthusiastic advocate of the worship of the saints and their relics. At the close of his memorial discourse on Saints Bernice and Prosdoce—two saints who have not even a place in the Roman calendar—he exhorts his hearers

* Ἄγιε Εφραὶμ βοήθεί μοί.

† Αἰτούμενος ἡμῖν ἁμαρτημάτων ἄφεσιν, αἰωνίου τὲ βασιλείας ἀπόλαυσιν. De vita Ephræm. p. 616 (tom. iii.).

‡ Σὺ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐποπτεύεις ἄνωθεν ἵλεως, καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον διεξάγοις λόγον καὶ βίον, κ. τ. λ. Orat. 18, in laud. Cypr. p. 285.

not only on their memorial days but also on other days to implore these saints to be our protectors: "For they have great boldness, not merely during their life, but also after death, yea, much greater after death.* For they now bear the stigmata of Christ [the marks of martyrdom], and when they show these, they can persuade the King to anything." He relates that once, when the harvest was endangered by excessive rain, the whole population of Constantinople flocked to the church of the apostles, and there elected the apostles Peter and Andrew, Paul and Timothy, patrons and intercessors before the throne of grace.† Christ, says he in Heb. i. 14, redeems us as Lord and Master, the angels redeem us as ministers.

Asterius of Amasia calls the martyr Phocas the patron of mariners, "a pillar and foundation of the churches of God in the world, the most renowned of the martyrs," who draws men of all countries in hosts to his church in Sinope, and who now, since his death, distributes more abundant nourishment than Joseph in Egypt.

Among the Latin fathers, Ambrose of Milan is one of the first and most decided promoters of the worship of saints. We cite a passage or two. "May Peter, who so successfully weeps for himself, weep also for us, and turn upon us the friendly look of Christ."‡ "The angels, who are appointed to guard us, must be invoked for us; the martyrs, to whose intercession we have claim by the pledge of their bodies, must be invoked. They who have washed away their sins by their own blood, may pray for our sins. For they are martyrs of God, our high priests, spectators of our life and our acts. We need not blush to use them as intercessors for our weakness; for they also knew the infirmity of the body when they gained the victory over it."‖

* Παρακαλῶμεν αὐτὰς, ἀξιῶμεν γενέσθαι προστάτιδας ἡμῶν· πολλὴν γὰρ ἔχουσιν παῤῥησίαν οὐχὶ ζῶσαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσασαι· καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τελευτήσασαι. Opp. tom. ii. 770.

† Contra ludos et theatra, n. 1. tom. vi. 318.

‡ Hexæm. l. v. cap. 25, § 90: "Fleat pro nobis Petrus, qui pro se bene flevit, et in nos pia Christi ora convertat. Approperet Jesu Domini passio, quæ quotidie delicta nostra condonat et munus remissionis operatur."

‖ De viduis, c. 9. "Obsecrandi sunt Angeli pro nobis, qui nobis ad præsidium dati sunt; martyres obsecrandi, quorum videmur nobis quodam corporis

Jerome disputes the opinion of Vigilantius, that we should pray for one another in this life only, and that the dead do not hear our prayers, and ascribes to departed saints a sort of omnipresence, because, according to Rev. xiv. 4, they follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.* He thinks that their prayers are much more effectual in heaven than they were upon earth. If Moses implored the forgiveness of God for six hundred thousand men, and Stephen, the first martyr, prayed for his murderers after the example of Christ, should they cease to pray, and to be heard, when they are with Christ?

Augustine infers from the interest which the rich man in hell still had in the fate of his five surviving brethren (Luke xv.) that the pious dead in heaven must have even far more interest in the kindred and friends whom they have left behind.† He also calls the saints our intercessors, yet under Christ, the proper and highest Intercessor, as Peter and the other apostles are shepherds under the great chief Shepherd.‡ In a memorial discourse on Stephen, he imagines that martyr, and Saul who stoned him, to be present, and begs them for their intercessions with the Lord with whom they reign.‖ He attributes miraculous effects, even the raising of the dead, to the intercessions of Stephen.¶ But on the other hand he declares, as we have already observed, his inability to solve the difficult question of the way in which the dead can be made acquainted with our wishes and prayers. At all events, in Augustine's practical religion the worship of the saints occupies a subordinate place. In his "Confessions" and "Soliloquies" he always addresses himself directly to God, not to Mary nor to martyrs.

pignore patrocinium vindicare. Possunt pro peccatis rogare nostris, qui proprio sanguine etiam si qua habuerunt peccata laverunt. Isti enim sunt Dei martyres, nostri præsules, speculatores vitæ actuumque nostrorum," &c. Ambrose goes further than the Council of Trent, which does not command the invocation of the saints, but only commends it, and represents it not as duty, but only as privilege. See the passage already cited.

* Adv. Vigilant. n. 6: "Si agnus ubique, ergo et hi, qui cum agno sunt, ubique esse credendi sunt." So the heathen also attributed ubiquity to their demons. Hesiodus, Opera et dies, v. 121 sqq.

† Epist. 259, n. 5. ‡ Sermo 285, n. 5.

‖ Sermo 317, n. 5: "Ambo modo sermonem nostrum auditis; ambo pro nobis orate. . . orationibus suis commendent nos."

¶ Serm. 324.

The Spanish poet Prudentius flees with prayers and confessions of sin to St. Laurentius, and considers himself unworthy to be heard by Christ himself.*

The poems of Paulinus of Nola are full of direct prayers for the intercessions of the saints, especially of St. Felix, in whose honour he erected a basilica, and annually composed an ode, and whom he calls his patron, his father, his lord. He relates that the people came in great crowds around the wonder-working relics of this saint on his memorial day, and could not look on them enough.

Leo the Great in his sermons lays great stress on the powerful intercession of the apostles Peter and Paul, and of the Roman martyr Laurentius.†

According to this we cannot wonder that the Virgin Mary and the saints are interwoven also in the prayers of the ancient liturgies,‡ and that their merits and intercession stand by the side of the merits of Christ as a ground of the acceptance of our prayers.

The system of saint-worship, like that of the worship of Mary, became embodied in a series of religious festivals, of which many had only a local character, some a provincial, some a universal. To each saint a day of the year, the day of his death, or his heavenly birth-day, was dedicated, and it was celebrated with a memorial oration and exercises of divine worship, but in many cases desecrated by unrestrained amusements of the people, like the feasts of the heathen gods and heroes.

The most important saints' days which come down from the early church, and bear a universal character, are the following:

1. The feast of the two chief apostles, PETER and PAUL,§ on the twenty-ninth of June, the day of their martyrdom. It is

* Hymn. II. in hon. S. Laurent. vs. 570–84:

"Indignus agnosco et scio,
Quem Christus ipse exaudiat;
Sed per patronos martyres
Potest medelam consequi."

† "Cujus oratione," says he of the latter, "et patrocinio adjuvari nos sine cessatione confidimus." Serm. 85. in Natal. S. Laurent. c. 4.

‡ E. g. the Liturgies of St. James, St. Mark, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, the Coptic Liturgy of St. Cyrill, and the Roman Liturgy.

§ *Natalis apostolorum Petri et Pauli.*

with the Latins and the Greeks the most important of the feasts of the apostles, and, as the homilies for the day by Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, and Leo the Great show, was generally introduced as early as the fourth century.

2. Besides this, the Roman church has observed since the fifth century, a special feast in honour of the prince of the apostles, and for the glorification of the papal office; the feast of THE SEE OF PETER,* on the twenty-second of February, the day on which, according to tradition, he took possession of the Roman bishopric. With this there was also an Antiochian St. Peter's day on the eighteenth of January, in memory of the supposed episcopal reign of this apostle in Antioch. The Catholic liturgists dispute which of the two feasts is the older. After Leo the Great, the bishops used to keep their *Natales*. Subsequently the feast of the CHAINS OF PETER† was introduced, in memory of the chains which Peter wore, according to Acts xii. 6, under Herod at Jerusalem, and, according to the Roman legend, in the prison at Rome under Nero.

3. The feast of JOHN the apostle and evangelist, on the twenty-seventh of December.

4. The feast of the protomartyr STEPHEN, on the twenty-sixth of December, after the fourth century.

5. The feast of JOHN THE BAPTIST, the last representative of the saints before Christ. This was, contrary to the general rule, a feast of his birth, not his martyrdom, and, with reference to the birth festival of the Lord on the twenty-fifth of December, was celebrated six months earlier on the twenty-fourth of June, the summer solstice. This was intended to signify at once his relation to Christ and his well-known word: "He must increase, but I must decrease." He represented the decreasing sun of the

* *Festum cathedræ Petri.*

† *Festum catenarum Petri*, commonly *Petri ad vincula*, on the first of August. According to the legend, the Herodian Peter's chain, which the empress Eudoxia, wife of Theodosius II., discovered on a pilgrimage in Jerusalem, and sent as a precious relic to Rome, miraculously united with the Neronian Peter's chain at Rome on the first contact, so that the two have since formed only one holy and inseparable chain!

ancient covenant; Christ, the rising sun of the new.* In order to celebrate more especially the martyrdom of the Baptist, a feast of the BEHEADING OF JOHN,† on the twenty-ninth of August, was afterwards introduced; but this never became so important and popular as the feast of his birth.

6. To be just to all the heroes of the faith, the Greek church, after the fourth century, celebrated a feast of ALL SAINTS on the Sunday after Pentecost (the Latin festival of the Trinity).‡ The Latin church, after 610, kept a similar feast, the FESTUM OMNIUM SANCTORUM, on the first of November; but this did not come into general use till after the ninth century.

7. The feast of the ARCHANGEL MICHAEL,‖ the leader of the hosts of angels, and the representative of the church triumphant,§ on the twenty-ninth of September. This owes its origin to some miraculous appearances of Michael in the Catholic legends.¶ The worship of the angels developed itself simultaneously with the worship of Mary and the saints, and churches also were dedicated to angels and called after their names. Thus Constantine the Great built a church to the archangel Michael on the right bank of the Black Sea, where the angel, according to the legend, appeared to some shipwrecked persons and rescued them from death. Justinian I. built as many as six churches to him. Yet the feast of Michael, which some trace back to Pope Gelasius I., A. D. 493, seems not to have become general till after the ninth century.

* Comp. Jno. iii. 30. This interpretation is given even by Augustine, Serm. 12, in Nat. Dom.: "In nativitate Christi *dies crescit;* in Johannis nativitate decrescit. Profectum plane facit dies, quum mundi Salvator oritur; defectum patitur, quum ultimus prophetarum generatur."

† *Festum decollationis S. Johannis B.*

‡ This Sunday is therefore called by the Greeks the *Martyrs' and Saints' Sunday,* ἡ κυριακὴ τῶν ἁγίων πάντων or τῶν ἁγίων καὶ μαρτύρων. We have a homily of Chrysostom on it: Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους πάντας τοὺς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ μαρτυρήσαντες, or De martyribus totius orbis. Hom. lxxiv. Opera tom. ii. 711 sqq.

‖ *Festum S. Michælis archangeli.*

§ Rev. xii. 7—9; comp. Jude 9.

¶ Comp. Augusti Archæologie I. p. 585, Michael, e. g. in a pestilence in Rome in the seventh century, is said to have appeared as a deliverer on the tomb of Hadrian (Moles Hadriani, or Mausoleo di Adriano), so that the place received the name of Angel's Castle (Castello di St. Angelo). It is situate, as is well known, at the great bridge of the Tiber, and is used as a fortress.

We add some concluding observations on the origin and character of the CHRISTIAN CALENDAR with reference to its ecclesiastical elements, the catalogue of saints and their festivals.

The Christian calendar, as to its contents, dates from the fourth and later centuries; as to its form, it comes down from classical antiquity, chiefly from the Romans, whose numerous calendars contained, together with astronomical and astrological notes, tables also of civic and religious festivals and public sports. Two calendars of Christian Rome still extant, one of the year 354, the other of the year 448,* show the transition. The former contains for the first time the Christian week beginning with Sunday, together with the week of heathen Rome; the other contains Christian feast days and holidays, though as yet very few, viz., four festivals of Christ and six martyr days. The oldest purely Christian calendar is a Gothic one, which originated probably in Thrace in the fourth century. The fragment still extant† contains thirty-eight days for November and the close of October, among which seven days are called by the names of saints (two from the Bible, three from the church universal, and two from the Gothic church). There are, however, still earlier lists of saints' days, according to the date of the holiday; the oldest is a Roman one of the middle of the fourth century, which contains the memorial days of twelve bishops of Rome and twenty-four martyrs, together with the festival of the birth of Christ and the festival of Peter, on the twenty-second of February.

Such tables are the groundwork of the calendar and the martyrologies. At first each community or province had its own catalogue of feasts, hence also its own calendar. Such local registers were sometimes called *Diptycha*‡ (*δίπτυχα*), because they were recorded on tables with two leaves; yet they commonly contained, besides the names of the martyrs, the names also of the earlier bishops and still living benefactors, or persons of whom the priests were to make mention by name in

* The latter is found in the Acta Sanct. Jun. tom. vii. p. 176 sqq.

† Printed in Angelo Mai: Script. vet. nova collect. tom. v. P. 1, p. 66–68. Comp. Krafft: Kirchengeschichte der germanischen Völker. vol. i. div. 1, p. 385—387,

‡ From *δίπτυχος*, folded double.

the prayer before the consecration of the elements in the eucharist. The spread of the worship of a martyr, which usually started from the place of his martyrdom, promoted the interchange of names. The great influence of Rome gave to the Roman festival-list and calendar the chief currency in the west.

Gradually the whole calendar was filled up with the names of saints. As the number of the martyrs exceeded the number of days in the year, the commemoration of several must fall upon the same day, or the canonical hours of cloister devotion must be given up. The Oriental calendar is richer in saints from the Old Testament than the Occidental.*

With the calendars are connected the *Martyrologia*, or *Acta Martyrum*, *Acta Sanctorum*, called by the Greeks *Menologia* and *Menœa*.† These were at first only "Diptycha" and "Calendaria martyrum;" *i. e.*, lists of the names of the martyrs commemorated by the particular church in the order of the days of their death on the successive days of the year, with or without statements of the place and manner of their passion. This simple skeleton became gradually animated with biographical sketches, coming down from different times and various authors, containing a confused mixture of history and fable, truth and fiction, piety and superstition, and needing to be used with great critical caution. As these biographies of the saints were read on their annual days in the church and in the cloisters for the edification of the people, they were called *Legenda*.

The first Acts of the Martyrs came down from the second

* The Roman Catholic Saint-Calendars have passed, without material change, to the Protestant church in Germany and other countries. Recently Professor Piper in Berlin has attempted a thorough Evangelical reform of the calendar, by rejecting the doubtful or specifically Roman saints, and adding the names of the fore-runners of the Reformation and the reformers and distinguished men of the Protestant churches to the list under their birth-days. To this reform also his *Evangelischer Kalender* is devoted, which has appeared annually since 1850, and contains brief, popular sketches of the Catholic and Protestant saints received into the improved calendar. Most English and American calendars entirely omit this list of saints.

† From μήν, month; hence month-register. The Greek *Menologies*, μηνολόγια, are simply the lists of the martyrs in monthly order, with short biographical notices. The *Menœa*, μηναῖα, are intended for the public worship, and comprise twelve folio volumes, corresponding to the twelve months, with the *officia* of the saints for every day, and the proper legends and hymns.

and third centuries, in part from eye-witnesses, as, for example, the martyrdom of Polycarp (A. D. 167), and of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne in South Gaul; but most of them originated, at least in their present form, in the post-Constantinian age. Eusebius wrote a general martyrology, which is lost. The earliest Latin martyrology is ascribed to Jerome, but at all events contains many later additions; this father, however, furnished valuable contributions to such works in his "Lives of Eminent Monks," and his "Catalogue of Celebrated Church Teachers." Pope Gelasius thought good to prohibit or to restrict the church reading of the Acts of the Saints, because the names of the authors were unknown, and superfluous and incongruous additions by heretics or uneducated persons (*idiotis*) might be introduced. Gregory the Great speaks of a martyrology in use in Rome and elsewhere, which is perhaps the same afterwards ascribed to Jerome, and widely spread. The present *Martyrologium Romanum*, which embraces the saints of all countries, is an expansion of this, and was edited by Baronius, with a learned commentary, at the command of Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. in 1586, and afterwards enlarged by the Jesuit Heribert Rosweyd.

Rosweyd (died 1629) also sketched, towards the close of the sixteenth century, the plan for the celebrated "*Acta Sanctorum*, quotquot toto orbe coluntur," which Dr. John Van Bolland (died 1665) and his companions and continuators, called Bollandists, (Henschen, died 1681, Papenbroch, died 1714, Sollier, died 1740, Stiltinck, died 1762, and others of inferior merit) published at Antwerp, in fifty-three folio volumes, between the years 1643 and 1794, (including the two volumes of the second series,) under the direction of the Jesuits, and with the richest and rarest literary aids.* This work contains, in the order of

* When Rosweyd's prospectus, which contemplated only 16 volumes, was shown to Cardinal Bellarmine, he asked: "What is the man's age?" "Perhaps forty." "Does he expect to live two hundred years?" More than two hundred and fifty years have passed since, and still the work is unfinished. The relation of the principal authors is indicated in the following verse:

"Quod Rosweydus præparat,
Quod Bollandus inchoarat,
Quod Henschenius formarat,
Perfecit (?) Papenbrochius."

the days of the year, the biography of every saint in the Catholic calendar, as composed by the Bollandists, down to the 15th of October, together with all the acts of canonization, papal bulls, and other ancient documents belonging thereto, with learned treatises and notes, and that not in the style of popular legends, but in the tone of thorough historical investigation and free criticism, so far as a general accordance with the Roman Catholic system of faith would allow. It was interrupted in 1773 by the abolition of the order of the Jesuits, then again in 1794, after a brief re-assumption of labour, and the publication of two more volumes (the 52d and 53d), by the French revolution and invasion of the Netherlands, and the partial destruction of the literary material; but since 1847 (or properly since 1837) it has been resumed at Brussels under the auspices of the same order, though not with the same historical learning and critical acumen, and proceeds tediously towards completion. It will always remain a rich mine for the history of Christian life in all its forms of health and disease, but especially also in its ascetic excesses and monkish distortions.

ART. IV.—*Annals of the American Pulpit;* or *Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of the various denominations*, &c. By WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D. D. Vol. VIII. Unitarian Congregational. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 530 Broadway, New York.

WHEN it was first announced that these Annals would include an account of the most eminent Unitarian preachers, some excellent friends of ours were somewhat stumbled by this proposed feature of the work. Though they afterwards saw reason for changing their minds, we were not surprised that they for a time felt as they did, when we considered that the doctrines rejected by Unitarians have ever been regarded by the mass of Christians as of fundamental importance, and more especially that so many of their prominent preachers have openly avowed a thinly disguised infidelity. For ourselves we may say that we had never a doubt as to the propriety of bringing the Uni-

tarian pulpit within the scope of the Annals; and now that the work is in our hands, we are very glad that Dr. Sprague was not induced to abandon his purpose to prepare and publish it, through the needless fear that some persons might perchance look upon it as being in some sense an endorsement of Unitarianism.

Indeed, the volume now before us, is, to say the least, one of the most valuable and attractive of the series. The sketches of Chauncy, Abbott, Freeman, Packard, Channing, and Buckminster, with the appended letters of recollections of them, are alone worth the price of the book, which contains no less than eighty distinct biographies. These are arranged in chronological order, and are preceded by an Historical Introduction, presenting a brief but complete history of Unitarianism in our country.

It would have been a very serious undertaking for an orthodox author to prepare such a volume as the present one, if the subjects of it had always formed a distinct denomination with a definite doctrinal symbol; but the task was made one of extreme delicacy by the circumstances under which the Unitarians assumed their present position as a sect, and from the fact that they have no recognized creed. We use no flattering words when we say that no other man within the limits of our orthodox churches could have accomplished the work so successfully as Dr. Sprague has done. The Unitarians, certainly, not only have no reason to be dissatisfied, but they rather owe him a large debt of gratitude, while, on the other hand, the orthodox cannot complain that he has in any way compromised their principles. Perhaps the orthodox Congregationalists might demur to the definition of Unitarianism in the Historical Introduction, and the giving this name to the ministers who lived and died before the separation of the two parties. With all respect, we think that the definition is somewhat wanting in exactness, and is thus made to include theories regarding the nature of the Godhead, to which the term Unitarian is not usually applied.

The series of biographies covers the period extending from 1717 to 1844, and thus embraces a very considerable number of ministers, who, as we have already stated, lived and died not only before the Unitarian denomination was formed, but before

the name itself, in any sense of it, was known in New England. While there can be but one opinion as to the admirable manner in which these sketches are written, there is room for doubt, as we have before intimated, as to the propriety of the principle of classification which has placed them in this volume. Of course, no other rule could be applied to those who lived after the disruption, who, however evangelical their sentiments in the main, and however reserved in the expressions of their views respecting the doctrine of the Trinity, allowed themselves to be classed with the Unitarian denomination. For example, Dr. Lowell, of Boston, in a note addressed to the editors of the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, in 1829, went so far as to say, that while he enjoyed the friendship and fellowship of many who called themselves Unitarian, for himself he "neither took their name, nor belonged to their party." We have no doubt that most of the sermons of Drs. Pierce of Brookline, and Tuckerman of Boston, were such as would have met the warm approval of the most decided Presbyterian, in a word, that they were thoroughly evangelical in tone and tendency. So of Dr. Packard, of North Bridgewater. Converted himself "in a remarkable season of refreshing," he was through life a zealous friend of revivals. Probably not one of these excellent men ever uttered a word in the pulpit which could have been taken as a confession of Unitarianism, but they chose to identify themselves with the Unitarian body and to remain in its fellowship during their whole ministerial career. In classing them among Unitarians, therefore, their biographer is only doing after their death what they themselves did while in life.

But the case of those who flourished while the body of the Congregational churches of New England was undivided, it seems to us is different. For while there can be no doubt that the two parties were in the process of formation during the last century, it is equally certain that the process was a slow one, that the line of demarcation between these parties was for many years very indistinct, and that their ecclesiastical fellowship was undisturbed. The elder President Adams, writing to Dr. Morse in 1815, said, "sixty years ago my own minister," and five others whom he names, "were Unitarians." His words imply that he neither knew nor had then heard of any other

Unitarians besides these six ministers. Up to the time when Mr. Adams had his correspondence with Dr. Morse, and indeed long afterwards, the term Unitarian, both in England and America, was understood to denote a simple humanitarian, and was carefully distinguished from Arian, Semi-arian, Sabellian, and other like names, and it is therefore to be supposed that he used the word in this definite and well-known sense. Now one of the six so-called Unitarians was Dr. Gay, of Hingham, who published a sermon on the Transcendent Glory of the Gospel, in which he utters sentiments and employs language respecting the person and the work of Christ, so decidedly orthodox that we are compelled to regard the statement of the old ex-President as being by no means trustworthy. That all the ministers named by Mr. Adams belonged to the "liberal and rational" party of that day, that they disliked or even denounced the damnatory clauses of such creeds as the Athanasian, and that they were not clear respecting the nature of the subordination of the Son to the Father, may be granted, without supposing that they were Unitarians,—an appellation, which, if any one had applied it to them during their own lifetime, they would have indignantly repelled it as an injurious calumny. We know that Dr. Watts, in his latter years, engaged in some speculations on the subject of the Trinity, on the ground of which Dr. Lardner claimed, and Mr. Bradbury brought the charge, that he had abandoned the cause of orthodoxy on this vital point, and from time to time since his death, the question has been raised whether or not he was a Trinitarian. If Dr. Watts had removed to New England before his decease, the Unitarians would undoubtedly have claimed him as one of the fathers of their denomination, yet we cannot for a moment suppose that the claim would have been recognized as just.

Now among the ministers of dubious orthodoxy, who lived and died before the close of the eighteenth century, we apprehend that none were looked upon with more suspicion by their contemporaries than Drs. Chauncy and Mayhew, of Boston. In his latter years Dr. Chauncy was an earnest and open advocate of Universalism, and is generally regarded as the father of that system in our country. He might therefore have been placed, not unfitly, at the head of those who have adorned

the Universalist pulpit. But on the doctrine of the Trinity he held language which no Unitarian would or could adopt, for he speaks of the Holy Spirit as "the third of the Sacred Three," and he adds that, "He is often represented in the Bible as an agent, a person as truly and properly so, as either the Father or the Son." On the other hand Dr. Mayhew, in his published sermons, taught the doctrine of salvation through the atoning death of Christ, with a clearness and an emphasis such as, we venture to say, no avowedly Unitarian congregation in Europe or America has ever listened to. We know that the Unitarians have always claimed these old pastors, but their claim has not gone unchallenged. About thirty-five years ago the editors of the once well-known *Spirit of the Pilgrims* earnestly maintained that the Unitarians of our time had no right whatever to speak of Gay, Chauncy, Mayhew, Lathrop, Howard, and others of a past age, as Unitarians, and the fathers of their sect; and to make good their assertion, they gave an extended series of passages taken from the published sermons of these men, to show "that *they* taught a system of religion, which, in all important particulars, Unitarians reject and despise." "They taught that all Scripture is given by inspiration, and is to be regarded as the word of God,—that man is a fallen, depraved creature, and needs to be renewed by the power of the Holy Spirit in order to be admitted to the heavenly kingdom,—that Christ came down from heaven, assumed our nature and our flesh, and died upon the cross to make expiation for our sins,—that his atonement is the great object of faith, and the sole foundation of hope for fallen man." They admit that some of them had "swerved not a little from the holy doctrines of their fathers, and were preparing the way for the defection which followed," but they insist that "they were a totally different class of men from those who now profess to be their admirers and followers."

We cannot help thinking that this protest is well founded. We have carefully examined the letters appended to the sketches, and in the case of those who died before the close of the last century, we must say that we have not been able to discover any decisive evidence that they were Unitarians in the accepted sense of that term. The utmost that is said by those

who give their personal recollections, or the result of their inquiries regarding these departed worthies is, that they "were thought to be Arians or Semi-arians," or that they were doubtful on the subject of the Trinity, and never formally preached it. No witness testifies that they distinctly and openly denied the doctrines of the divinity of Christ, of his vicarious atonement, of the fall of man, and of the necessity of regeneration, while there is abundant reason for believing that if there had been any such avowed departure from the old Puritan faith, it would have involved an immediate forfeiture of ministerial and ecclesiastical fellowship. These men, undoubtedly, sowed the seeds of declension; but if they were now living, and were organized as a distinct sect, we venture to say that they would be popularly deemed one of the evangelical denominations; or if they had survived the disruption of 1815, and had chosen to adhere to the orthodox section of the Congregational churches, we fancy that their peculiar views would not have been considered a bar to communion. There certainly is now as wide a diversity of theological opinion in the Congregational body as there was in the undivided churches of New England a century ago. Hence, as these men never took themselves, nor would allow others to give them the name of Unitarian, as they lived and died in the fellowship of Trinitarian Congregationalists, in the communion of a body whose symbol of doctrine was the Savoy Confession, we must confess that we do not see why the rule laid down in the General Preface of the Annals, "to place the individual with the denomination in which he closed his labours," should not have been applied to them.

Let us, however, grant that these subjects are properly exceptions to this rule,—that, as there were Reformers before the Reformation, so these men are to be regarded as Unitarians before Unitarianism; in this view of them, their history is full of instruction and warning with reference to the tendencies of "liberal Christianity," as Unitarians are fond of calling their system. It illustrates the wisdom and enforces the necessity of the old maxim "obsta principiis," or of the more precise and imperative rule of Scripture, "abstain from all appearance of evil." Who, according to this theory, were the fathers of American Unitarianism? As we have already seen, they were men who,

in their published sermons, earnestly insisted upon some of the most distinctive and vital truths of the gospel,—men who, if living in our day, would be recognized as in principle and in their style and tone of preaching akin to evangelical Christianity rather than to Unitarianism, and who would have free access to every Congregational pulpit in Massachusetts. They had become disgusted with the extravagance of some of the earnest revivalists of their time; they had conceived a dislike for creeds; they desired a wider range for free inquiry than the older Puritans had been disposed to grant; they were indifferent in regard to the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity; they doubted, or perhaps privately rejected some of the formulas in which some parts of that great mystery are expressed, at all events, they did not consider the doctrine, as commonly stated, one of essential importance, and hence they rarely, if ever, adverted to it in their pulpit ministrations. This appears to have been the extent of the divergence of the most advanced of these early liberals, from the received orthodoxy of their times.

But how stands the case with those who claim to be their sons, especially since the time of their formal enrolment under the Unitarian banner? As a body they have been steadily advancing towards what the universal church has ever held to be infidelity, until now some of them, pastors in good standing of Unitarian societies, retain hardly a shred of Christianity except the name. Not many months ago, in a solemn convocation of Unitarian ministers and laymen, one of the former is reported, with unequalled effrontery, to have insisted that the Lord Jesus Christ was not and should not be "lord over him," and to have gone the length of saying that our Divine Saviour should be called, not the Lord Jesus Christ, but—we blush to write the words—"Mr. Jesus Christ"! Individuals who were present expressed their personal disgust at the shameful irreverence, but it received no public and official rebuke. Another member of the same convention, though still claiming to be a Christian preacher and pastor, not long ago delivered an elaborate discourse to prove that "Christianity is a Failure." Such are the legitimate, because the actual results of liberal Christianity.

In saying this we are very far from thinking that all who

call themselves liberal Christians would countenance or even listen with indifference to such statements as the above; on the contrary, we are confident that there are very many who would denounce and protest against them with the utmost energy. But with all respect for the more sober and serious portion of the denomination, we make bold to affirm that these manifestations are the natural fruits of the rationalism of which the Unitarian body has always boasted as one of its most distinctive features. Such startling developments as Parkerism, Emersonism, and their various imitations, are of quite recent date, and we have no doubt that the first generation of avowed Unitarian ministers, who could never wholly eradicate the impressions made upon them by their early religious New England training, would have been really horrified by these displays of free inquiry. In determining what are the legitimate tendencies of Unitarianism, we should not forget that in the days when Kirkland, and Buckminster, and Channing, were preparing for the ministry, the spirit of the old Puritan institutions of New England was declining, it was still strong in Massachusetts; we must remember that these men and their contemporaries were not educated under Unitarian influences; and accordingly in their ordinary pulpit services, during their earlier ministry, a stranger would have heard nothing that marked them as Unitarians, or that in any way distinguished them from the most orthodox preachers, unless it might have been that their sermons were a little more ethical in matter, and a little less impassioned in delivery. The same remark might be made in regard to the mass of Unitarian preachers for a considerable period after the breach. But, meanwhile, a new generation sprang up that had never known orthodoxy in any form except as something to hate or despise,—a generation trained under Unitarian masters,—and now we are beginning to see the matured fruits of the system. If Dr. Channing had lived long enough to witness some of the later developments of the system, it is more than probable that he would have been shocked by them, and would have felt that he and Theodore Parker held positions separated from each other by an impassable gulf. We insist that as "rational Christians," as Unitarians, they occupied precisely the same ground, the only difference between

them being simply this, that the younger and bolder representative of the "liberal faith" carried out their common principles farther than the older and more conservative one ventured to do. Theodore Parker, in his famous Letter to the Committee of the Unitarian Association, on the occasion of their attempting in a rather underhanded way to set up a Unitarian creed, and to excommunicate him and his followers from the Unitarian body, maintained that his extreme and alarming radicalism is simply the natural and logical product of liberal Christianity, as they had themselves defined it.* The series of questions

* As we have never before met with a formal Unitarian Creed, and as such a document will be as new to our readers, we append the creed in question. It was designed to show both what "we as a body *disbelieve*," and what "we as a body *do believe*." The articles of *disbelief* are:—1. The Triune nature of God. 2. All those commonly defended views of principles and results of the Divine Government, which appear to us to involve a vindictive character. 3. The current dogmas of the total depravity and helplessness of human nature, and the dogma of the dislocation and degradation of the material world, and the causal introduction of physical death into it, by the sin of the first man. 4. The Deity of Christ. 5. An Infinite sacrifice vicariously expiating for, and purchasing the pardon of, the sins of mankind. 6. The arbitrary election of some to eternal life, and condemnation of others to eternal torture. 7. The Resurrection of the fleshly body at any future day of judgment. 8. That Christianity is any after-expedient devised for the magical salvation of men. 9. That the Scriptures are plenarily inspired, that is, are the literal composition of God. The articles *believed* are, viz.—1. In the unity, and in the paternal character and merciful government of God. 2. In man's natural capacity of virtue and liability to sin, and in the historic and actual mingled sinfulness and goodness of all human character. 3. In the divinely ordained laws and orderly development of the world, admitting the facts of imperfection and the ravages of sin as incident to the scheme. 4. In the supernatural appointment of Christ as a messenger from God. 5. In the originally given and never wholly forfeited ability of man to secure his salvation by a right improvement of his faculties and opportunities, whether in Christian or in Pagan lands. 6. In the immediate and unreturning passage of the soul, on release from the body, to its account and reward. 7. In the remedial as well as retributive office of the Divine punishments. 8. We regard Christianity, not as in contradiction to, but as in harmony with, the teachings and laws of nature—not as a gracious annulment of natural religion, or a devised revision of it, or antidote to it, but as a Divine announcement of its real doctrines, with fulfilling completeness and crowning authority, its uncertainties being removed, its dim points illuminated, and its operative force made historic, through the teachings, life, character, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, of which we reverently receive the Scriptures as furnishing an authentic and reliable record, to be *studied and discriminated under the guidance of reason, in the light of learning, and by the laws*

which he proposed to them as to the meaning of those "great essentials" embodied in their very magniloquent if not intelligible creed, were exceedingly searching, and must have been felt to be exceedingly awkward, for not one of them was ever answered. We insist that Mr. Parker was right, and even his most conservative brethren tacitly confess that he was, for with all the disgust which his undisguised infidelity caused them as individuals, they have never dared to fix a limit to "free inquiry," nor, though its lawlessness is as obvious as the noonday, to say to it, "hitherto, but no farther." If their hearts are failing them for fear of the things that are coming out of their own system of "rational religion," those who cleave to the faith once delivered to the saints may well regard such results as supplying a fresh reason for holding with a firmer grasp to their own venerable form of sound words, and for guarding with a sleepless vigilance against the inroads and influences of a "rational philosophy," falsely so called.

As we have already stated, this volume, in addition to its many charming biographies, has furnished an important contri-

of universal criticism. 9. We believe in the absolute perfection of the one living and only true God,—in the omniscient scrutiny of his providence, the unspeakable nearness of his spirit, accessible to every obedient soul as the medium of regeneration and element of eternal life. 10. We believe in the supernatural authority of Christ as a Teacher, in his divine mission as a Redeemer, in his moral perfection as an example. 11. We believe *in the Scriptures as containing the recorded history of the promulgation of a revelation.* 12. We believe in the existence and influence of hereditary evil, but hold that man is morally free and responsible, living under a dispensation of justice and mercy, wherein he is capable by piety, purity, love, and good works, of securing the approval of God and fitting himself for heaven. 13. We believe that in the immortal life beyond the grave, just compensations of glory and woe await us for what is left incomplete in the rewards and punishments of the present state. 14. We conceive *the essence of Christianity to be the historic and livingly continued exertion of a moral power from God, through Christ, to emancipate the human race from the bondage of evil;* it is the sum of intelligible and experimental truth and life incarnated in and clothed upon the historic person of Christ, sealed by the authority of his divine commission, recommended by the beauty of his divine character, stealing into prepared hearts and winning the allegiance of the world. "Such are the great essentials by which we stand," say the most sober minded Unitarians, viz., those who wished to excommunicate Theodore Parker, but who did not dare to pronounce the sentence. All who read *their* creed, we think, will concur with us in the opinion, that their timidity is easily explained.

bution to American ecclesiastical history, in the shape of a succinct but comprehensive account of the rise and progress of Unitarianism in our country. The author, of course, confines himself to the simple statement of facts about which there could be no question, as he could not discuss either their causes or their consequences without giving to his narrative a partisan character, which he has properly and successfully aimed to avoid.

Each one of the prominent branches of the evangelical church has had its history written by one or more of its own sons. In all of them, the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Baptist, and Methodist, the utmost pains have been taken to gather and preserve all sorts of historic materials, everything, in short, that may in any way serve to illustrate the past. It is, however, a singular fact that no Unitarian has ever yet written a full and formal history of Unitarianism. For aught we know such a work may have been undertaken, but it certainly has not seen the light. Yet remarkable as the fact is in some respects, we must confess that it does not surprise us, since it seems impossible to us for a truly upright and honest man (and we are sure that the Unitarian denomination has many such in its membership) to write the earlier chapters of the history of "liberal Christianity," without feeling his cheeks, ever and anon, mantled with shame. If he told the story with truthful candour, he would be compelled to record that the fathers of his faith, those especially who were most active in introducing it into Geneva, Britain, and New England, were men who, to use a phrase of Dr. Paley's, "could not afford to keep a conscience," and whose course, for years, was marked by moral cowardice, concealment of opinions, and even disregard of solemn vows. He would have to tell how they did not scruple to accept, or rather thrust themselves into trusts, whose conditions they could not faithfully fulfil,—trusts, whose founders would as soon have thrown their money into the sea, as have given it for the maintenance of doctrines which they regarded as fundamentally false; and that while demanding the largest toleration, and the right of free inquiry for themselves, they could inflict pains and penalties on others who loved the old faith of the true catholic

church. These are strong statements, but we can bring to their support strong and abundant proofs.

Let us look, for example, at the early history of "liberal Christianity" in Geneva, where it obtained a footing during the first half of the last century. By the law of the Genevan church no man could be admitted into the venerable company of pastors, or obtain a professional chair in her Academy, without subscribing the Confession of Faith drawn up by her Reformers. The public acceptance of this Confession, made under circumstances that gave the act the nature of an oath, was a virtual declaration that this document embodied the doctrines which the subscriber received *ex animo* as taught in Scripture, and which he purposed to preach. How then did the fathers of Genevan Unitarianism succeed in gaining, as we know they did gain, these positions? It could be done fairly, in one of two ways only, viz., by effecting a change in the old law, or by a frank avowal of their peculiar opinions, leaving it for others to determine whether these opinions should or should not be a bar to admission. But they entered through neither of these doors. If they were not Unitarians in the sense in which the word is usually understood, they were at least in the sense in which the author of the Annals employs it; and therefore in signing, as they did, the Genevan Confession, they subscribed and promised to teach doctrines which they did not believe. Having in this way become pastors and professors in the church and academy of Geneva, they acted apparently on the principle that the best way to spread the truth is studiously to conceal it. One thing they certainly accomplished by their silence,—in the course of years, they almost completely eradicated evangelical religion from the city in which Farel, Calvin, and Beza, amid the greatest perils and struggles, had planted it. Voltaire, who lived near to Geneva, and was well acquainted with its religious condition, thus wrote in 1757: "In the town of Calvin, with its four-and-twenty thousand thinkers, there are still a few Calvinists, *but they are very few, and well abused* (assez bafoués). All genteel people are Deists." In 1758, when D'Alembert revealed the real opinions of the Genevan pastors on the fundamental article of the Trinity, the latter were made exceedingly angry as well as alarmed by the publication of their philosophic

friend, and at first they were inclined to denounce the statement as a calumny, but they finally concluded that discretion was the better part of valour, when both D'Alembert and Voltaire dared them to deny the charge. "If they assert—said D'Alembert—that I have *betrayed their secret* and called them Socinians, I reply to them, and if need be, I will maintain it before the whole world, that I have told the truth—a truth so notorious that I thought I was doing honour to their reason and judgment by telling it." Voltaire wrote in reply to the above quoted letter: "Have we not heard these ministers declare twenty times that they did not regard Jesus Christ as God? We will see whether they will have the impudence and baseness to prevaricate."*

Under the ministration of such pastors, it is not surprising that the religion which had two centuries before regenerated Geneva, and had given to that little Swiss town a world-wide renown, disappeared from its church. This result was precisely that which they desired, and at which they aimed. But after many years the breath of a new life was felt by that church, and one or two young pastors, who had been brought to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, began to preach boldly and earnestly the old faith of the Reformation. How did the advocates of free inquiry, the friends of liberal Christianity, who then had a commanding influence in church and state, deal with these few, feeble, but outspoken heralds of a long-buried gospel? They commanded them that they should not teach nor preach that there "is no other name given under heaven, whereby we must be saved, but the name of Jesus." When Cæsar Malan proclaimed from the pulpit of the cathedral, the doctrine which he had himself recently learned, of redemption through the

* Rousseau, who was also on familiar terms with the pastors and professors of Geneva, in one of his letters to D'Alembert, thus describes them: "On demande aux ministres de l'église de Geneve, si Jésus Christ est Dieu; ils n'osent répondre. Un philosophe jette sur eux un rapide coup d'œil; il les pénétre, il les voit Ariens, Sociniens, Déistes; il le dit, et pense leur faire honneur. Aussitôt alarmés, effrayés, ils s'assemblent, ils dissentent, ils s'agitent. O Genevois! ce sont en vérité des singuliers gens messieurs vos ministres. *On ne scait ce qu'ils croyent, ni ce qu'ils ne croyent pas;* on ne scait pas même ce qu'ils font semblant de croire. Leur seule manière d'établir leur foi est d'attaquer celle des autres."

atoning blood of Christ, his sermon excited as great a stir among his colleagues as the famous article of D'Alembert had made half a century before. For this reason alone the young preacher was expelled both from his pulpit and his academic chair. The venerable company of pastors, the avowed enemies of creeds, the special friends of free inquiry, in the name charity, immediately enacted a rule by which the introduction of the doctrines of the gospel into the pulpit was peremptorily forbidden, and every minister and candidate for the sacred office was required to sign this "reglement," under pain of deposition or exclusion from the ministry, if they refused so to do. The iron rigour with which this rule was for a long time enforced, justifies the suspicion, to say the least, that these liberal pastors would have willingly inflicted a still heavier penalty upon men, against whom no charge could be brought except this,—that they steadfastly maintained the old faith of the catholic church.

In England, Unitarianism began to show itself about the middle of the last century, in the Episcopal church and among some of the Nonconformists. Here, too, as in Geneva, the movement in its early stages was marked by the careful concealment of real opinions, and by playing fast and loose with creeds. In 1772, those clergymen of the established church who had abandoned, or were doubtful of the doctrine of the Trinity, made a vigorous attempt to obtain what they styled "relief to their consciences," through a change in the law requiring subscription to the Articles of the Church of England, and the use of the Liturgy in public worship. A petition to this effect, signed by two hundred and fifty ministers, was laid before the House of Commons. That period was, in a religious point of view, confessedly one of the most dismal in the annals of the Church of England,—it was an age when the great mass of her membership, clerical and lay, seemed to be spiritually dead, and the marvel therefore is, that the movement for the abolition of subscription did not succeed. It failed, not so much from love of the truth as from hatred of change. When the petition came before the Commons, it was resisted mainly on the ground that it tended to "disturb the peace," which, said one of the members of the House, "ought

to be the subject of a fortieth article, that would be well worth all the thirty-nine."

How did these two hundred and fifty "liberal" clergymen act in this emergency? Let it be remembered that the thing which they had asked the legislature to grant them was, "*relief of their consciences*," and that such relief was peremptorily refused. Did they exhibit the courage, or follow the example of the illustrious men, who, in the preceding century, at the call of conscience, not only gave up dignities and stipends, but braved the fury of the persecutor, and went forth from their comfortable rectories, not knowing where or when they would find shelter and sustenance for themselves and their families? By no means. With a solitary exception, they quietly went their several ways, with the old yoke upon their consciences, submitting to subscribe Articles which they did not believe, and to employ a Liturgy, which, as they had affirmed, gave divine honours to a mere creature. When allegiance to truth demanded the resignation of rich rectories, of social position, of pleasant collegiate homes, they certainly seemed to act as if they "could not afford to keep a conscience." Of the whole number, the Rev. Theophilus Lindsay was the only one who had the manliness to withdraw from the established church. Mr. Belsham, his biographer, absurdly styles him "the venerable confessor," while Mr. Job Orton, the friend and biographer of Doddridge, still more absurdly says of him, "that his name deserved to be put in the list of the ejected" Nonconformists, although this "venerable confessor" has been for several years before his resignation a Socinian, had repeatedly signed the Articles, and had been in the constant use of the Liturgy; in circumstances which caused even his admiring biographer to wonder how his conscience allowed him to do such things. But he deserves the credit of finally acting like an honest man, although, strange to say, Dr. Priestley suggested to him that he might retain his living and continue to officiate in his parish church, by changing on his own authority the language of the Liturgy so as to make it suit his views. Mr. Belsham testifies that this very thing was done by several Unitarian Episcopalians of that day, though they must have known that in so doing they violated their own solemn promise, and the

law of the land. Mr. Lindsay, after he became a Dissenter, indignantly, and not without reason, complained that out of "the very large number" in the establishment who concurred with him in his Unitarian sentiments, only one person ever contributed a single farthing to the erection of his chapel.

It was not possible for Unitarians permanently to possess themselves of an Anglican parish church, but among the Dissenters there was an open field for the exercise of their peculiar methods of working, and they have succeeded in getting hold of a large number of the old Presbyterian chapels in England. This was all the more easily accomplished as most of these churches were Presbyterian only in name, as there existed no such organic bond of union as a proper Presbytery or Synod, and as each congregation managed its own affairs in its own way. Many of these churches had endowments of greater or less value, and in not a few instances, the settlement of pastors who sooner or later avowed themselves to be Arians or Socinians, was effected by the trustees of these endowments usurping the power of patrons. Even the Independent churches, which at that time had little corporate wealth, and whose membership consisted of a poorer class of people than that of the Presbyterian, did not wholly escape the invasion of heresy. Indeed there were in every branch of the English church manifest tokens of declension, a cold, lifeless formalism was spreading among all the leading branches of dissent as well as in the established church, the results of which must have been fearful indeed, if such men as Whitefield, Wesley, and their coworkers had not been raised up to sound the alarm.

There are in England about two hundred and twenty-five Unitarian chapels, all of which, with the exception of thirty-six, were originally orthodox. Many of them have endowments whose trust-deeds expressly provide that the ministers who are to enjoy them must be "sound in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ,—according to the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, or of the Assembly's Catechism." Of course, their incumbents must have made, in some form, a confession that they held these doctrines, at the time of their installation as pastors of these congregations, but after a longer or shorter period of "silence," the masque was thrown aside and they

were found to be Arians, or Socinians. What has been the result of this policy? Our space will not allow us to answer this question as fully as we could wish. Unitarians themselves admit that scores of chapels have been emptied which were once filled to overflowing, and a great multitude of once flourishing churches reduced almost to extinction. Some seventy years ago, Toxteth Park chapel near Liverpool was one of the most crowded in all that region. A pastor was called who proved to be a Unitarian in an orthodox garb, who, to secure the position promised to preach doctrines comformable to the Articles of the Church of England, but who never meant to perform his promise, and the consequence was that the congregation was so diminished that it often consisted only of the sexton, the singers, and the preacher. Nor was this an extreme, nor a solitary example of the desolating influence of Unitarianism.

The history of the Lady Hewley charities affords one of the most striking illustrations of the readiness with which English Unitarians have usurped and perverted the most sacred trusts. The estates belonging to this charity and yielding £4000 a year, were bequeathed to maintain Almshouses in which the Assembly's Catechism was to be taught,—to relieve poor, godly preachers of Christ's gospel and their widows,—to educate young men for the ministry,—and to sustain the preaching of the gospel in poor places. For many years the Unitarian trustees of this princely charity devoted its income exclusively to the furtherance of their own sectarian ends. This fact was put beyond dispute in the course of the famous legal investigation into the management of the Hewley charity, and which resulted in wresting from the hands of Unitarians a large portion of the property. Another old Presbyterian, Dr. Williams of London, bequeathed for pious purposes, property worth £50,000, and in his last will used this language in regard to his bequest: "I beseech the blessed God for Jesus Christ's sake, the Head of his church, whose I am, and whom I desire to serve, that *this my will* may by his blessing and power, *reach its end* and be *faithfully executed.* Obtesting in the name of the Great and Righteous God, all that are, or that shall be concerned, that what I design for his glory and the good of mankind, may be

honestly, prudently, and diligently employed to those ends." Who would suppose it possible that an honest and high-minded Unitarian, after reading this solemn "obtestation" of a well known Calvinist, could entertain the idea for a single instant, of his assuming such a trust? Yet in process of time Unitarians did contrive to get hold of the Williams charity, and for many years have used it to maintain their peculiar dogmas.

In New England, Unitarianism exhibited in its rise and progress essentially the same features as those which marked its development in Geneva and Britain. We have the express testimony of its friends to the fact, that at the very time when Boston was "full of Unitarianism," not one avowed Unitarian could be found there, with the exception of the late Dr. Freeman of King's Chapel. Nay, when the charge was made by Drs. Morse and Worcester, that some of the pastors of that city had become Unitarians, even such a man as Dr. Channing had the amazing hardihood to denounce the statement as a falsehood and a calumny. So late as 1812, the Rev. Francis Parkman—for many years subsequent to that date one of the Unitarian ministers of Boston—addressed a letter to the organ of the English Socinians, in reply to certain statements which its editor had made in regard to the progress of "liberal Christianity" in Boston, in which he says, "With the ministers of the Congregational churches I am well acquainted. I have always heard their preaching, and as a student of theology I have constantly attended for two or three years their monthly meetings, when they frequently conversed upon their religious opinions. Of these gentlemen, about twenty in number, there is only one, whom from anything I have ever heard him offer, either in private or in the pulpit, I, or anybody else, would have a right to call a Unitarian. Even this gentleman did not preach Unitarianism systematically. I never heard him express such views of the person of Christ, and *it was rather from inference* that I could say he held them. Many of his people are widely different from him, and with the exception of two or three, or at most four or five heads of families, I may safely say that there is scarcely a parishioner in Boston who would not be shocked at hearing his minister preach the peculiarities of Unitarianism. There is one more gentleman in Boston, who, *with*

his intimate friends may perhaps be considered a Unitarian, but he maintains the same cautious reserve, and from neither his prayers, his sermons, nor his private conversation, could I infer that he was a Unitarian. You (the English editor) say that Dr. Kirkland is a professed Unitarian, and mention him as if his election to the presidency of Cambridge University was a decisive proof of the prevalence of *your* sentiments among us. Whatever his *particular friends* may think of his opinions, he *never preached* these sentiments. Nay, I may venture to say, that *had Dr. Kirkland been an acknowledged defender of Unitarianism*, he would not have been elected to that place. *Unitarianism is too unpopular in the country.*"

Just one month after the date of this remarkable paper, Mr. W. Wells, one of the most prominent of the lay members of the church in Boston, wrote to Mr. Belsham of London, a letter, in which he, on the other hand, asserts that "most of our Boston clergy and respectable laymen are Unitarians," with a great many more affirmations to the same purport. Not long after its receipt, Mr. Belsham published this letter in the appendix to his Life of Lindsay, and for this reason the more discreet and "cautious" friends of Mr. Wells long tried to keep Mr. Belsham's book out of the Boston bookstores. But in due time the letter of the over-zealous layman was republished, and then the secret so long and carefully kept was revealed. Those wonderfully reserved gentlemen who, as Dr. Parkman had said, "were utterly opposed to the spirit and sentiments of Unitarianism," though it was impossible to gather their real opinions from their prayers, or their sermons, or their private conversation, were now compelled to appear in their true colours, and then the whole world discovered that with the solitary exception of the Old South, all the older Congregational pulpits of Boston were occupied, as they have been indeed ever since, by Unitarians.

If it be said that these transactions belong to a period when the banner of Unitarianism had not been formally unfurled, and be they good or bad, they are matters for which those who have openly enrolled themselves under that standard, and now constitute a distinct denomination, are no way responsible; we reply that these facts are not only an integral part of the his-

tory of the Unitarian system, but they also serve to illustrate its innate tendencies. For example, if we allow that the Unitarian ministers of Boston, fifty years ago, were not wanting in moral courage, and were not afraid of the consequences of preaching unpopular doctrines, how can we explain their "cautious reserve," in which they so closely imitated their Swiss and English brethren, or how account for the persistent and studied carefulness with which they covered their sentiments with the thickest veil of secrecy, unless we suppose them to have been indifferent to objective truth, and that they deemed their own views of it to be of too little practical value, to disturb the peace of the churches by publishing them. Well, has Unitarianism become more sensitive in this respect? On the contrary, its sons of to-day are more indifferent than were their fathers. It welcomes, or at least professess to welcome, to its liberal fellowship, Christians of every name and creed, even those who worshipping Jesus as "very God," must be idolaters, if what it teaches concerning him is the truth. Every man who comprehends the meaning and force of words, sees that there is "a great gulf fixed" between the Unitarian and the Orthodox systems, yet Unitarianism professes to regard it as a very small affair, and it insists that there can be communion between light and darkness. In the last convention of its friends, held only a few months ago, there were men who devoutly called "Jesus, Lord," and there were others who boldly denounced the very phrase "Lord Jesus Christ," and with a shocking irreverence declared that "Jesus Christ is no Lord over them," that his proper appellation was not Lord, but "Mister;" there were men who claimed to receive the Bible as a divine revelation, and the supreme standard of faith, and there were others who utterly denied its inspiration in any sense of the term in which it could not be applied equally to the Koran, and who are accustomed to quote Göthe with as much respect as they quote the words of Jesus. Can men so irreconcilably at war with each other in matters of religion, walk together? It is impossible under any other banner but that of Unitarianism. Beneath *its* folds the strange spectacle is exhibited of such men joined in fraternal communion, members of the same body, and bearing a common name. Now if such fellowship does not

indicate indifference to truth, we cannot imagine in what way that feeling can be expressed.

There is another feature of the Unitarian system, which, as it seems to us, even its own thoughtful and candid friends must recognise as one illustrated by its history, viz , its apparent want of power to develope the heroic Christian virtues. We see it in the cautious reserve, the timid silence so rigidly maintained by the patriarchs of the sect in Geneva, Britain, and New England. If sincere in their convictions they must have regarded the received doctrines concerning the person and work of Jesus as gross corruption of the gospel, marring its beauty, and hindering its beneficent design. We must suppose that they deemed their peculiar views as the necessary means of quickening and purifying the stagnant life of the church, and of giving to Christianity universal and enduring triumph. In a word, a divine truth that had been lost for centuries was placed in their keeping, for the benefit of humanity. What did they do with the precious deposit? They covered it with a bushel! They hardly dared, as Dr. Parkman assures us—to whisper even to their most intimate friends, that they were in possession of it. The fact is beyond dispute, and the reason of it as given, not by an enemy but a friend, was, that the truth "was too unpopular." How striking the contrast between their conduct and that of all other Christian reformers of every age and every land. The language of the original heralds of the gospel, and of the noble army of Confessors gathered by their means was, "we believe, therefore do we speak." They did speak so as to make Jew and Gentile hear them, in the face of bonds, and imprisonment, and death in its most cruel forms. In later times Huss and Wicliff, Luther, and Zwingle, and Calvin and their fellow labourers in the same heroic spirit, "spake" in such trumpet tones as to arouse Europe from the slumber of ages. Now if Peter, and John, and Paul were Unitarians, how happens it that the preachers of a corrupted Christianity, corrupted in one of its most vital points, Reformers, Puritans, Nonconformists, have with one accord copied their illustrious example, while their own sons in the faith of these latter days have with equal unanimity departed from it. Has the gospel lost its power, or has brave confession of the

truth ceased to be a Christian virtue? Can there be a broader contrast than that which exists between the outspoken but to themselves costly courage of those whom the world hails as the heroes of Christendom, and the timidity of men who believing that Jesus is not God, or is a mere man, never through a long course of years, once "spake" as they believed, even to the people to whom they had promised to keep back no truth!

If we survey the history of Unitarianism since it assumed an organized form, and unfurled its own proper standard, we discover the same lack of the heroic virtues that marked the fathers of the sect. We find it so in America, we find it so in Europe. The rise of the Unitarian body as a distinct denomination was nearly coeval with the commencement of a period which promises to be one of the most wonderful in the annals of Christianity. The closing years of the last century ushered in a new age to the church,—a new age of activity and of conquest, when her sympathies and works of love would be seen, as they had not been since apostolic times, to embrace the wide world of humanity. We need not describe how the spirit of missions has spread from sect to sect until it has pervaded nearly the whole of Christendom, nor do we need to enumerate the noble institutions to which it has given birth in every Christian land, for the diffusion of light and liberty, or to tell of the glorious victories they have won in the darkest lands of Paganism.

But we may ask what part has Unitarianism ever taken in any one of these beneficent schemes, these crusades of Christian zeal and love? Individual members of the denomination, a Pierce, a Packard, a Tuckerman, have doubtless coöperated with them, but in proposing this question we refer to the body as a whole. We utter the simple truth when we say that it has never had, it has never sought a place among those sacramental hosts that have been and are now seeking to turn the heathen from dumb idols to serve the living and true God. The fields on which Unitarianism is employing all its energies are the perfectly safe and comfortable ones of Protestant Europe and Protestant America. In this missionary age it could not avoid having its mission boards, or associations for "diffusing the pure light of rational Christianity," how comes it to pass then that

its messengers are unknown in every heathen land,* and have rarely, if ever, visited the poor and scattered frontier settlements of our own? "There never was a system"—said a Unitarian writer—"which bore *so invasive* a character as Christianity in its earliest days. Every preacher was a missionary, proclaiming the acceptable year of the Lord. We are sure, therefore, that the spirit of missions is the spirit of Christ." Now if Unitarianism be primitive Christianity, it must stand on the page of church history, for the astonishment of all thoughtful minds; *first*, that the bigoted and deluded professors of a corrupt and idolatrous creed went forth to convert the nations in the East and the West, that they boldly took up their abode in the darkest regions of the earth, amid filthy and savage cannibals, and after years of toil, privations, suffering, saw thousands of these once degraded barbarians elevated into the dignity and purity of Christian men; and *secondly*, that the only true Christians of the missionary age *were the only men who took no part in the glorious enterprise.*

Again we say, the fact is undeniable, and we ask how it is to be explained? It cannot be pretended that the door of entrance into the Pagan world is not open, for the missionaries of every other sect have been on the ground for more than half a century, and have gathered hundreds of churches there. It cannot be urged that the Unitarians are too poor to bear the expense of such a work, for the denomination is in proportion to its size one of the wealthiest in Christendom. It surely will not be said that it is more important to utter a feeble protest against the unsound theology prevalent in the Christian world, than to convert the heathen, who are well enough off as they are, for this would look very much like setting aside that supreme command of the Author of Christianity, "Go, teach all nations." Is it owing to the pervading and incurable indifference of the Unitarian body to the moral condition and prospects of the heathen nations? Or is it to be ascribed to the secret but settled conviction, that if its missionaries were sent out to measure arms with the Brahmins and Boodhists of the East, or to con-

* Within the last thirty years the English and the American Unitarians have each sent one missionary to India. But neither of them ventured beyond Calcutta, and we believe that both have long ago ceased from their work.

vert the savages of Africa, they would find themselves, with their system of religion, really powerless for good? Be the cause what it may, the fact itself is beyond dispute that the spirit of Unitarianism, as the Unitarian writer before-quoted sorrowfully confessed, is not now and never has been the spirit of missions; and it is equally certain that, to this hour, neither in Europe nor America has it given a solitary recruit to the company of heroic Christians who have borne the banner of the cross into Pagan lands, and the lamp of life to the darkest regions of the earth.

As we intimated in an early part of this article, not a few of the portraits in this volume are exceedingly venerable and lovely, and we were therefore not surprised to find a notice of the work in a rather "liberal" yet orthodox journal, in which the critic said that, on the whole, Unitarian and Orthodox piety seemed to be essentially the same, and that the one system appeared to be about as favourable to its culture as the other. With all respect, we insist that this judgment is unfair to orthodoxy, and it attributes to Unitarianism, *i. e.* the system as defined by its own modern advocates, results to which it has no proper claim. It is a judgment founded on the biographies of men who, in that sense of the name, were not Unitarians; who, indeed, for reasons which we need not discuss, allowed themselves to be ranked with that body, but who in their views of the gospel and in their manner of preaching it were far more nearly allied to Trinitarian than to Unitarian Congregationalism.

We have only to add the expression of our unfeigned delight that Dr. Sprague has been enabled to bring out this admirable volume even before the confusion and alarm of civil war had ceased to be heard in our land. It is a pleasing proof that his "natural force is unabated." And our hearty desire and hope is, that by the close of another year he may have it in his power to complete that noble array of Annals of the American Pulpit, which, we are confident, will secure to its author enduring usefulness and fame.

Art. V.—*The late National Congregational Council.*

The effort of Congregationalism to propagate itself throughout the entire country, has necessitated the combination and concentration of the whole body of its adherents in some organized form. It has therefore already called into being two General Assemblies (*sit venia verbo*) of the Congregational churches and ministers. The first of these met at Albany some twelve years ago, and was mainly occupied with providing a fund for church extension, by aiding infant churches in erecting church edifices. The second, and quite the most momentous and memorable, was assembled in Boston in June last, to take such action as was rendered necessary to nationalize Congregationalism, and spread it through the vast fields ever opening at the West, and the still broader ones which the war, in Divine providence, has suddenly opened in the South. To the proceedings of this great National Congregational Council we now invite the attention of our readers. Not only is every branch of the church interested in the doings of every other, but for manifold reasons, Presbyterians and Congregationalists are specially related to each other. Although there is no constitutional authority, nor regulation, for calling such a national council, there being nothing authoritative or organic, on the strict Congregational theory, beside the acts, or beyond the precincts, of particular congregations, yet, where "there is a will there is a way." Whether this obvious necessity for more extended ecclesiastical action than that of single congregations, asserting itself in many permanent State and other organizations, in missionary boards so national as to take the name American, and now in occasional "National Councils," is not at war with Congregational polity, we may discuss more fully, as we come to consider the action of the Council in the premises. Meanwhile, we may say, that, in all ecclesiastical "usus loquendi," Council is used to denote those great convocations, catholic and œcumenical, which have been of highest influence and authority in matters of church order, and in pro-

nouncing and formulating the articles of the Christian faith. The obvious mode of calling the Council was through the action of such existing Congregational organizations as were most representative, extended, and authoritative in character. Says Dr. Dutton, in the *New Englander:*

"The mode of calling the Council, which readily occurred, when it was thought best to have one, was by the concurrent action of the General Associations or Conferences of the several States. These bodies appointed committees, who, in a preliminary conference should make suitable preparation (if the churches, with whom is all power in the matter, should decide to hold it), by selecting the place and time of meeting, fixing the ratio of representation, and in some measure arranging its business beforehand, and who should, also, address a letter to the churches, inviting them to consider the question of holding such a Council, and if they should decide favourably, to send delegates. . . . Accordingly it was decided to convene the Council at Boston, on the 14th day of June, 1865. The representation was to be in the ratio of two delegates for every ten churches, and an equal number of pastors and laymen."

How, on this, or any strictly Congregational platform, theological professors, and other clergymen not pastors, who exerted an influence so potent in the Council, were admitted, we are not advised.

The Council assembled on the day selected in the Old South Church,—built thirty-six years before the Declaration of Independence. Over five hundred delegates appeared, representing more than three thousand churches, from all the free States, from some of the former slave States, and from the most distant parts of the country. All accounts agree that it was composed largely of the most eminent and trusted men of the denomination, including one or more professors from each of its theological seminaries—Andover, Bangor, Chicago, East Windsor, Oberlin, and Yale. It was opened by a sermon from Rev. Dr. Sturtevant, of Illinois, immediately after which the elaborate reports of the preparatory committees on the various topics to be submitted to the Council were heard. These topics were "a Declaration of Faith, Ecclesiastical Polity, or the order and government of the churches, Evangelization of

the South and West, on Parochial Evangelization, on Church Building, on Systematized Benevolent Contributions, on Foreign Missions as related to the Congregational churches, on Ministerial Education and Ministerial Support.

All these are important subjects, many of them of common interest to Presbyterians and Congregationalists, in regard to which we value whatever light they can give us. We should be glad to bring before our readers and discuss what they have to say touching Ministerial Education and Support, Parochial Evangelization, &c. These are matters of deep concern to us and to all Christian bodies. But the distinctive character of the Council, that by which it is now, and by posterity will be, known and estimated, is its action on the first three topics, Doctrine, Polity, and the Evangelization of the West and South. Upon these the Council spent their time and strength. To this all other subjects were incidental and subordinate. To these, therefore, we shall now confine our attention. And for convenience' sake, we will briefly speak first of the action of the Council on the evangelization of the country.

To meet the new demands for missionary service among the freedmen and destitute whites of the South, and in the ever-expanding West, particularly the distant mining states, the Council called upon the churches, in addition to all the customary contributions, to raise the munificent sum of $750,000. Of this sum $300,000 was appropriated to the Home Missionary Society, and $200,000 to the Society for Church Erection. This great addition to the ordinary outlays for the support of home missions and in aid of church erection, was judged necessary, in view not only of the increased number of missionaries, but of the great cost of sustaining them at some chief points which require to be occupied, such as the cities of the South, and leading centres in the far West, the mining states, and on the Pacific. Hence the extra sum allotted to the Home Missionary Society is nearly twice its receipts during the last year. The $200,000 beyond the ordinary contribution in aid of church building, was deemed requisite "in order to establish the right sort of churches in central and controlling places of the South, such churches as loyal people there desire, and such as the civil and spiritual welfare of those com-

munities requires—in such places as Baltimore, Washington, Nashville, Memphis, New Orleans." Hence this special fund is to be raised "to aid in purchasing or building sanctuaries in such places." If our church does not show proportionate enterprise and liberality in this great field, who can tell how many Presbyterian sanctuaries, deserted by their former wealthy, but now diminished and impoverished, if not disloyal, occupants, may pass into the hands of Congregationalists, or other denominations?

The Council further recommended a special contribution of $250,000 to the American Missionary Association,—an organization which has long been devoted to the improvement of the coloured race,—for "the evangelization and education of the freedmen." This is more than twice its usual receipts for all its operations in our own and foreign lands. Will our church emulate this liberality, in support of the agency it has recently inaugurated, to prosecute the education and evangelization of freedmen? Or shall we fail to come up to the exigency, and be outstripped by the zeal, enterprise, and liberality of others, who, in comparison with us, are strangers to the field?

We think the wisdom and liberality displayed in these munificent arrangements are worthy of all praise and imitation. They show an earnestness in diffusing and nationalizing Congregationalism, which can hardly fail of important results. We deem this action worthy of the profound attention of Presbyterians. Our domestic missions and church extension must be prosecuted on a scale of vastly increased liberality, if we would not be recreant to our trust, and fail to thrust in the sickle when the fields are white for the harvest, so leaving that harvest to perish. We hope that, so far forth, we shall profit by the noble example set before us, and be provoked by our brethren to love and good works, in a degree commensurate with the exigency.

But if the field is immense, the funds ample, where are the men? Truly "the harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few." "Ten times as many as can be afforded by the usual means of theological education are needed at once. What then can be done? We must make ministers of laymen, or of those who have not been theologically trained. This was the united

and strong testimony, especially of the western members. The Council, therefore, after full discussion, and much hesitation on the part of many, recommended the proper ecclesiastical bodies to consider the expediency of approving for labour, in their spheres and vicinities, *Christian laymen*, divinely endowed with gifts and grace; while, at the same time, it earnestly exhorted the churches and ministers not to abate at all their zeal and liberality in behalf of thorough and accomplished education in our theological seminaries."

This subject is environed with difficulties. On the one hand, it is important to enlist and organize the services of laymen gifted for the work, in teaching, proclaiming, and enforcing the gospel. On the other, it is essential not to degrade the standard of ministerial education. How shall we secure each without detriment to the other? This is a problem which still wants solution.

But supposing the men and means in ample supply to go in and possess the land, what shall they carry there? What faith? What polity? One principal object of convening the Council was, to settle these questions, which could not well be longer evaded or adjourned. The current traditions and maxims on these subjects, repudiating all creeds and formularies, and all ecclesiastical organization and agency beyond those found in single churches, may be endured for a season, in obedience to the behests of a favourite theory, among a body of churches so close, so well and so long known to each other, so much moulded by a common inheritance of doctrines and usages as those of New England, especially if compacted together in an area scarcely equal to one of our single great empire states. But when they spread to the extremes of this great Republic, they cannot possibly preserve either their unity or purity, or standing among men, without some recognized and avowed faith and polity, which are the bond of union between themselves, and badge of distinction from others.

The differential features of Congregational polity, as maintained by its most conspicuous advocates and propagandists hitherto have been;

1. The complete autocracy of each congregation of believers.
2. The exercise of discipline and rule, with all the judicial

proceedings they involve, by the congregation, and not by ruling elders or select representatives chosen therefor.

3. The denial of all church-courts, or permanent organizations vested with any authority or power, beyond or over single congregations.

4. As a logical consequence, the Cambridge Platform and other authorities have placed the sole power of ordination to the ministry in single churches, and this, of course, confined to the inducting of men into office as pastors over themselves. Therefore the strict Congregational theory makes no recognition of any ministry but pastors, or of any ordaining power but their own churches in putting them into the sacred office. If any ecclesiastical council be present, and officiate in the case, it is only by invitation of the church, and for the purpose of assisting it. The real authority of their action in the premises, is solely that of the church. Or rather their act is the act of the church, and done with the aid of the council. What more can it be, if the only organization having ecclesiastical authority be the single congregation of believers?

Now, how have these principles of church-polity borne the test of experience? Can the Congregationalists or any other body of Christians live and grow, without virtually or avowedly counterworking and overbearing them? In a great communion of Christians, indeed, in any great and permanent union of many people, or communities, which must have the paramount authority?—the whole over the parts, even minute fragments, or shall the parts, yea, a single part, even the smallest, overrule the whole? What does the great Congregational Council declare on this subject, as the lesson of two centuries of experience? Or, whether making formal declaration or not, what do its acts, proceedings, and debates imply? Let us see after what norm, or idea, the inevitable development of the body has gone forward, in spite of the obstructive force of counter doctrines. For, in every organism, however repressed or warped by artificial and unnatural hindrances, there is still a *nisus* or struggling towards its normal state and form of organic working. What light on this subject can we gather from the doings of the Council? And what, especially, on the main point, presented in different aspects under the first and

third heads just specified, viz., the paramount authority of single congregations, and the absence of any power in the whole body, to correct irregularities in particular parts, and to form ecclesiastical organizations to do church work in which all have a joint interest? Of course, the autonomy of individual churches and the absence of all "ecclesiastical government, exterior or superior" to them, were formally and abundantly asserted. But other things were done and said too—how far consistent with this dogma, our readers will jndge.

Dr. Sturtevant, of Illinois, second to none as a representative man among western Congregationalists, enumerating the causes of the feeble development of Congregationalism in the South and West, in his opening sermon, specifies the want of *organization* as among the most prominent. His third reason for ill success in Congregational propagandism he states to be, "undue reliance on temporary, superficial, and inorganic efforts for home-evangelization." He says, "we must never abandon that grand conception of a symmetrical and ubiquitous religious organization for the moral and spiritual care and culture of the whole people." This is clearly undeniable, notwithstanding all the protests and denunciations against "centralized government" which illogically follow these statements. It is due to the want of any sufficiently "permanent" "ubiquitous," "organic" union of the churches of New England that they have not done a far greater and better work in their own native seats and throughout the country. Never had any Protestant church polity such an opportunity to prove its power for good—a people entirely homogeneous in their nationality and religion, most of whom had immigrated there, in order to enjoy their religion without molestation. We believe that, had they been organized under the Presbyterian form of government, they would have preserved their original faith more intact, kept a far larger proportion of the people both in their connection and the unity of that faith, and propagated it far more widely through the land. Union and organization are strength—the want of them weakness. So far as Congregationalists have succeeded in extirpating heresy, or propagating themselves, it is because they have found some mode of united organic action. What else are their Home Missionary

and other societies for propagating the gospel? What else are the General Associations which bar out Unitarians and Universalists from membership? And what else is this very National Congregational Council but an organization of the whole body, *pro re nata*, to act upon every part?

Dr. Bacon, of New Haven, Chairman of the Committee on Church Polity, introduced a report, the reading of which occupied several hours, and which had cost him great labour in its preparation. It was designed to be a Manual of Congregationalism, setting forth its principles and usages as now recognized, and bearing the *imprimatur* of the great Congregational Council. It was obviously impossible for so large a body to dispose of such document in a session of a few days. It was accordingly referred to a large committee to prepare it for publication, with the understanding that, while the Council approved of its general principles and form, the committee would so modify details as to ensure for it a general acceptance. We have, however, a synopsis of the Report as given in the Congregational journals. Dr. Bacon, who, in view of all this, must be taken for a representative expounder of Congregationalism in the Council, and in the denomination, used the following language, in support of his Manual, as we find it reported in the *Boston Recorder*.

"Now we are not to seek a model of Congregationalism for Old England. We are not Brownists. The Puritans were waiting for government to reform religion. Brown has the same relation to the Congregationalists that the discoverer of the West Indies has to that of America. Of the continent of Congregationalism he knew nothing. The autonomy of the individual church is one thing, the fellowship of the churches is another. Brown, the English Independents and the minority report, hold to the former only. *I will have nothing to do with any branch of Congregationalism that does not acknowledge the responsibility of each church to the whole body.* The church may say it will do what it pleases; we say very well, only you don't ride in our coach. A man was expelled by a church in Brooklyn, for being troublesome. They moved that he be expelled, and that he have ten minutes to speak to that motion. They expelled him, and he asked a council and was

refused. He had an *ex parte* council. A church that will admit no appeal does not belong to our denomination.

"Again there is a ministry. Of old they recognized 'lay prophesying,' but they had no idea of a minister that was not an officer of some church. We have outgrown that; we were obliged to. Still our ministry can never become a hierarchy. Dr. Anderson here has no power save as a member of a church."

On this last point we propose soon to let Dr. Anderson speak for himself. But when Dr. Bacon insists on the "responsibility of each church to the whole body," and repudiates every kind of Congregationalism that denies it, and every church that sets up "to do as it pleases," against the will of the entire communion, we submit that this brings an end of the controversy between Congregationalism and Presbyterianism, so far as the great principle in issue is concerned, viz., whether in a communion of churches the paramount authority is vested in single churches or in the "whole body." In discarding Independency, he discards all such autonomy of particular churches, as conflicts with their paramount responsibility to the entire body. This is a great matter. The fundamental principle being once settled, all other questions are subordinate, and relate to its application, and the best manner of carrying it out. And when the issue is reduced to this, it will in due time take care of itself. The case in Brooklyn adduced by Dr. Bacon to prove the need of some appellate tribunal beyond the verdict of a single church, is surely flagrant enough. But we have personal knowledge of one in that same city still more flagrant, in which a church, after refusing a mutual council to a member suspended for some alleged financial miscarriages, also refused to appear before, or present any of its records to an *ex parte* council of the most unexceptionable character, which he called as a last refuge from oppression. This *ex parte* council advised that the church reconsider and rescind its sentence of suspension. It utterly refused to do so, or to take any notice of the action of the council. Shortly after, the pastor who had urged the church to this course, read off the name of the appellant, in company with that of another person convicted of an infamous

crime, as "excommunicated for immorality!" What is the remedy for such monstrous and despotic injustice? Leading Congregationalists to whom we have put the case, say, such a church ought to be "disfellowshipped!" But who does not know that this answer is verbal, not real, giving the word of promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope? When was such a remedy ever applied in a case of this kind? What known processes are available to an injured ordinary church member, without means or influence, for bringing the congregational body to excommunicate, or discipline such a church, that has already trampled down all known modes of redress with equal scorn and impunity? And is the offer of such a remedy to a complainant any real relief?

It being settled that individual churches must hear the voice of the whole body, or be disowned, which amounts to being excommunicated by it, the next question is, how shall the mind of the whole be brought to bear effectively and decisively on a particular erring church? Presbyterians answer this very simply. They see not what could tempt any other answer, unless the effort to maintain consistency with some one-sided theory. They say that it should be through courts constituted by representatives of the portions of the body co-extensive with their jurisdiction, until, in cases requiring it, we reach a court of last resort composed of representatives of the entire body.

Permanent organizations of this sort (however their members may change), with their known constitution, records, precedents, already provided to issue cases of appeal, and to act on matters of common interest, must possess better qualifications for their office, than councils picked by the parties, improvised for the occasion, and expiring with it. Now let us see, in the Platform presented to this Council by Dr. Bacon, what Congregationalism offers to us as a more excellent way. We quote the whole under the head of

"*The Communion of the Churches.*

"I. Although churches are distinct and equal, yet they ought to preserve fellowship one with another, being all united to Christ their head.

"II. When a company of believers propose to unite in a distinct church, it is requisite that they ask the advice and help of neighbouring churches; particularly that those churches, being satisfied with their faith and order, may extend to them the hand of fellowship.

"III. Communion is to be exercised by recognizing each other's rights, by due regard to each other's welfare, and by consultation before acts of common concern.

"IV. Councils are the ordinary and orderly way of consultation among churches, and are proper in all cases where the communion of the churches is involved. .

"1. In councils the churches meet for consultation, usually by messengers (pastor and delegate) chosen for the special occasion.

"2. Councils are properly called of churches in the near vicinity, except when matters which excite strong local sympathies render the advice of distant churches necessary.

"3. Councils are called only by a church, or an authorized party in case of disagreement, when the church unreasonably refuses to join; that is by a church desiring light or help; by a church and pastor (or other member or members) in case of differences, when it is styled a Mutual Council; or by either of these parties when the other unreasonably refuses to unite, when it is styled an *Ex parte* Council; which *ex parte* council, when properly convened has the same standing as if it had been mutual.

"4. Councils consist solely of the churches invited by the letters-missive, to which no member can be added and from which none removed.

"5. Councils are convened when a church desires recognition; when a church asks for advice or help; when differences are to be composed; when men whose call of God is recognized by the church are to be separated to the ministry; when pastors are to be inducted into office or removed; when a brother claims to be aggrieved by church censure; when letters of dismission are unreasonably refused; when a church or minister is liable to just censure; and when matters of common moment to the churches are to be considered.

"6. The decision of a council is only advisory. Yet

when orderly given, it is to be received as the voice of the churches and an ordinance of God appointed in his word, with reverence and submission, unless inconsistent with the word of God. But councils cannot overrule the acts of churches, so far as they are within the church, nor exercise government over them.

"7. When, in any case of difference, a council properly convened, whether mutual or *ex parte*, has given its judgment, neither party can demand that another council be called, whether to re-examine the substance of the questions referred to the first, or to judge of its advice. An *ex parte* council in such case is manifestly disorderly, and without warrant.

"V. Fellowship should be withdrawn from any church which is untrue to sound doctrine,—either by renouncing the faith or continuing to hear a teacher declared by council to be heretical; or which gives public scandal to the cause of Christ; or which wilfully persists in acts which break fellowship. When one church finds such acts in another, it should admonish, and, if that fail, invite a council to examine the alleged offence.

"VI. Conferences of churches are allowable and profitable; but they hear no appeals, give no advice, and decide no question of church or ministerial standing."

Now, in all simplicity, we ask what sort of church government is this? Of what avail are councils selected by churches or parties interested in adjusting matters, in which those who select them are at variance with "the whole body"? Will they not be sure to pick and choose their friends and sympathizers, if they can find them? Has not experience, as well as human nature shown this? But, in their best estate, the findings of such councils are only "advisory" upon the particular church, however virtually conclusive upon all others. And really, is it pretended that a particular congregation of necessity possesses such judicial insight, candour, and firmness, as to be safely vested with supremacy over its members, and independence of all appellate tribunals? Is any man's character safe in such an organization? What help does such a system give in cases like that in Brooklyn?

And then, as to withdrawing fellowship from any church

"untrue to sound doctrine," &c. (Art. V.) how is it to be done? "When one church finds such acts in another, it should admonish, and if that fail, invite a council to examine the alleged offence." What more awkward and impracticable method could be devised? How rarely can a church be found that can, or will, or knows how to take the requisite steps to fasten such charges on an erring church, or to press the matter to trial, in the manner here prescribed? How seldom has this, if ever, been done? And when done, what other churches are bound by the decisions of such a council? How has any practical exclusion from the communion of churches been secured, by such a process? We rejoice that Congregationalists have come to recognize that essential requisite to the unity, purity, and communion of the churches, viz., the "responsibility" of each particular church to "the whole body." We are sorry that the methods proposed for realizing it are so inadequate. They may answer, when all is pure and peaceable. But in those emergencies which require the exercise of real ecclesiastical power, they will be found wanting. All these clumsy and impotent devices for bringing the power of the whole body to bear upon distempers in particular parts are substituted for the true and natural system, in order to save intact the absolute autocracy of individual churches,—a principle which, carried out rigidly, destroys all other power ecclesiastical. The evils of such a system are so obvious and intolerable as to call forth such denunciations from Congregationalists, as we have seen, against churches which disown responsibility to the whole body. The Saybrook Platform was the result of an effort to remedy the semi-anarchical state of the churches, arising from resort to picked and *ex parte* councils, with merely advisory powers. This instrument makes *con*-sociations, like presbyteries, permanent ecclesiastical bodies composed of the pastors and lay-delegates of the churches of given districts, to act in all cases ecclesiastical occurring within said churches, to which they singly are inadequate. (Art. II.) It also ordains that their decisions shall be "final." (Art. V.) Unless they choose to refer cases of extreme difficulty to a larger body composed of two conterminous Consociations. (Art. VII.) Herein the framers of this instrument say, they had "respect to

the divine principles of fraternal union, and that principle universally acknowledged. *Quod tangit omnes debet tractari ab omnibus.*" Yet this nearest approximation among Congregationalists to an organization of the church at large for transacting matters of common concern, and securing the "responsibility" of individual churches, is the object of incessant and relentless assault by the present leaders of Congregational propagandism, in the great National Council and elsewhere. The only voice raised in opposition to them, so far as we know, was the following, the like of which has been heard a thousand times, without yet eliciting a respectable answer:

"Dr. Eldridge of Norfolk, Connecticut, said that the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Gulliver, can see clearly objects that are not too large. He attacks our system in the last *Independent* as tending to despotism. Can this be so? I have never seen it. Suppose some twenty neighbouring churches meet and form the principle of comity into a system that invests a permanent body with all the powers of a council. The body is permanent, responsible, has its records and a principle of consistency. I have attended more than two hundred meetings of Consociation and have seen no despotism."

Dr. Dwight took still stronger ground. He advocated, if we are not mistaken, State Consociations, quite analogous to our Synods, not only to consult for the general welfare, but as courts of appeals from the district or county Consociations. He further deplored the loss of the office of ruling elder enjoyed in the early churches of New England, and authorized in the Cambridge and Saybrook Platforms. These elements involve everything of the essence of Presbyterianism but the name. And the testimony of President Edwards, which has found an echo in the hearts of many leading ministers in New England, is still more pointed and emphatic. "I have long been perfectly out of conceit of our unsettled, independent, confused way of church government in this land, (New England); and the Presbyterian way has ever appeared to me most agreeable to the word of God, and the reason and nature of things." *

And this "nature will out," whatever fetters and obstructions cramp and distort its development. *Expellas furca sed*

* Edwards's Works, New York edition, vol. i. p. 412.

usque redibit. No communion of Christians can live, without some bond of union, some permanent organizations, which take oversight of its common interests, concentrate its energies in missionary work, at the same time superintending that work, while they represent the entire body, guard the character of its ministers, and become sponsors for them to other bodies, and the world. No such communion can live and grow, without a ministry beyond pastors of churches, for the work of the whole church; a ministry, therefore, not constituted such by any particular church, or, *in their ministerial character* amenable to such church. To meet such necessities, Associations of ministers, district and state, the latter composed of delegates from the former, have sprung up. But these bodies are purely clerical. If they have any power whatever, they are the most objectionable kind of ecclesiastical bodies—because, having no lay representatives, they become purely hierarchical. Yet power they must have. Ministers without charges, too, must and do have power. What it is in theory, and what in fact, let us see. Dr. Bacon's Platform, reported to the Council, works out the theory thus:

"*Of the Ministry.*

"I. The ministry includes all men called of God to that work, and orderly set apart by ordination.

"II. When ordination of a pastor is to be performed, the church in which he is to bear office invites a council to examine as to faith, grace and ability, that, if he be approved, they may extend the hand of fellowship. If the ordination be in view of any other sphere of labour, the request for a council ought to come from the church of which he is a member.

"III. A pastor dismissed does not cease to be a minister; but he cannot exercise any official act over a church until orderly replaced in office, except when particularly invited by a church.

"IV. In case a pastor offend in such way that he should no longer be recognized as a minister, the church should request a council to examine the charges, and, if it find cause, to withdraw all fellowship from him, so that his ministerial standing shall cease to be recognized. If a minister who is not a

pastor be the offender, the church to which he belongs, or the church nearest his residence, should take the same course.

V. "Associations of ministers are useful for mutual sympathy and improvement. They can exercise no sort of authority over churches or persons, save to prescribe the rights and duties of their own membership. But common consent has recognized that their examination of candidates for introduction to the churches is a wise safeguard."

These associations can exercise no authority over churches or ministers then, save to prescribe the rights and duties of their own members, and license candidates for the ministry. But these are great powers. They are powers which virtually and ordinarily open and shut the doors of the pulpit to all candidates for the ministry. They are powers to control and determine the standing of every minister, pastors as well as others. For what is any minister's reputation worth who is disowned by his association? They are powers of rule and judgment. What are the licensure of candidates, and the admission and exclusion of members, but judicial acts? Why should not these bodies admit representatives of the churches, when exercising functions of such vast moment to the churches? As to the modes of bringing recreant pastors, and especially ministers *sine titulo*, to trial, which these articles prescribe, in nine cases out of ten, it is utterly futile. Pastors that need discipline for heresy or scandal are quite likely to carry their churches with them. As to other ministers, how often will any church call a council to try them for malfeasance? Is not a clerical offender much more likely to be brought to trial, if his peers can immediately arraign him, without the intervention of any church?

But in regard to ministers without pastoral charge, in the service of the church at large, how do they come into being, become ordained, acquire any ministerial commission or authority, if there be no lawful government in the church beyond that of particular congregations? The venerable Dr. Rufus Anderson, in a communication in the *Independent* of August 3d, says:

"While the writings on Congregationalism by the fathers of the 17th century correctly declare pastors and deacons to

be the only officers within the churches, they appear to have lost sight of what is certainly the prominent object of the Christian ministry, as set forth by our Lord in the great commission. The view they took of the object and duty of the churches and ministry is altogether too limited. In their anxiety for the orderly development of the churches, they seem almost to have forgotten the unevangelized world. This was not strange, considering their circumstances. But such an oversight is impossible with us, since the entire world, now become accesible, appeals loudly to our Christian sensibilities. And it is now admitted by our denomination, at least practically, that ordained ministers of the gospel ought to become missionaries, as well as pastors. Experience has shown, too, that foreign missionaries (*as in ancient times*) ought very seldom to become pastors of the churches they gather from among the unevangelized, but should ordain pastors for them from among the native converts. Nor is it found to be possible to carry forward the work of Christ's kingdom at home and abroad, on an extended scale, without also setting apart clergymen to educate the ministry, to correspond with the missionaries, and to perform the other needful agencies, which none but clergymen can perform so well. Though missionaries, presidents, professors, secretaries, and clerical editors are not *officers* in *local individual churches*, they belong as really to the ministry of the denomination as if they were, and are as really office-bearers in the *denomination* as are pastors and deacons. Whatever to the contrary on this subject may be drawn from standard writers of the seventeenth century, there can be no other conclusion educed from the inspired record in the New Testament.

"Thus we have a ministry of the word, meeting all the exigencies of the case, all on an ecclesiastical parity, under the great commission, but existing for different ministerial services —as missionaries, pastors, etc., etc.—members of one and the same body, the head of which is Christ, and alike claiming his promised presence.

"In this view of the subject, the *evangelists* of the New Testament, however gifted they may have been, were only missionaries. The *apostles* were also missionaries, but with an

extraordinary inspiration and authority peculiar to themselves. The *Ἐπίσκοποι*, *overseers*, *superintendents*, *bishops*, contemporaries with the apostles, were the same as presbyters, elders, pastors. The *ruling*, spoken of in the New Testament, is a thing understood in the mission churches of our day (though perhaps not exactly in the ancient form), where pastoral authority is just as needful in the infancy of those churches as parental authority is in the early years of a family. Among the churches on the Hawaiian Islands, for instance, the missionaries felt it necessary to exercise authority in the native churches for a course of years, and what of authority remained in the year 1863, and was deemed to be still necessary, was then transferred to the associations and presbyteries—the former intending to relinquish it to the local churches as soon as the native pastorate had made advances to render it a safe deposit. The ecclesiastical organization previously existing on those islands had, for the most part, been called Congregationalism, but really it had not advanced to that point, nor was it Presbyterianism in the full sense of that term. But the tendency, in the progress of light and experience, has been and is toward a republican form of church government.

"What was needed from the late National Council was a restatement of the case as regards our ministry adapted to the present times. We needed a broader statement of the relations of the ministry to the great commission, of its object, its magnificent proportions, and its beneficent uses. We needed to have our denomination rescued from its one-sided position as regards the objects of the church of God; to have it distinctly recognized and proclaimed as existing, not only for itself, and for our own country, and for Christendom, but also for the world. And this, the writer is most happy to say, was done in the admirable 'Statement of Congregational Polity,' presented by Messrs. Bacon and Quint, and referred by the Council to a large committee for revision and publication."

Inexorable facts are very apt to run one-sided theories into the ground, and out of sight. This is exemplified in the present case. Dire necessity has not only legitimated a ministry at large, but it has invested them with high ecclesiastical powers; such as, with all deference to Dr. Anderson's judgment,

seem to us hardly provided for, if they are not expressly denied, in the Manual alluded to by him, if we have a fair outline of its principles; for does not the venerable secretary tell us, not only that we must have ministers in various spheres other than the pastoral, involving appropriate agencies for their ordination, but that those of them who are missionaries must ordain native pastors, and for a long time rule the native churches, until they outgrow their infancy; and even then that they must transfer this power, not in the first instance to the churches, but to associations or presbyteries, until its lodgment in the churches becomes a "safe deposit." Do they not then "exercise a sort of authority over churches and persons?" Is not this government, not only by ministers and pastors, but by them alone, without any lay-element, such an advance towards hierarchy as Presbyterianism never endures? As much is said about republicanism in church polity, we ask which system is the more republican of the two? We do, however, none the less rejoice that our Congregational brethren see that their theory, as expounded in the past, is wholly inadequate to the exigencies of the church in the conduct of missions, even though they fail to give any exposition of it which harmonizes with these facts. But they cannot perform impossibilities. These facts are fatal to the theory, as may easily be shown in syllogistic form. A system of church polity unsuited to the work of missions must be false. That system which vests all government in single churches, and denies ecclesiastical authority and position to ministers not pastors, is unsuited to the work of missions. Therefore it must be false.

A word now as to the government and judicial investigations in a congregation being by the whole congregation, or by their representatives, their wisest and best men, chosen from among them for this purpose, whether called elders or not. We know what is the course taken in all well-ordered civil governments. The people rule not in person, but by their chosen representatives, legislative, executive, and judicial. Any other method would be clearly intolerable. And is any other method long practicable, for substance, in the church? It is attempted by none but Congregationalists and Independents in church government. And, for substance, they are constrained practically to resort to a more excellent way.

Says Rev. Mr. Gulliver, a prominent member of the Council, not prone to excess of conservatism, in the *Independent* of June 22, assigning reasons for a new platform of church polity:

"So the provisions of the Cambridge Platform concerning 'ruling elders,' who, with the pastor and the teacher, seem to have shared in the ministerial office, constituting, in fact, a board of ordained ministers in each church, have now become obsolete in consequence of the concentration of the functions of the ministerial office in the person of the pastor. But while the idea of the *ministerial* character of the ruling elder has been abandoned, and the name itself dropped, the functions of that officer, as they are given in the New Testament, and as they are defined in the Cambridge Platform, seem to have been substantially retained in our *church committees*, which are almost uniformly clothed with the power assigned in the platform to ruling elders, excluding those only which properly inhere in the ministerial office. These changes in form demand a corresponding change in statement. It is also a fair question whether these church *committees* should not be termed boards of *elders*, according to the ancient Congregational as well as New Testament usage."

This needs no comment.

He further says, "large bodies of churches in the West have now adopted the plan of settling their ministers without installation or the introduction of councils." Will these churches be allowed thus to set at nought the principles of church communion, and still retain their standing in the denomination? If not, how will it be prevented? Or, if they persist, what steps will be taken to terminate either this practice or their good standing in the Congregational body? On the whole, in respect to church polity, the Congregational mind, as represented in the Council, has reached principles incompatible with pure Congregationalism, in the very effort to retain and propagate that system. It remains to be determined which of these counter-principles, (the autocracy and responsibility of single congregations), now antagonizing among them, will ultimately outwork and overmaster the other. We pass now briefly to consider the doctrinal attitude of the Council,—a subject, we need not say, of the last importance.

On this subject, the preliminary committee had reported to

the Council a Declaration, which avowed adherence to the Westminster and Savoy Confessions adopted by the Puritan fathers, but with so many qualifying explanations and limitations as to leave the test of orthodoxy or good doctrinal standing among them attenuated to an undefined "substance of doctrine." It is impossible, therefore, to judge from this way of accepting those venerable formulas, how much or how little of them the Committee regarded as the present faith of the Congregational ministry. But a more specific and articulate declaration recommended by them to the Council for adoption, for which we have not room, probably indicates how much they judged that the Council and the denomination could be persuaded to accept with any fair degree of unanimity.

This report appears not to have been acceptable to two classes. First: those who objected to the old Confessions as being no fair nor adequate expression of the doctrines now in vogue with many if not most of the denomination. Dr. Sturtevant voiced the sentiments of this class in the following terms:

"I want a declaration of doctrine that goes the whole length of stating, in original living words of our own, in this year of grace, 1865, what our view of that (the evangelical) system is: . . . such a document as will actually express the faith of these churches here and now, with no reference whatever to any past formula,—a document that shall be the sentiment of the Congregational churches in the year 1865, in words of their own choosing.

"One word more, I am sorry for those references to the old standards. I do not know how many will agree with me there. I will tell you why I am sorry. There is language in every one of those old standards which not a man upon this floor believes:

A member.—"Substance of doctrine."

Dr. Sturtevant.—"I wish to be excused from that phrase, when I make a Confession of Faith. I want a Confession of Faith to express what I mean . . . with no expression to be a stumbling-block to every professor of theology, and to every man in this house."

All must respect the honesty, consistency, and manliness, if not the orthodoxy of this utterance. Another class wanted a declaration of faith which still more exalted the theology of the old Confessions. Dr. Barstow, of Keene, New Hampshire,

"hoped that we would all affirm the Westminster Catechism and the Savoy Confession."

The report was recommitted to the original Committee, reinforced by professors of theology from each of the theological seminaries. They reported a new Declaration, which being the hurried product of several minds, Professor Porter of Yale College said, was "not what would suit any one of us, but such as would suit the whole Council, and couched in words which the whole Council could accept."

On an amendment offered for the purpose of striking out the word Calvinism from this Declaration, Professor Park gave utterance to a new form of hyper-Calvinism, which has, we think, given just umbrage to some of our Methodist and Episcopal brethren.

"He said that we are Calvinists, and that any man who had passed through three years of theological study, and had read the Scriptures in the original tongue, and was not a Calvinist, was not a respectable man. He would be heartily ashamed if this amendment should pass, and be so published in the newspapers, and this Council thus made a hissing and a by-word."

We will not undertake to explain this exaggeration.

Dr. Bacon, of New Haven, had a "fear that some of our Western brethren had an idea that Congregationalism consisted in believing in *nothing in particular*. I believe that any true Christian has a right to church membership, but I do not believe that any lax creed is sufficient for the belief of a church, or of a candidate for the ministry. It is the right of any such body as this to stand up and say what we believe. We unanimously believe the same great body of truth, though we would not perhaps express it in the same form. We must have one that shall disarm the cavils that are thrown out against us. There is a wide difference between a profession made, and a confession imposed. The last is an idol which Presbyterians have set up contrary to the second commandment. It is demoralizing. We do not swallow the whole Westminster Catechism, every angle of it, but the substance of it; and so of other declarations of our fathers."

We wonder at the ingenuity which crowded so many truths and errors into so short a space. Herein, as so often before, he shows himself a master of sentences. The truths enounced

are, 1. That such Congregationalism as consists in "believing in nothing in particular" is to be disowned. 2. All true Christians are to be admitted to church-membership. 3. No lax creed is sufficient for a church or candidate for the ministry. 4. It is the right of all Christian bodies to say, what they believe. The errors are, 1. That it is wrong to impose confessions of faith. How is it possible to keep sceptics, heretics, rationalists, infidels, out of the ministry, if we may not impose upon, or exact from them, a confession of the contrary faith? To say that a "lax creed" will not suffice, and yet that we may not "impose" a creed upon candidates for the ministry, is sheer contradiction. 2. That to impose a confession or creed is to set up an idol, and that Presbyterians have done this, contrary to the second commandment. Have the First Congregational Church in New Haven, and their pastor, Rev. Dr. Bacon, "set up an idol" in imposing the creed of that church on every adult candidate for baptism and the Lord's supper? If not, much less are they guilty of it, who impose their creeds upon ministers and office-bearers in the church. Again, Dr. Bacon says that no lax creed will answer for churches, and that every Christian has a right to church-membership. But according to the Congregational system, the only organized church is the single congregation of believers, and no person can be admitted to such church without accepting *its* confession of faith. None therefore can be admitted to church-membership who are not well enough instructed in Christian doctrine to "swallow" something more than a "lax creed." How do these things consist? The ablest supporters of a false theory cannot help saying and unsaying, doing and undoing. They talk creed and no-creed. Now they condense their doctrines into a creed to be professed—and anon, in the attempt to "impose" it, as a guard of purity and bond of unity, it evaporates into thin air, alike intangible, invisible, inappreciable. Now we have Independency repudiating all responsibility of individual churches to the whole body—and now the communion of churches over-bearing Independency. Those who expect to do more than unsettle the minds of men, and mean to make converts, must utter some certain and not inconsistent sound. This it will be hard to do, so long as the attempt to confine all ecclesiastical power to particular congregations is combined

with the attempt to maintain their responsibility to the whole body, in the interest of denominational unity and purity.

But what now, returning from this discussion, became of the Declaration of Faith? It appears that an excursion to Plymouth Rock had been arranged. The consideration of the second Declaration reported was postponed, to be finally considered and acted upon at that hallowed spot. It was supposed that it would, of course, after some slight verbal amendments, be adopted by acclamation. Meanwhile, the Rev. A. H. Quint, Chairman of the Business Committee of the Council, and, of late, rapidly growing prominent among the Congregational ministry, withal reputed a representative of those who love most, and fear least, the *ipsissima verba* of the old confessions, prepared a substitute for both the previous Declarations, which, on being read to the assembled Council at Plymouth, worked its own way to the mind and heart of the assembly, and swept it as with an instantaneous electric impulse. It was carried by acclamation. Its great importance justifies us in giving it entire, and making it a matter of permanent historic record on our pages.

"Standing by the Rock where the Pilgrims set foot upon these shores, upon the spot where they worshipped God, and among the graves of the early generations, we elders and messengers of the Congregational churches of the United States, in National Council assembled—like them acknowledging no rule of faith but the word of God—do now declare our adherence to the faith and order of the apostolic and primitive churches, held by our fathers, and substantially embodied in the confessions and platforms which our synods of 1648 and 1680 set forth or re-affirmed. We declare that the experience of the nearly two-and-a-half centuries which have elapsed since the memorable day when our sires founded here a Christian commonwealth, with all the development of new forms of error since their times, has only deepened our confidence in the faith and polity of those fathers. We bless God for the inheritance of these doctrines. We invoke the help of the Divine Redeemer, that, through the presence of the promised Comforter, he will enable us to transmit them in purity to our children.

"In the times that are before us as a nation, times at once of duty and of danger, we rest all our hope in the gospel of

the Son of God. It was the grand peculiarity of our Puritanic fathers that they held this gospel, not merely as the ground of their personal salvation, but as declaring the worth of man by the incarnation and sacrifice of the Son of God; and therefore applied its principles to elevate society, to regulate education, to civilize humanity, to purify law, to reform the church and the state, to assert and defend liberty; in short, to mould and redeem, by its all-transforming energy, everything that belongs to man in his individual and social relations.

"It was the faith of our fathers that gave us this free land in which we dwell. It is by this faith only that we can transmit to our children a free and happy, because a Christian, commonwealth.

"We hold it to be a distinctive excellence of our Congregational system that it exalts that which is more above that which is less important, and, by the simplicity of its organization, facilitates, in communities where the population is limited, the union of all true believers in one Christian church; and that the division of such communities into several weak and jealous societies, holding the same common faith, is a sin against the unity of the body of Christ, and at once the shame and scandal of Christendom.

"We rejoice that, through the influence of our free system of apostolic order, we can hold fellowship with all who acknowledge Christ, and act efficiently in the work of restoring unity to the divided church, and of bringing back harmony and peace among all 'who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.'

"Thus recognizing the unity of the church of Christ in all the world, and knowing that we are but one branch of Christ's people, while adhering to our peculiar faith and order, we extend to all believers the hand of Christian fellowship upon the basis of those great fundamental truths in which all Christians should agree. With them, we confess our faith in God—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the only living and true God; in Jesus Christ, the incarnate Word, who is exalted to be our Redeemer and King; and in the Holy Comforter, who is present in the church to regenerate and sanctify the soul.

"With the whole church, we confess the common sinfulness and ruin of our race, and acknowledge that it is only through

the work accomplished by the life and expiatory death of Christ that we are justified before God and receive the remission of sins; and through the presence and grace of the Holy Comforter are delivered from the power of sin and perfected in holiness.

"We believe also in an organized and visible church, in the ministry of the word, in the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in the resurrection of the body, and in the final judgment, the issues of which are eternal life and everlasting punishment.

"We receive these truths on the testimony of God, given through prophets and apostles, and in the life, the miracles, the death, the resurrection of his son, our Divine Redeemer—a testimony preserved for the church in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, which were composed by holy men as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

"Affirming now our belief that those who thus hold 'one faith, one Lord, one baptism,' together constitute the one catholic church, the several households of which, though called by different names, are the one body of Christ; and that these members of his body are sacredly bound to keep 'the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace;' we declare that we will coöperate with all who hold these truths, with those we will carry the gospel into every part of this land, and with them we will go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.

"May he to whom 'all power is given in heaven and earth' fulfil the promise which is all our hope: 'Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.' Amen."

This is much more terse, pointed, high-toned in its doctrinal animus, than the papers it supplanted. Says Rev. Mr. Gulliver, "But when the reading commenced, the ringing periods and terse phrases revealed a new document altogether! The statements remained nearly unchanged, but the beginning and the ending were abridged and sharpened to a point, and the whole paper had a new resonance in it. It was an audacious proceeding, which no one but a soldier, a democrat, and an old school man—all in one—could possibly have attained to. The chairman of the business committee had evidently had the impudence to do the right thing in the right time. Everybody liked it, as it was read."

In regard to the significance of the act, he says: "Now five hundred men, the representatives of three thousand churches, the representatives of ideas which have triumphed gloriously and finally over the land, the representatives of *Puritanism*, pure and simple, unchanged, unabashed, bold and intense, as in the days of the commonwealth, stood on the soil made firm by the heroic tread of those despised men, and exultingly declared, 'This faith is our faith. These ideas have saved our country, and are going forth, conquering and to conquer, over the world. After a trial of two centuries and a half, we re-affirm them! They are the truths which are emancipating this nation! They are the truths which are saving a sin-stricken world! They are the eternal truths of God!' This was the significance of that act! This was the verdict of eight generations, sent forth from Burial Hill."

To the same effect Dr. Budington of Brooklyn, New York, in an article to the *Independent* of June 27, entitled, "Points of Significance in the National Congregational Council," says: "The declaration of faith, however, awakened the greatest interest, and ought, at least, to settle some questions mooted, if not among us, in communions around us. It has been proven, by actual trial, that the faith of our Congregational churches remains intact after the moral and material revolutions of two centuries and a half."

It will not be claimed that these testimonies as to its significance are from men having any undue old-school bias. They have not been known as friends of East Windsor, or antagonists of the theology taught at Andover or New Haven. Their associations and sympathies are understood to be quite otherwise. How much then does this action of the Council mean? We are disposed to take the most favourable view of it, and to judge that, individual exceptions aside, the Council mean what they say—subject to certain explanations.

1. Whatever else may be intended, the effect of this action must be, at least, to render the theology of the Westminster and Savoy Confessions reputable and standard among Congregationalists. Whatever other views may come into discredit, no stigma can now attach to maintaining this Reformed, or, as, we know not why, so many are pleased to term it,

Princeton theology. We think, therefore, that the hands of the supporters and defenders of this theology in New England are greatly strengthened by this action. Indeed, the fact that, after so much sapping and mining of the ancient theology, all are constrained to re-affirm these ancient symbols as the best expression of their faith, is a strong proof of their inherent, essential and impregnable truth, and of the inherent weakness, when put to the test, of all systems arrayed against them.

2. Nothing is to be inferred from this declaration as to the laxness or strictness of doctrine *tolerated* among the Congregational ministry; what doctrines, if professed, ensure, if denied, forfeit good standing and fellowship with them. What doctrinal standard is the test of orthodoxy among them now, it is hard to say. Probably it varies among different sections and classes, from those who, according to Dr. Bacon, think Congregationalism consists in "believing nothing in particular," to those Councils that have disowned Charles Beecher for heresy, and have refused to ordain Mr. Walton of Portland, for heretical teachings. Says Dr. Dutton, "these formulæ are regarded by those who receive them, with much latitude and liberty of interpretation, as expressing 'the system of doctrine,' or the 'substance of doctrine' contained in the Bible, not its exact truth in all respects." Whether the creeds are received as to their own system and substance of doctrine, or as expressing those of the Bible, the material question is, how much may be rejected without attenuating the "substance" to a shadow, the "system" to a mere atom of itself? We think it is quite time to be understood, that, if words are to have meaning, then the phrases "substance" and "system" of doctrine in a creed mean something; and that neither Arminianism nor Pelagianism is the "substance" or "system" of doctrine of a Calvinistic creed.

3. "The distinctive excellence" ascribed to Congregationalism in the Declaration, is not *distinctive* of that scheme. But while it is not exclusively theirs, we rejoice in the catholic attitude they assume towards the whole body of believers of every communion. We cordially reciprocate it, and confront it with the late vote of our Assembly in behalf of a closer unity and more efficient coöperation between the different members of the body of Christ, in defence of a common cause against a com-

mon enemy. Our motto is the old catholic watchword: *In necessariis unitas; in non necessariis libertas; in omnibus caritas.* On the whole, we think the Council and its proceedings indicate an advance in the Congregational body in the line of truth, purity, and unity, and, so far forth, against Independency, or absolute irresponsible, unqualified Congregationalism.

Art. VI.—*The Princeton Review on the State of the Country and of the Church.*

The last four years have been a period of unexampled excitement in the public mind. The conflict in which the country has been engaged has called forth the discussion of the most important questions concerning the nature of our government, the duties of the citizen, and the prerogatives of the church. In these discussions men of all classes have been forced to take part. The principles involved touched the conscience, and were therefore elevated above the sphere of mere politics. Hence not only secular journals and conventions, but religious papers and ecclesiastical bodies have freely and earnestly expressed their conviction on all the topics in controversy. Even the special advocates of the spirituality of the church, who professed to have washed their hands of all secular concerns, have been the most pronounced in their opinions, and the most vehement and pertinacious in advocating them. It was neither to be expected nor desired that a quarterly journal, like the *Princeton Review*, whose province it is to discuss all questions of general interest, although specially devoted to theological and ecclesiastical subjects, should remain silent in the midst of this universal agitation. It has not shrunk from the responsibility of taking its part in these grave discussions. Its record is a matter of history. There it stands open to the inspection of all who take any interest in its character and course. The *Review* has as freely as any other journal, and with the same right, neither more nor less, said what it felt bound to say, on Secession, on the Rebellion, on the duty of

loyalty, and the support of the Government; on Slavery and Emancipation; on the power and authority of church courts, within the limits of the Constitution; and on the principles which should govern our action in the great work of reconstruction, both in the church and state.

We have looked over the several articles in this journal published during the war, and we find in them nothing which we wish to retract. We are humbly thankful that our voice, however feeble, has throughout been on the side of the Union and of the Government, and against the whole course of those who endeavoured to dissever the one and to overthrow the other. There is no journal in the land can present a fairer record of patriotism and loyalty. It is true, as the *Presbyterian Banner* of Pittsburg, in an excellent editorial printed in December, 1862, states (at least by implication), that among the supporters of the Union and the Government, there are two parties, a radical and a national party. On this subject it wisely taught, "That the people must be united. A platform, broad enough for all loyal people to stand upon, must be adopted. The Radicals cannot carry their principles through. It is utter folly in them to think so. They have not the numbers. The people will not go with them. And the Republicans cannot, as a party, so wage the battle as to triumph. They have the reins of government, but only half the people, a power far too weak. Neither could the Democrats, on party principles, succeed. . . . . There must be union; and to have union we must adopt broad, noble, national principles." This is the ground on which we have always stood. Party politics, as such, have had no place in this *Review*. Radical principles and measures are alien to its character and spirit. It has advocated the national cause on national principles, as a great moral and religious duty. This we proceed to show, in deference to the judgment of others rather than of our own, as an answer to the strictures of which this *Review* has, especially of late, been made the subject.

As early as the fall of 1860, before the secession of states had actually begun, but when the attempt to dismember the Union was evidently imminent, an article was prepared on the State of the Country and published in the number for January,

1861. That article was designed to show: 1. That we are one nation, and not merely a confederacy of independent nations, and that the national union formed by the Constitution was founded on the immovable basis of community of origin, language and religion; upon identity of national interests; upon the geographical structure of the country; upon the common sufferings and labours of our revolutionary fathers, and the solemn oaths of all parties to our national compact. 2. That the South had no grounds of complaint against the action of the national government, and no shadow of a justification for attempting its overthrow. 3. That the right of secession does not exist; that it had been denied by the authors of the Constitution; repudiated by all parties, until a very recent period, that it was utterly destructive of our national existence, and if insisted upon, would issue in reducing us to a state of political chaos and anarchy. No article ever printed in this journal, from the pen of its editor, ever excited greater attention. This is to be attributed not to any merit in the article itself, but to the spirit of the times. It was reprinted at length in several of the religious papers of the widest circulation in the country. It was published in pamphlet form and distributed by thousands, by the friends of the Union and of the North; and it was sent abroad as representing the views of the supporters of the government. It was bitterly condemned and denounced by three classes of men. First, and principally at the South. The writer was there stigmatized as "An Abolitionist" and "Black Republican." A minister in South Carolina declared it to be his opinion that the article in question would "have the effect of dividing the Presbyterian Church"—and that there were not ten men in that state who would ever meet in General Assembly with the North, if Dr. Hodge is the true exponent of Northern sentiment." Dr. C. C. Jones said the article was an "assault upon the South, and a defence of anti-slavery and abolitionism in their baleful effects upon the country." In the second place, it was severely criticised by men at the North, who agreed with the South in principle and sympathized with it in feeling. Indeed many who now have advanced so far as to look upon this journal as behind the times, lukewarm in its patriotism and faltering in its loyalty, condemned the article

as too pronounced in the advocacy of Northern principles. Thirdly, as might be expected, we incurred anew the condemnation of men belonging to the radical party, of which Garrison and Wendell Phillips are the principal representatives. On the other hand, as already stated, the article was approved and widely disseminated by those most devoted to the support of the government and to the preservation of the Union. These facts afford, at least, prima facie evidence that the ground then assumed, and which has ever since been maintained, was that on which the great mass of loyal and patriotic men then stood, and on which they are still standing.

So far as secession is concerned, the sentiments expressed in our number for January, 1861, have been frequently reiterated since that period. In an extended article on "The Church and the Country," (April, 1861,) it was argued, "The right of secession is founded on the assumption that we are not a nation, and have no title to its prerogatives, and no right to exercise its functions. This is national death. It is not the loss of a member, but the extinction of the life of the body." "If a nation," it was said, "is an independent political community, having a common constitution, a common executive, legislature, and judiciary, whose laws are supreme in all parts of its territory, then are these United States a nation. If we are citizens not only of our several states, but also of the United States, then the United States constitute a commonwealth or political unit. If treason is a breach of allegiance, then as the Constitution defines such a crime as treason against the United States, the Constitution assumes that allegiance is due to the Union. If the Constitution and laws of the United States are the supreme law of the land, anything in the constitution or laws of any particular state to the contrary notwithstanding, then any law or ordinance of a state in conflict with the Constitution of the Union, is null and void. Then too, in the language of Henry Clay, is allegiance to the Union a higher and more sacred duty than allegiance to any individual state. This is no abstraction. It is not simply an idea. It does not merely hurt the understanding and shock the common sense of men, to deny our national character. It affects our vital interests. If secession concerned only the rights and well-being of the

seceding states, it would be a different matter. It affects equally the rights and welfare of all. The doctrine of secession throws the whole country into chaos. If one state secede, another may. . . . . It is very evident that the people of this country will never give up their life in this way. They will never sanction a doctrine which not only destroys their existence as a nation, but which subjects them to intolerable wrongs."

II. Such being the doctrine of this *Review* on the right of secession, it of course has ever held and taught that the Rebellion of the Southern States was unjustifiable and a great crime. If throwing off their allegiance to the Union and organizing a separate confederacy, was not the exercise of a right recognized in the Constitution itself, it could be justified only on the ground of its being a revolution. But, while it is universally admitted that there are cases in which revolutions are justifiable and praiseworthy, it is as universally acknowledged that all rebellions, without adequate cause, are among the greatest of crimes. Treason, by the laws of all nations, our own among the number, is justly regarded and treated as a capital offence. If then the South owed allegiance, as this journal has ever taught, to the Constitution and the Union, and if, as it has taught with equal frequency and plainness, the Southern States had no just or even plausible ground for their renunciation of the Union, then it follows, that their attempted revolution was a great crime against God and man. The guilt of the rebellion was greatly enhanced if, as the Hon. Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia said, it sprang from the disappointed ambition of its leaders; or if, as was openly avowed by many of those leaders, it arose from the desire to extend and perpetuate slavery, and to found an empire of which slavery was to be the corner-stone, its guilt was only the more unmitigated. Accordingly this journal has laboured to impress upon its readers that the Southern Rebellion was unprovoked, unjustifiable, criminal, and designed for a purpose revolting to the moral sense of the Christian world. In the article last referred to, the grounds presented by the leading men of the South, on which they rested the justification of the rebellion, are examined in detail, and the attempt is made to show that they are utterly untenable. And

in another article entitled "England and America," (January, 1862,) we laboured at length to convince the few readers we have in Great Britain, that it was inconsistent with all their avowed principles and a grievous wrong to this country, that England should sympathize with the rebellion and lend it moral and material support. In April, 1861, it was said, that the ground most generally and confidently assumed in justification of the rebellion, is that presented by Dr. Thornwell, viz. "That slavery goes of right, and as a matter of course, into every part of the country from which it is not excluded by positive statute;" that neither the territorial legislatures, nor the Congress of the United States, have any authority to enact such exclusion; that the election of Mr. Lincoln committed the country to the opposite doctrine, and was therefore a virtual repeal of the Constitution. "The old government," he said, "is as completely abolished as if the people of the United States had met in convention and repealed the Constitution." The validity of this argument was denied in all its parts and principles, and the attempt was made to show that slavery did not, and could not exist anywhere in this country, except in virtue of the state laws; that it had no legal status in the free territories; that the election of Mr. Lincoln gave no colorable pretext for the dissolution of the Union, and consequently that rebellion on account of his election was utterly without excuse.

To English Christians, in our number for January 1862, it was said, American "Christians have been forced to the conclusion that England has in this great struggle taken the side of lawlessness, of slavery, and of violence, from selfish and dishonourable motives. This is a conclusion to which we have come with much the same reluctance with which we should admit the dishonour of a grey-headed father. But how can we resist it? We know the character of this rebellion. We know that it is unprovoked; that it is made simply in the interests of slavery. We know that it has been brought about by the long-continued machinations of able, but unprincipled men; that it has been consummated by acts of the grossest fraud, treachery, and spoliation. We know that it is directed to the overthrow of a just, equal, and beneficent government; and that, in all human probability, its success must be followed by the greatest evils for generations to

come. It is for the state of mind which leads to the dominant judgment of the English people in favour of an unjustifiable, pro-slavery rebellion, that the Christian world must hold them accountable." Numerous extracts were given in that article from the scathing denunciations of Count Gasparin in his work entitled "The Uprising of a Great People," published in the spring of 1861, when, as was said in this journal, "this rebellion had scarcely raised its hydra head." "It filled," we added, "American Christians with wonder and delight that God had given to his children abroad such just and elevated views of this great crisis in the world's history." "It is one thing," said Count Gasparin, "to hold slaves; it is another to be founded expressly to preserve slavery upon earth. This is a new fact in the history of mankind. If a Southern Confederacy should ever take rank among nations, it will represent slavery and nothing else. I am wrong; it will also represent the African slave-trade and the filibustering system. In any case, the Southern Confederacy will be so far identified with slavery, with its progress, with the measures designed to propagate it here below, that a chain and whip seem to be the only devices to be embroidered on its flag." Much more of like effect was quoted in these pages. These quotations were followed by a long array of arguments to prove that the great design of the rebellion was to extend and perpetuate the system of African slavery; and this design was denounced as unchristian and wicked. It is not in the power of ignorance or malice to believe that the *Princeton Review* or its editor has ever had the slightest sympathy with the South in this great national conflict. We have indeed never said or believed, that all who were engaged in the rebellion were influenced by the desire to subserve the cause of slavery. Some were controlled by one motive, and some by another. Some were simply borne along by the excitement around them. Some were actuated by state pride, or affection from their section of the Union. But that the rebellion had for its origin the desire to conserve and extend the system of slavery we have never had the least doubt. It had been for years predicted that slavery would be the rock on which the Union would split. It is an institution so repugnant to the feelings and conscience of the great mass of mankind,

that it instinctively dreads aggression. It had been abolished in the Northern states, and in the dominions of France and England, and almost in every place where slaveholders are in the minority in numbers or influence. Mr. Calhoun, as long ago as 1812, (according to the testimony of Commodore Stewart) said, that as soon as the South ceased to control the Union, it must leave it. Slavery had been the great bone of contention between the North and South from the beginning. It came near dividing the country in 1820, when the Missouri Compromise was adopted. All the efforts to effect a compromise which should prevent secession and civil war were directed to the single point of slavery. When secession occurred, it was justified, as in the seceding ordinance of South Carolina, on the ground that the peculiar institution of the South was in danger, and that a president had been elected who was hostile to slavery. When the conflict began, the Richmond editors called upon slaveholders to bear the burden of the war because it was made for them. And a Charleston paper, towards the very end of the struggle, declared that it desired independence for the sake of slavery, and that without slavery, independence was of little account. It is needless to argue such a point. It has been so clearly manifested, and so openly avowed, that the security and extension of slavery was the great object of the rebellion that all honest doubt on the subject seems to be impossible. If this be so, and if no aggression on the rights of the South in relation to their peculiar institution had been made or attempted by the national government, as this *Review* has ever maintained and laboured to prove, then it follows that the rebellion, according to the doctrine of this journal, was unprovoked and wicked.

III. If this be so, it follows that the war undertaken for its suppression and for the preservation of our national existence, was a righteous war. And this also we have always maintained in public and in private, by pen and speech. In view of the dreadful horrors inseparable from a protracted civil war, on the stupendous scale of a conflict between the Northern and Southern states of this Union, we, in common with a multitude of the most loyal and patriotic men in the country, thought, before the conflict began, that it would be wise to

consent to a peaceful separation, provided, 1st. That the right of secession be repudiated, and the separation should be effected by the common consent of the parties to our national compact. And provided, 2dly. That the terms of the separation should be so arranged as to secure the essential rights and interests of the North as well as of the South. But when the South took the matter into its own hands, and claimed the right of each state to withdraw from the Union at pleasure, and attempted to carry out this pretended right by seizing on the national forts and arsenals, firing on the national flag, and by the bombardment of Sumter, then the case was essentially altered. Then the conflict became one of principle, a principle essential to our national life, and the war for the suppression of the rebellion became in our view, as in the view of the great body of the North, not only righteous, but indispensable. The government had been recreant to its most sacred duties, and the people to their plainest obligations as American citizens, had they not put forth all their strength for the preservation of the Constitution and the Union. Maine was at one time a part of Massachusetts. When the people of that section desired an independent state organization, it was wise in Massachusetts to consent to the separation. But if instead of adopting this peaceable method of attaining their end, they had claimed the right to go off when they pleased, and had begun to seize on all public property, and kill every Massachusetts man who interfered with their proceedings, it would have become a great national duty to put them down as rebels. It is in perfect consistency therefore with our original desire to escape a civil war by consenting to a peaceable separation, that we were, from the beginning to the end, the zealous advocates of the justice of the war forced upon us by the South. Accordingly in every article bearing in any way on the subject, published in this *Review* since the war began, we have upheld the righteousness of the national cause, and urged on our readers the moral as well as the civil duty of sustaining the government, and submitting to all privations and burdens necessary to the successful conduct of the conflict. We avowed our hearty concurrence in the sentiments sustained in the Spring resolution, adopted by the Assembly in 1861, and stated on the floor of that

Assembly that we would cheerfully vote for them if presented in the Synod of New Jersey. We concurred with equal sincerity in the paper presented by Dr. R. J. Breckinridge in the Assembly of 1862; and in every declaration of patriotic devotion and loyalty uttered by that body. Where we have differed from our brethren, it has not been on these, but on other, and subordinate points, to which we shall have occasion to refer in the sequel. In the most gloomy period of the war (January 1863) we concluded a long article as follows: "In view of the present state of the country, it is certainly imperative on all good men to unite in support of the government; to render those in authority all the aid they need to carry on this struggle to a successful issue; cheerfully to submit to all burdens and sacrifices which the war imposes; and to render prompt and hearty obedience to all the lawful commands of the powers that be. This duty does not depend on the opinion which men may form of the national administration. Whether the weakest or the wisest government the country ever had, the duty of submission and devotion is still the same. The threats of revolutionary or factious opposition, which have at times been made, are in the highest degree criminal. Our only safety is in fidelity to the Constitution and to our constitutional rulers. Another duty which presses on all loyal citizens, is not to despond. The work which we have undertaken is a great work. To sustain the Constitution and Union against an organized rebellion of eleven states, and the divided allegiance of several others, is a herculean task. It must be expected to demand great effort and great sacrifices. There is no sufficient cause for discouragement, if we can only be united and persevering. Confident in the justice of the national cause, assured that God is on our side, we are bound not to despond. We should remember that we are acting for generations to come; that the fate of the country, and in a large measure of Christendom, hangs on the issue of this conflict. The question, as it seems to us, to be determined is: Whether North America is to be the abode of liberty and constitutional order, or converted through the greater part of its extent, into a vast empire in which the blacks shall be slaves, and all, except slaveholders, miserable serfs." As the time has come when

the friends of Mr. Lincoln and of President Johnson have to defend them from the charge of lukewarm loyalty and half-hearted devotion to the country, we cannot be surprised that the same necessity is laid on some who move in a much humbler sphere. It is a comfort however that the charges in both cases come from the same class of men.

IV. With regard to slavery, both as in its moral and political aspect, we stand now just where we always have stood. The doctrine advocated in this journal in 1836 is still our doctrine. We are not aware that there is a sentence in the article printed in that year, which we would desire to retract or modify. Slavery in that article is defined to be a state of involuntary bondage; the state in which one man is bound to labour for another, without his own consent. The correctness of this definition has been denied, and we have been denounced as having thrown a veil over the moral turpitude of the system by propounding it. On this subject Dr. McMaster said "The editor of the *Princeton Review* clings to this obviously false definition of slavery, with dogged pertinacity as great as if he thought the salvation of the church and of the country depended on his maintaining it. This false definition of slavery is the source of much of the confusion of thought and ambiguity of language which have pervaded all his articles, through twenty-five years, on the subject, and of the wide-spread mischief which they have wrought. Let it be admitted that slavery is what all competent authority defines it to be, the system makes the legal status of men, women and children, to be that of property; that is, of real estate, or chattels personal, as the case may be; and slavery is condemned as a sin against God, and the most gross outrage upon man." On this, although an old and threadbare subject, we have two things to say. The definition of a slave as one who without contract or consent on his part is bound to labour for another, is not only a correct definition, but all but universally admitted and received as such. Its correctness is proved from an analysis of the subject. Slavery has existed in many ages, in many parts of the world, and under very diverse systems and laws. A man may be a slave for a term of years, for life, or his status may be hereditary. His master may be clothed with greater or less power over him, but

in all cases the generic idea, that which constitutes slavery under all its diversities, is involuntary bondage, not inflicted for the punishment of crime. This is the definition given by the old Roman lawyers; by modern jurists; by moral philosophers; by the Constitution of the United States, where a slave is defined to be "a person held to service;" by Southern statesmen and theologians. All this we have abundantly proved before. (See *Princeton Review*, April 1861, as well as April 1836.) The second remark, which we have to make, is that Dr. McMaster's definition, if it have any meaning, does not differ from our own. He says a slave is one who is the property of his master. What does that mean? It means that the master has a right to his labour. That is all it can mean. When a man owns a horse he has a right to his services as a horse. If the law allows him to own a man, he has a right to that man's services as a man, and to nothing more. Property in a horse does not entitle the owner to ill-use the animal; and property in a man does not entitle the owner to ill-use the man. The horse, under the law of God, is entitled to everything his nature as a horse demands; and the man (although a slave), under the same high law, is entitled to all that his nature as a man demands. What becomes then of all Dr. McMaster's declamation and unbrotherly abuse.

Concerning slavery as thus properly defined we have always taught—1st. That it is a matter of indifference. It may be right or wrong, just or unjust, beneficent or cruel, according to circumstances. And consequently that the fundamental principle of abolitionism, that all slaveholding is sinful, that slaveholders as such should be excluded from the Christian church, and that slavery should be everywhere and immediately abolished, is false and unscriptural.* 2d. That the slave laws of

* This it seems is not now denied even by many professed abolitionists. Dr. McMaster says that if our definition be admitted, "it would make all condemnation of slavery simply absurd. What rational man ever thought it immoral to hold in involuntary servitude any one who is, by his own mental state, unfit for freedom, till he is twenty-one, or forty-one, or eighty-one years of age?" A Kentucky paper says that Dr. Monfort sent to it an advertisement, in which he said, "The '*Presbyter*' has always opposed the abolition doctrine that slaveholding is necessarily sinful, and it defends all the deliverances of the General Assembly on slavery;" and of course that of 1845, among the rest.

the South which forbid slaves to be taught to read and write; which authorize the separation of parents and minor children, of husbands and wives; which ignore and deny legal marriage to those held as slaves; which justify, or give impunity to cruelty, were an abomination. They ought never to have been enacted; they should have been everywhere and immediately repealed. As by slavery, the popular mind and, in many cases, public bodies secular and ecclesiastical, understood the concrete slave system as it is prevalent in the Southern states, those bodies were right in declaring it to be a system of gross injustice, a sin in the sight of God and man. 3d. We have always maintained that slavery was a municipal institution, founded upon the *lex loci*, and therefore was not entitled to go into any state or territory where it had not been by law established; and therefore that the claim of the South to the right to carry their slaves and have their property in them protected in all the territories of the United States, was unfounded and unconstitutional. 4th. As long ago as 1836, and in the years subsequent, we expressed the opinion that the sudden and general emancipation of all the slaves in this country would be disastrous both for the blacks and the whites; that the scriptural method of dealing with this great subject, *i. e.*, the method, as it seemed to us, which the principles of the gospel dictated, was the immediate repeal of all the unjust slave laws; the legal recognition of their conjugal and parental rights, their right to acquire and hold property, and their claim to a just compensation for their labour; provision for their moral, religious, and intellectual culture, and liberty at any time to acquire their freedom by the payment of a sum to be determined in each case by a public officer appointed for that purpose. In that way we believe the whole system would be gradually, peacefully, and speedily abolished, and the slaves elevated and prepared for liberty. The South not only refused to enter on any course tending to the abolition of slavery, but became more and more enamoured with the system; more than ever devoted to perpetuate and extend it, and at last, to accomplish this end, rose in rebellion for the overthrow of the Constitution and the violent disruption of the Union. This altered the whole case. Slavery then became not a matter for the South only, but

assumed the posture of an avowed enemy of the nation. When the war was thus inaugurated in the interests of slavery, we fully recognized the principle that the President, as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, as he had the right to seize private property necessary for the military service, so he had the right to emancipate the slaves within the lines of the armies of the United States; so that as our armies advanced, slavery would necessarily disappear before them. And further than this, we fully recognize the right of the government to demand the abolition of slavery as a condition of the admission of any of the revolted states to their status in the Union. On this subject in our number for July, 1864, we said, "We fully believe that the leaders of the present rebellion, years ago. determined on the overthrow of the Constitution, and the erection of a Southern Confederacy, in order to perpetuate and extend the system of African slavery as it now exists; that for this purpose they not only systematically misrepresented the opinions and purposes of Northern men in order to prejudice and inflame the Southern mind; but that they made extensive military preparations, by fraudulently amassing public arms in southern arsenals, and by leaving the national forts in the slave states without adequate protection. We believe that without any just, or even plausible provocation, and against the advice and warning of the wisest and best of the slaveholders themselves, they threw off their allegiance to the United States Government, and to the Constitution which they had sworn to support, seized the public forts and arsenals, fired on the flag of their country, and inaugurated a civil war which has already cost hundreds of thousands of lives and many thousands of millions of dollars. During the three years which this war has continued, the President and Congress have repeatedly and authoritatively proclaimed that if those in revolt against the Constitution and the Union would lay down their arms, return to their allegiance, and submit to the laws of the land, the war should cease, and the states be restored with the right to determine their institutions each for itself within its own limits. These overtures were contemptuously rejected, and the war has been carried on, and, in many cases, with savage barbarity. The issue has thus been fairly presented. Either our national

life or slavery must be extinguished. This issue our General Assembly has met, by declaring unanimously that the time has come when slavery should be at once and for ever abolished in the States and Territories of this Union. In this declaration our understanding, heart, and conscience, fully concur."

Finally, so far as this subject of slavery is concerned, we stated in our last number (July 1865) that the principles on which President Lincoln acted, and in which we heartily concurred, were: "1. That all men are the children of Adam, made of one blood and possessing the same nature; and therefore are all entitled to be regarded and treated as men. No system of permanent slavery can be justified except on the assumption that the enslaved class are a different and inferior race of beings. If all men are by nature one, if all have the same essential elements of humanity, there can be no just reason why any one class should be for ever condemned to inferiority and bondage. It was the great scriptural truth of the unity of the human race as to origin and species, which lay at the foundation of all President Lincoln's opinions and policy in regard to slavery. 2. This being the case, neither the colour of the skin, nor unessential differences in the varieties of men, is any just ground for a permanent distinction between one class and another. He held that every man fit to be free (and not otherwise) was entitled to be free; that every man able to manage property had the right to hold property; and that every man capable of discharging the duties of a father is entitled to the custody of his children. From this it would follow, by parity of reasoning, that every man who has the intelligence and moral character necessary to the proper exercise of the elective franchise is entitled to enjoy it, if compatible with the public good. In other words, these rights and privileges cannot justly be made dependent on the colour of the skin or any other adventitious difference."

V. Another topic necessarily involved in the exciting controversies of the last few years was the power of the church and the proper sphere of its action.

According to our theory of civil government all power resides in the people. Legislative bodies and executive officers are delegates of the people and possess no prerogatives not

specially granted to them. Our written constitutions, therefore, national and state, are the measure of the power confided to the public servants of all classes. This theory has been transferred to the church. It is a popular idea that church courts derive their authority from the people, and that our Constitution and Form of Government are the instruments by which that power is conveyed, and the measure of its extent. According to this theory a session would have no right to receive members into the communion of the church or to exclude them from it, if the Constitution did not so appoint. In like manner a presbytery could not ordain a man to the ministry, or exercise any other prerogative, unless the power had been expressly granted. This is not Presbyterianism. Church courts are of Divine appointment. They derive their power from Christ through his written word. The Constitution is not a grant of powers, but an agreement between different presbyteries and other church courts, as to the manner in which its inherent authority as a court of Christ shall be exercised. Every presbytery has the inherent right to ordain any man to the ministry whom it believes to be called of God to that office. But our numerous presbyteries have agreed together not to ordain any man to the sacred office, who has not had a liberal education; who has not studied theology at least two years; and who is not able to read the Scriptures in the original languages in which they were written. They have entered into various other agreements by which they are limited in the exercise of the powers derived from Christ. The same remark evidently applies equally to our Synods and General Assemblies. The Constitution is not to them a grant of power, but a compact according to which they are bound to exercise the prerogatives which belong to them as the divinely appointed organs of the church. The first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met before there was any formal written Constitution of the Scotch Church, but it met with all the powers that it ever at a later period possessed.

The limits assigned to the power of church courts are all determined directly or indirectly by the word of God. Deriving all their authority from that source, they can rightly claim nothing but what is therein granted. As they are church

courts, their authority is confined to the church. It does not extend to those who "are without." It follows also from the same premises that being church-courts they must be confined in their jurisdiction to church-matters. They have nothing to do with matters of commerce, agriculture, or the fine arts, nor with the affairs of the state. They can only expound and apply the word of God to matters of truth and duty, and to the reforming of abuses, or to the discipline of offences. They may make orders for the conduct of public worship and the administration of God's house, but they have nothing to do with secular affairs. With regard to the proper sphere of the church's action we have the plain and easily applicable rule derived from the nature of the church and the design of its institution. It is the company of God's professing people, together with their children. It was instituted to teach, maintain, and propagate the truth. Everything therefore which is without the sphere of the Divine teaching is foreign to the church. Everything to which that teaching applies is within her legitimate cognizance. Whatever may be proved to be false by the word of God, the church is bound to denounce as error. Whatever the Scriptures declare to be truth, the church is called upon to urge on the faith of all who can hear her voice. And in like manner she is authorized and bound to press upon the consciences of men whatever the law of God pronounces to be morally right, and to warn them against whatever the same authority declares to be morally wrong. The Bible does not prescribe any particular form of civil government; the church therefore has no right to denounce despotism, monarchy, aristocracy, or republicanism, as morally wrong. As the Scriptures give no rule for the direction of the commercial or other civil affairs of men, the church cannot dictate to the state what line of policy as to such matters it shall adopt. But as marriage and divorce are matters which are determined by the Divine law, the church is bound to bear her testimony against all laws of the state relating thereto, which are in conflict with the Divine law. As the Bible commands obedience to the powers that be, it is clearly within the province of the church to enjoin on all her members obedience, allegiance, and loyalty. This is as plainly her duty as it is to teach that children should be obedient to

their parents, or servants to their masters. But as the Scriptures do not give us any rules by which we can determine between conflicting claimants, who is entitled to authority; which descendant of a monarch is next in succession; or which candidate for office has been duly elected, it is not the province of the church to decide any of these questions. In like manner, as the Bible does not enable any man to decide whether these United States are a nation, or a voluntary confederacy of nations, the church has no voice in the decision of that question. Her members must determine it for themselves, and on their own responsibility. It was on this ground that the editor of this *Review*, with many others, protested against the action of the Assembly of 1861, in adopting the Spring resolutions. In those resolutions it was declared to be the duty of the Christians in the seceding states to support the national government. If the Northern (and as we believe the true) theory of our Constitution is correct, it was their duty. If the Calhoun (or Southern) theory is correct, it was not their duty. Which theory was right, we maintained then, as we do now, it was not the province of the Assembly to decide. It was purely a political question, for the decision of which the word of God gives no direction. We had no doubt that the citizen owes allegiance and cordial support to the civil government; and we as little doubted that it is the duty of the church to enforce the duty of such allegiance and support. But the question, whether the state or national government in our system be supreme, it is the business of the state, the people, and the civil courts to decide. In their several synods and presbyteries most of the signers of that protest heartily joined in passing still more stringent resolutions; because the people whom they addressed had no such political question to decide. The synods and presbyteries only required the people under their charge to do what the word of God commanded them to do, viz., to be loyal and devoted to the government whose authority no man disputed. And when, in 1862, the Assembly represented the loyal or non-seceding states, it was perfectly competent for that body to adopt the paper presented by the Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge; and it was perfectly consistent in him to present that

paper, although he had severely denounced the action of the preceding Assembly.

All this seems to us so perfectly plain, that it is a matter of surprise that it ever should be called into question. The limits of the church authority are clearly marked out in the Bible, and they have, in this country at least, not been mistaken, except in times of excitement, when the minds of men are apt to be blinded or perverted. In opposition to the principles above stated, Dr. Thornwell in the Assembly of 1859, presented a new theory. A motion had been made to recommend the American Colonization Society to the support of our people. This Dr. Thornwell opposed as falling outside of the proper sphere of the church. He succeeded in getting the motion laid on the table by a vote of sixty-four to fifty-four. It was urged that the church was in such a sense a spiritual body, clothed only with spiritual powers for spiritual ends, that all intermeddling with anything not directly bearing on the spiritual and eternal interests of men was foreign to its office and derogatory to its dignity. All this is true, but it is very ambiguous. If by *spiritual*, be meant what relates to the spirit, in the sense of the moral and religious nature of man, then it is true that the church is restricted in her action to what is purely spiritual. But if the word be so restricted as to confine it to what pertains exclusively to the religious element of our nature, to what concerns the method of salvation, as distinguished from the law of God, then the above principle is most obviously false. The word was understood in a sense so limited as to deny to the church the right to protest against the slave trade, or unjust slave laws, as well as against rebellion and disloyalty. It is no disrespect to say that men adopt theories to suit their purposes. Having a certain cause of action at heart, it is easy for the feelings to beguile the understanding into the adoption of a principle to justify or require what they have determined to do, or desire to accomplish. A few years before the war, the doctrine that any state of the Union has a right to secede and become an independent commonwealth, was confined to a very small class of Southern men. But when the desire to dismember the Union took possession of the Southern mind, the new theory was adopted with unanimity and fervor.

A large class of our brethren were very anxious to keep all discussions about slavery out of the General Assembly; and since the war, still more desirous to prevent the church throwing her influence on the side of the Government and the Union, and hence this new doctrine as to the office of the church was originated and has since been so fiercely advocated. It would, we presume, be very difficult to find a single advocate of the theory, who is not a pro-slavery man and an ardent sympathizer with the South. There may be others, but we do not know them. The doctrine is so palpably unsound and untenable, that it was rejected by a unanimous vote in the Assembly of 1860. It contradicts the great principle, universally admitted hitherto, that the church, as the witness of God, is bound to bear her testimony against all sin and error, and in favour of all truth and righteousness, agreeably to the Scriptures; that is, guided by the word of God in her judgments and declarations. If the laws of the community under which we live, with regard to slavery, the slave-trade, to marriage and divorce, and the like, are contrary to the word of God, then the church is bound so to teach and so to preach. In like manner, if the Bible prescribes the relative duties of parents and children, of masters and servants, of citizens and magistrates, then the church is unfaithful to her trust if she does not inculcate and enforce those duties. As Southern men, after the formation of their Confederacy, found it impossible to recognize the right of secession from their body, but, as some of their own leading statesmen avowed, were forced to establish a concentrated military despotism, so the originators and advocates of the new theory respecting the office of the church were forced to abandon it. We find Dr. Thornwell preaching from the sacred desk elaborate sermons on slavery, and writing articles in religious journals on the state of the country. The pulpits of the South rang perpetually (as we have been credibly informed), with political harangues, *i. e.* harangues designed to "fire the Southern heart" in the great struggle. The church papers were filled week after week with articles vindicating Southern principles and censuring the national government. Synods pledged themselves to the support of the new confederacy, and in short the whole church South was possessed and animated by what its members re-

garded the spirit of patriotism and loyalty, to the almost entire exclusion, as it appeared to their Northern brethren, of the spirit of the gospel. We do not blame those brethren for violating a false principle, and disregarding their own erroneous theory, but we protest against their condemning in others what they justify in themselves. If they may preach and write to prove that slavery is "a Divine institution," we may endeavour to prove that it is "a low state of civilization," from which the slaves should be elevated and delivered as soon as possible. If they may, heart and soul, embrace the Southern cause and advocate Southern principles in the pulpit, in church-courts, and in the religious journals, we may do the same for the national cause and national principles. There is, however, no room for debate on this subject. This new theory of the church is as practically dead (except for the purpose of faction), as is the theory of secession, and both, as Siamese twins, may be allowed to pass into oblivion together.

So much as to the proper office of the church and the legitimate sphere of her action. The next question is, What is the authority due to the deliverances of our ecclesiastical judicatories, and specially of the General Assembly. As to this point we do not believe there is any real difference of opinion among true Presbyterians.

1. It is admitted that church courts are not infallible. "All synods or councils," says our Confession, "since the apostles' times, whether general or particular, may err, and many have erred; therefore they are not to be made the rule of faith or practice, but to be used as a help to both." If not a rule of faith or practice, acquiescence in their deliverances cannot be made a term either of Christian or ministerial communion. Acquiescence in their deliverances, it is to be observed, being a very different thing from submission to their judicial decisions. The whole country submitted to the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott, but was far from acquiescing in the deliverance of the court in that case. This, however, is by the way.

2. If the deliverances of ecclesiastical bodies be not infallible, then there must be a judge of their correctness, and a standard by which that judgment is to be formed. The judge is every

man who chooses to exercise the privilege. If Paul recognizes the right of private judgment, even in reference to the preaching of an apostle, or of an angel from heaven, surely it will not be denied with regard to the acts of any body of fallible and sinful men. The standard of judgment is of course the holy Scriptures. Our Confession tells us the decrees and determinations of councils are to be received only when "consonant to the word of God." As an exposition of the word of God, admitted as authority among Presbyterians, we have our Confession of Faith and Form of Government, which constitute our ecclesiastical constitution. The censure, therefore, which has been heaped upon this *Review* for the expression of its dissent from certain acts of the Assembly, as an act of presumption unbecoming in the members and servants of the church, are, to say the least, undeserved. Those censures, however, are not to be understood as the denial of the right to dissent, or of the right to discuss the correctness of the acts in question. Such denial would be simply absurd. Those censures are merely the expressions of feeling. Those who utter them claim and exercise the right of approving or disapproving all the deliverances of church-courts. They have been specially forward in the exercise of that right. The Old-school not only openly censured the acts of those assemblies in which New-school men had the ascendancy, but many of them were ready to divide the church rather than submit to them. This is a matter too plain to need remark.

3. It follows from what has been said, that the deliverances of ecclesiastical courts, from the lowest to the highest, cease to have any binding force, First, when they transcend the sphere of the legitimate action of the church. We all agree that if the state should undertake to legislate on matters of faith, and make it a penal offence to be a Presbyterian, or a Methodist, its acts would be null and void, and might be, and should be disregarded. In like manner, if the church should attempt to legislate on matters beyond her sphere, to order all its members to be Democrats or Republicans; to vote for this or that candidate, or for this or that commercial or financial measure, her action in the premises would be of no account. Should our Assembly declare that Hayne's speech in favour of nullification

was heretical, and Webster's speech against it orthodox; or that Calhoun's theory of state rights was false, and that Andrew Jackson's doctrine, that the Union is indissoluble (except by common consent), is correct, would it amount to anything? Every man would be entitled to his opinion after such a declaration as much as before. Dr. Thornwell succeeded at the close of the Assembly in 1859 in getting sixty-four members (a casual majority), apparently to sanction his new theory of church power. Suppose that under a similar concurrence of circumstances he had got a like casual majority to declare in favour of the doctrines of Hayne and Calhoun, how then? Should we all be bound to be nullifiers and secessionists? This again is a matter about which there can be no doubt.

4th. Any action of the Assembly in contravention of the compact contained in our Constitution, is of no binding force. The Constitution allows the presbyteries to ordain a man to the ministry who has studied theology two years. If the Assembly should order them not to ordain a candidate unless he had studied three or four years, they might disregard such order without any breach of the deference or submission due to our highest judicatory. The Bible enjoins and our standards prescribe, that those whom Christ receives as his disciples, the church should receive to her fellowship. All those who, possessing competent knowledge, make a credible profession of repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus, every one admits the church is bound to receive to her communion. She has no more right to alter the terms of admission into the church, than she has to alter the conditions of admission into heaven. The assumption would be as arrogant and intolerable in the one case as in the other. If the Assembly therefore should make it a condition of Christian communion, or church-fellowship, that a man should or should not sing Watts's hymns; or that he should take a pledge of total abstinence from wine and all other intoxicating liquors; or profess abolitionism, or advocate the divine right of slavery, all such orders, acts, or resolutions, would be cobwebs which any people who had the Spirit of the Lord (who is a spirit of liberty), in them, would brush away in a moment. In like manner the Bible prescribes the qualifications for the ministry and the evi-

dences of a Divine call to the same office. And our Constitution states the conditions on which men may be admitted to the exercise of that office in our church. The General Assembly cannot add to, or detract from those conditions. If a candidate for ordination, or an applicant for admission to one of our presbyteries complies with the terms prescribed; if he has the requisite knowledge and gifts, and sincerely adopts our standards of doctrine and order, the presbytery may ordain or receive him in opposition to any further prescriptions of the Assembly. The Assembly for prudential reasons may enjoin on the presbyteries to exercise due care in the reception of members, in order to have evidence satisfactory to themselves and to the other presbyteries, that the applicant really is what he professes to be. The rule requiring an examination of ministers from other presbyteries, and that prescribing six months probation of those coming to us from abroad, are not rules altering the conditions of membership, and therefore have almost universally been recognized as obligatory and wise. But if the Assembly should assume the prerogative of altering the terms of ministerial communion in our church, it would be an arrogation of a power which does not belong to it. If it were to order the presbyteries to receive no man who was a democrat, or a federalist, or a disciple of Webster or of Hayne; or an abolitionist, or a free-soiler, it would evidently be of no binding force. Neither can the Assembly make agreement with any of its own deliverances a term of ministerial fellowship. If one Assembly can do it, another may. If the Assembly of 1864 or 1865 could do it, the Assemblies of 1835 and 1836, with their New-school majorities, had the same right. And if the Assembly can make one of its deliverances a term of membership, she may make another, or all of them. If she may require subscription to the paper adopted in 1865, she may demand acquiescence in that of 1845. The abolitionist receives the one, and spurns the other. He is in favour of enforcing the one, and of trampling on the other. This will not do. The church will not consent to be thus driven from post to pillar; required to adopt first one creed and then another, with the varying majorities in our General Assemblies.

We are bound, as to this matter, by the word of God, and the Constitution of the church, and nothing else.

The limitations above mentioned of the power of our church courts are all self-evidently just, and are all universally admitted in theory; and, what is more, they are all universally acted upon by all parties, whenever the Assembly happens to be against them. It is only when that body is on their side that any party desires to enforce its action as a rule of faith and practice upon others. The legitimate authority of the Assembly is left, by our doctrine, undisturbed. That body has space and verge enough in which to act. Its judicial decisions are admitted to be final. They must be submitted to whether they are deemed wise or unwise. Their recommendations are always to be received with the respect and deference due to the highest court of our church. Their deliverances with regard to matters of faith and morals are to be accepted and followed whenever, as our Confession says, consonant to the word of God. And all its acts and orders are to be respected and obeyed, within the legitimate sphere of its action and the limits of the Constitution. More than this cannot be conceded by any intelligent and sincere Presbyterian, or by any true Protestant.

VI. There is one other subject on which we feel constrained to say a word in explanation and vindication of the course of this *Review*. It is the union of the churches. On this point we have uniformly taught:

1. That Christ commands his people to be one. That this command refers not only to unity of faith and love, but also to ministerial and Christian fellowship, and still further, to organic external union.

2. As to this last mentioned particular, it is necessarily in a measure limited by geographical position and political relations. The same kind of external union cannot well exist between the Christians in Europe and Asia, as between those who dwell in the same province or kingdom. And further, external union is either impracticable or undesirable where conscientious differences exist, which would necessarily prevent harmonious action.

3. It is the duty of all those who agree in matters of faith and order, and are so situated that they may act together, to be united in one organic body. As all Presbyterians unite in

adopting the same standards of doctrine and discipline, it is their duty thus to unite, provided they concur as to the sense in which the doctrinal standard is to be adopted, and are sincere in their purpose to adhere to the form of government and discipline prescribed in our book. In the application of this principle, we hold that no difference should be made between one class of Presbyterians and another; between the United Presbyterians, or Associate, or Reformed, or the New-school at the North, or the Old-school at the South. All who are willing to unite with us on the terms of cordial adoption of our standards of doctrine and order we are bound to welcome with the right-hand of fellowship.

4. There are reasons which render this union of Presbyterians, East and West, North and South, specially imperative at the present day. In the first place, other bodies of Christians, specially the Romanists and the Episcopalians, are not only rapidly and greatly increasing in numbers, but also in compactness. The Romanists are a unit in all matters concerning religion, and so generally act together in political affairs, that their power in the country is becoming a matter of great and general alarm. The Episcopalians, from the nature of their organization, are a more compact body in themselves than we are; and from the external character of their bond of union (Episcopacy rather than doctrine), less likely to be broken. These two churches bid fair to be the only two national churches in the land. The Methodists have a church South, and a church North; so have the Baptists; so had the Episcopalians during the war, but the reunion of the two bodies has already begun, and is sure to be speedily consummated. Shall we remain divided? Must we forfeit our national character? At the formation of our General Assembly it was in fact as well as in name, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Must this name be dropped, or become a delusion? It is plain that we shall lose our prestige, our power for good, our relative standing among the great ecclesiastical bodies of the country, unless we can become, what our legal designation implies, the Presbyterian Church of the United States. We shall soon sink into the comparative insignificance of a provincial, or sectional body.

Were this a mere matter of church pride, it would not be unworthy of consideration. But it concerns all our highest interests, and the fulfilling our mission on earth. We shall be held to an account at the bar of God if we carelessly or wickedly throw away so great a talent as national unity. If this be done to gratify any miserable jealousies, or to accomplish any unworthy ends, we can hardly escape condemnation. This remark applies to Presbyterians of the South as well as to those of the North. If reunion be prevented merely by alienation of feeling, it will be a poor excuse in the day of judgment that they refused fellowship with their brethren because they hated them.

In the second place, considerations of patriotism are as urgent as those drawn from the interests of the church. The great aim of the national government, and the great desire of all good citizens, is the reconstruction of the Union. We hear on every side the utterance of the self-evident truth, that "conciliation is essential to reconstruction." The reunion of the Northern and Southern churches is almost indispensable to this conciliation. The separation began with the churches. It cannot well be healed without them. If all the great denominations, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, and Presbyterian, should cordially unite their dissevered communions, the political breach would *ipso facto* be built up. The great mass of the people North and South are included in these denominations, and if they come together in church-fellowship as before the war, we shall again be one people in heart as well as in political association. This is so plain and so important that it has not escaped the attention of the secular press. The *New York Times*, the most influential Republican paper in the country, the great advocate of the war, and staunch supporter of the government, has several times adverted to this subject, and uttered words of great weight and wisdom. In its issue for September 29, 1865, it says the action of the Assemblies of Presbyterians and Convention of the Congregationalists months ago was not conciliatory. For this it apologizes, but urges the duty of a different course for the present and future. It commends in strong terms the amicable spirit of the late Episcopal Convention in New York, and says: "In the public judgment it will

go hard with any denomination of Christians in this land—we care not who or what they may be—that shall so act, or so refuse to act, as to keep up sectional alienation. It is an insult to Christianity to claim that there is anything in its duties that requires a continuance of this strife. We can understand how the mere politician, who is accustomed to look with jaundiced eye, can imagine considerations which forbid conciliation with the South. We cannot imagine how a statesman who has the vision to take in closely and broadly the necessities of the country, can fail to do his utmost to bring harmony. Infinitely less can we conceive how any body of men acting in the name of that religion whose distinctive vital principle is love, and one of whose cardinal duties is forgiveness, should refuse to lend their aid to the healing of the wounds and the assuaging of the heart-burnings left by the conflict which saved the republic."

In another paper (September 12), in an editorial under the caption, "Must there be confession before conciliation?" it asks, "Why keep up anger about what has exhaled into an airy nothing? This is not worthy of our manhood. It is beneath us, after winning such a triumph and receiving such a submission, to say that we will not give our hand until we have an open expression of penitence. The Southern cup of humiliation is bitter enough without our adding to it any such wormwood. It should content us that we have for ever established the true principles of our government, beyond all possibility of future assault. That should be the all-sufficient reward of the war, the full satisfaction of our hearts. If there be a pride in the Southern soul that clings to the shadow of the theory of secession, it will soon yield to the benign influences of our government, unless the Northern people embitter and repel it by their intolerance. We have only to do our part generously, as well as loyally, to wean the Southern people from all their old delusions, and to bring on a day when they will be of one mind with us in respect to the utter falsity of the 'right of secession,' as they now are in respect to the utter impossibility of secession itself."

It is easy to say: If treason is a crime, those who have been guilty of treason should confess and repent. This is the prin-

ciple on which the action of the last General Assembly is founded, which action enjoins upon presbyteries and sessions not to receive into fellowship any minister or church member who took part in the late rebellion, until he had confessed his sin in so doing. We do not know that we have anything to say in reference to this subject beyond what was said in our last number. We admit that rebellion without just cause is a great crime. We admit that there was no just cause for the rebellion of the Southern states against the National Government. We admit further that the leaders and authors of that rebellion committed a great crime against God, as well as against their country, but we deny that all who took part in that rebellion were guilty of an offence which should debar them from ministerial or Christian communion. 1. This is plain to every man's conscience and common sense, whether he is able to see how it is or not. We do not believe that there is a man living, who really believes that all the Southern Christians who favoured the Southern cause thereby forfeited his right to be regarded as a child of God. We all know men in this predicament in whose Christian character we have perfect confidence. 2. It is also plain that rebellion is a political, as distinguished from a moral offence, *i. e.*, an offence which is in its nature, and therefore under all circumstances wrong. Rebellion is right or wrong according to circumstances, and according to the motives by which men are led to engage in it. It can never be right to commit murder, to blaspheme God, or to hate our brethren. But we all admit that rebellion may sometimes be a duty; and at other times, a matter of indifference. That is, there are cases in which participation in an unjust rebellion is not a sin in the sight of God, much less an offence for which church courts can justly take cognizance. This, as we before remarked, is universally admitted. Taking the side of the Stuarts in England was not in all cases a sin, and in no case perhaps a proper ground for church censure. The same may be said with regard to siding with the mother country in our revolutionary war. Why then should not a principle universally recognized in other cases be applied to the present rebellion? If it be not a sin against God, or an ecclesiastical offence to believe in the right of secession, why should every man at the South who be-

lieved in that doctrine, and felt bound in conscience to act upon it, be cast out as unholy, and be to us as a heathen man and a publican? Is there no Pharisaic self-righteousness in this? 3. It is also evidently a false principle that every man who takes part in an unjust or sinful war is in such a sense sinful that he should be shut out from the church. Perhaps nine-tenths of the Christians at the North believed that the acquisition of Texas was made in the interests of slavery; that the annexation of that country was consummated in any unconstitutional manner; that the war with Mexico, consequent thereon, was brought about by the unrighteous measures of our government, and therefore involved great national guilt. No one however ever dreamed of requiring all those who took part in that war, or sympathized with the national cause, rejoicing in the success of our arms, and mourning over our discomfitures, to make confession of their sins as a condition of church-fellowship. Every Old-school man also believes that the disruption of our church in 1837 and '38 was a great sin, but no one requires profession of repentance for that sin as a condition of the reception of those who joined in the schism. Thousands of people at the North sympathized with the South, and in many ways gave aid and comfort to the rebels. No one calls for arraigning them before our church courts. It is plain that a principle which cannot be carried out is false; and that those who are strenuous in enforcing it in one case, while they refuse to enforce it another, are either mentally bewildered or insincere.

This paper, as we expected, has not turned out to be a recantation of our former opinions, nor even an apology for them. As we have been widely and severely censured, we thought it due to higher interests than those merely personal, to give a brief statement of the course which this *Review* has actually taken since the commencement of the war. Those who feel called upon to censure, may now at least know what it is they condemn, and not needlessly incur the sin of bearing false witness. We have from the beginning denied the right of secession; we have maintained that the rebellion was without any adequate provocation; that it was obligatory on the national government to employ all its resources for its suppres-

sion; that the war to that end was a righteous war; that it was the duty of all citizens to sustain and support the government in this national struggle to the utmost of their ability; that as slavery was the cause of the rebellion, and as the South constantly refused to accept any reasonable terms of accommodation, the President was right in emancipating all the slaves within our military lines, and that the government is right in demanding the entire and final abolition of slavery through the country. As to the union of churches, we have maintained that all Presbyterians should be joined in one body, New-school and Old-school, Presbyterians of the North and of the South, provided they agree in adopting and carrying out our constitutional standards of doctrine and order; that no other conditions of union should be demanded of any party, and that the Assembly has no right to enforce any other.

It has been intimated in some quarters, with small indications of sorrow, that in pursuing the cause above indicated this *Review* has lost the support of the loyal states. We learn from the publisher that this is a mistake. The list of subscribers in those states is as large now as it was before the war. It is in the seceding states the falling off has occurred. We lost three hundred subscribers at one blow when hostilities commenced. The war caused the price of paper to rise threefold, while all other expenses were proportionally increased. Other journals suffered in the same way. Some were suspended, others reduced their size, and others raised their price, while all called loudly for help. We have made no such call. Some kind friends, without our knowledge, brought the matter before the last Assembly, but the Editor has not lifted a finger to secure patronage for the *Review*. To him its discontinuance would be a great relief. He has carried it as a ball-and-chain for forty years, with scarcely any other compensation than the high privilege and honour of making it an organ for upholding sound Presbyterianism, the cause of the country, and the honour of our common Redeemer.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Prophecies of Isaiah, translated and explained by Joseph Addison Alexander, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey. 2 vols. 8vo. Pp. 492 and 482.

We are delighted to see this reprint of the unabridged edition of this standard Commentary. It will be welcomed by Biblical students in both hemispheres, wherever American scholarship and evangelical sentiments are appreciated. It is the lamented author's masterpiece, and affords abundant proof of the thoroughness with which his investigations were pursued and the broad basis of careful study upon which his opinions rested, even when the process by which they were reached is not so fully laid bare. Many of his friends have regretted that he suffered the plan of his later commentaries to be more restricted for the subordinate advantage of writing for a wider public.

It is unnecessary to characterize at length a work which has been so long before the theological public, and respecting which the judgment of competent critics has been so uniform. Although written with prodigious rapidity, each of the original volumes being produced in a single summer vacation, the materials had been collected long before, and their reduction into shape was facilitated by years of familiarity with the whole ground, not only in his private studies but as an instructor. The history of opinions not obtained easily and dubiously at second hand, but drawn from original sources, is given with remarkable completeness as well as precision throughout, and at the same time with wonderful condensation and clearness. His uncompromising zeal for the Divine origin of the Scriptures and for evangelical orthodoxy, shows itself in effective and unsparing blows dealt out to the modern unbelieving criticism. Now with quiet humour, and now in a tone of withering sarcasm, but always with the skill of a master, he disposes of its arguments, shows up its methods, demolishes its results, and pits its boasted champions against each other. But with all this is joined the greatest candour and liberality of views; entire frankness in confessing difficulties where they exist, considering it "his duty to record the failure as well as the

success of exegetical attempts, and to avoid the presumption of knowing everything, as well as the disgrace of knowing nothing;" and, at the same time, a readiness to receive without prejudice every suggestion of real value from whatever quarter it might come. His manly and vigorous style, with the fluency and perfect lucidity by which it is characterized, is refreshing to read; while his ready and extensive command of English, with his quick perception of various shades of meaning, eminently adapted him for the work both of a commentator and translator. In all his commentaries he lays great stress upon the value of an exact translation; and one of his ruling desires was that English readers might, as far as possible, be furnished with such facilities as would put them upon a par in their study of God's word with those who have access to the originals. And with this view one of his numerous unfinished, perhaps even uncommenced projects, was an edition of the English Bible, in which the common version should not be superseded but supplemented.

After the original editions, both native and foreign, of this Commentary were exhausted, Dr. Alexander was frequently urged by his friends and his publisher to prepare another edition, or to allow the first to be reprinted without change. He could never be induced, however, to give his consent to its reappearance without including in it a survey of all that had appeared upon Isaiah since its original publication; and this, in the multitude of other more pressing labours, he never found time to prepare and incorporate. Nothing even was done in the way of gathering materials for a new edition. Only a few pencilled notes were found in the margin of his private copy, which were mostly, however, mere corrections of typographical errors. These were forwarded to the editor and by him introduced into the present edition.

We miss in these volumes the broad margin, the leaded lines, and the stately appearance of the original publication. The pages are far more compact, and the bulk of the work correspondingly reduced. With a view of equalizing the volumes a change has been introduced, which, though it has the appearance of being merely a formal alteration, we nevertheless regret. The distinction between the *earlier* and the *later* prophecies, which enters so deeply into the structure of the book of Isaiah, and which Dr. Alexander had emphasized by devoting to each a separate volume, is here obliterated by breaking off the first volume at the close of the thirty-first chapter and including the whole of the remainder in the second volume. This is of the less consequence, however, as the

introductions are preserved in their original form and placed together at the beginning of the work.

The reprint appears to be faithfully and accurately executed. It is accompanied by an appropriate and appreciative preface from the pen of the foreign editor, Dr. Eadie, to whom, as well as to the enterprising publishers in Edinburgh and New York, a debt of gratitude is due for giving anew to the public this standard work, which may well be reckoned indispensable to critical students of the word of God.

American Slavery as viewed and acted on in the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America; compiled for the Board of Publication by the Rev. A. T. McGill, D. D., Stated Clerk of the General Assembly, Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

The church and the public are much indebted to Dr. McGill for making the various deliverances of our church, touching slavery, accessible to all. This publication meets a great public want, and is most opportune.

Englisch-Deutsches und Deutsch-Englishes Wörterbuch, &c., &c.; von Christoph F. Grieb, und ein Anhange enthaltend: Eine Geschichte der Englischen Sprache, &c., &c., von J. C. Oelschläger. Vierte Amer. Stereotyp. Ausgabe in Zwei Bänden. Philadelphia und Leipzig: Verlag von Schäfer und Koradi. 1866.

Grieb's English and German, and German and English Dictionary has been long and favourably known. With all the supplements and appliances furnished by Profesor Oelschläger it has been very widely circulated in this country and proved specially suited to the wants of our German population. The present edition is published in numbers of 80 pages each, at 25 cents a number, making the price of the whole work of two thousand five hundred pages only eight dollars. We are glad to see that the Messrs. Schäfer and Koradi are exhibiting such sustained enterprise in their important part of the book business.

Systematische Theologie einheitlich behandelt; von William F. Warren, Doctor und Professor der Theologie. Erste Lieferung. Allgemeine Einleitung. Bremen: Verlag der Tractathausses. Cincinnati: Poe und Hitchcock.

This is we believe the first work of its kind, a scientific and comprehensive exhibition and defence of the Wesleyan Methodist theology in the German language. The demand for such a work is evidence of the growth of Methodism in Germany and among the Germans in America. The author, whether an Englishman by birth or descent, as his name would indicate, is connected with the Mission Institute in Bremen, and has been long enough in Germany to enjoy the benefit of German

culture. The work before us is projected on a thorough and scientific plan, and in this introductory portion, gives clear evidence of intellectual ability, and of great research. We shall look forward to the completion of this undertaking with much interest. Dr. Warren intends to make his work not only a system of doctrines but also of morals. Practical Theology being the exhibition of the practical consequences of the truths of Christianity on the heart and life, includes in it all the duties resulting from our relation to God and Christ.

Companion Poets for the People. Illustrated. *National Lyrics.* By John G. Whittier. Ticknor and Fields, Publishers. Boston: 1865.

Companion Poets for the People. Illustrated. *Lyrics of Life.* By Robert Browning. Ticknor and Fields, Publishers. Boston: 1865.

Several volumes or parts of this selection of popular poems in a form adapted to general circulation have already been published by Messrs. Ticknor and Fields. We heartily commend this enterprise. Few means of refining and elevating the public mind are more effectual than popular poetry addressed to the affections and to the nobler sentiments of the human heart.

Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero. By William Forsyth, M. A., Q. C., author of "Hortensius," "Napoleon at St. Helena and Sir Hudson Lowe," "History of Trial by Jury," etc., and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In two volumes. New York: Charles Scribner & Company, 1865.

On looking at these volumes, within and without, we are again impressed with the superb manner in which the publishers have done their part. On examining their contents, we find them worthy of such a costume. This life of the great Roman orator, statesman, philosopher, supplies two desiderata. First, it is written with the aid of all the light which modern investigators have thrown upon Roman history. This gives a new aspect and meaning to all the great historical events and characters of ancient Rome. Next, it exhibits Cicero not exclusively or mainly in a public capacity, but in the whole course of his private life. It shows him not only as an orator, statesman, and philosopher, but as a man. As such, it is deeply instructive and interesting, not only to the students of ancient language and history, but to all who admire human greatness, and delight to study its characteristic manifestations. We are confident that this new biography of one of the greatest of men, who, though a heathen, discoursed on some of the highest questions of morality and religion with amazing beauty and force, will be welcome to all who love classic grace and elegant letters.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus under the Constitution. Philadelphia: (Third Part.) Sherman & Co., Printers, 1865.

The previous articles, of which this is a continuation, have not fallen under our notice. That the venerable Horace Binney, who has few peers, and scarcely a superior among American jurists, is the author of this contribution to the discussion of this *questio vexata*, among the problems forced upon us by the abnormities of the late rebellion, will ensure for it a respectful attention. So far as we can judge from a cursory inspection, this dissertation exhibits: 1. Strong reprobation of the rebellion, its authors and abettors. 2. A conclusive argument to prove that the Constitution authorizes the President to suspend the writ of Habeas Corpus in case of invasion or domestic insurrection. 3. Some question whether the recent legislation of Congress, on this subject, has not gone too far in confounding the civil and military functions of the government, an event which we think quite as likely, in the terrible anomalous contest we have passed through, as that the lightning which purifies and vitalizes the murky atmosphere should here and there strike a house or a man.

Hallowed Songs. A Collection of Hymns and Tunes, both old and new, designed for Prayer and Social Meetings, Revivals, Family Worship, and Sabbath Schools. By Theo. E. Perkins, Philip Phillips, and Sylvester Main. New York: Carlton & Porter, 1865.

The service of song in public worship, after passing through various styles or modes, under precentor, choir, quartette, artistic instrumentation from the violin to the organ, is at length rapidly settling towards congregational singing, with whatever help leaders, organs, and choirs can afford it. Among these helps which are now coming into use in all branches of the church, are Selections of Hymns, with their appropriate tunes on the same or the opposite page. Thus, in looking at the hymn, the notes of the tune are also before the eye. When these tunes are judiciously selected, chiefly composed of those which have become standard and familiar, and the books containing them are in the possession of all the congregation, such books greatly facilitate congregational singing. This volume, designed for especial use among our Methodist brethren, is skilfully adapted to its purpose, and, indeed, for use in religious meetings of every kind. We are glad that our own Board of Publication has published a similar work, composed of selections from our Book of Psalmody. Why, in either of these, a tune so admirably adapted to congregational singing as Christmas, should have been left out, we do not

understand. We hope that in the preparation of our proposed new Hymn Book, reference will be had to the necessity of a combined Hymn and Tune-book.

Our Country: Its trials and its Triumph. A series of Discourses suggested by the varying events of the war for the Union. By George Peck, D. D. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1865.

Here are fifteen discourses called forth by the first outbreak, and the subsequent phases and alternations of the war, till it was just on the verge of a triumphant termination. In regard to all matters implicated with the war, persons and things, civil and military, moral and religious, Dr. Peck utters no "uncertain sound." He not only denounces slavery, and rebellion in the interest of slavery, in a manner which reflects the nearly unanimous sentiment of the Methodist Church, but he is quite unsparing of anti-administration politics and politicians. One of his sermons is entitled "the Secession Devil;" another, "Harder Blows and more of them." He is altogether outspoken, vigorous, pithy, albeit, at times, somewhat blunt and rough. While we would not be responsible for all his language, we read with interest his earnest appeals in behalf of his country, of freedom, and religion, and do not doubt that, notwithstanding occasional extravagance, they will do good service to the high cause they advocate.

Christianity and Statesmanship, with kindred Topics. By William Hague, D. D. A New, Revised, Enlarged, and Improved Edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1865.

The title of this book affords no clue to its contents. It is a collection of some dozen discourses on a great variety of subjects, or on Christianity as related to various things. This connection of Christianity with the topics discussed is the only thread of unity which we discover in the volume. We had hoped to find a thorough discussion of the topic indicated by the title. As this could hardly be possible in a collection of discourses and addresses delivered at distant intervals and on various occasions, it only remains to inquire in regard to the general merit of these separate productions. They are evidently the fruit of culture, taste, and study. They are highly finished. They have some eloquent passages. They were doubtless heard with great interest when originally delivered. But we do not find that analytic insight, and that logical and exhaustive unfolding of subjects which assists us to a better understanding of them. The most elaborate discussion in the book respects American slavery, of which, it is needless to say, Dr. Hague is the eloquent and unsparing antagonist.

Household Poems. By Henry W. Longfellow. With Illustrations by John Gilbert, Birket Foster, and John Absolon. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1865.

This is the first of a series of volumes begun by Ticknor & Fields to answer an almost universal demand for cheap literature of a high order. The plan of the series is to present the choicest and most deservedly popular poems of the best poets in a tasteful and elegant style, and at the same time at a price so low as to bring the series within the reach of every household. The present volume contains all Mr. Longfellow's shorter poems of a domestic nature, with illustrations by leading English artists. The next volume, "Songs for all Seasons," will contain the exquisite lyrics and songs which are scattered through the pages of Tennyson. It is unnecessary for us here to characterize the works of such authors. We can only say that we wish the publishers all success in so laudable an enterprise.

Christ's Second Coming; Is it Pre-Millennial or Post-Millennial? (The great Question of the Day), Scripturally, Historically, and Philosophically considered. With a Reply to Professor Shedd on "Eschatology," or the Millenarianism or Chiliasm of the Ancient Medieval and Modern Church. Also, Remarks on an Article written upon the same subject, by Rev. E. F. Hatfield, D. D. By Rev. Richard Cunningham Shimeall, Member of the Presbytery of New York, Author of our Bible Chronology, Historic and Prophetic, Demonstrated; an Illuminated Scriptural Chart of Historical Chronology, Geography, and Genealogy; a Chart of Universal Ecclesiastical History; Watts' Scripture History Enlarged; End of Prelacy; a Treatise on Prayer, etc. New York: Published for the Author, by John F. Trow and Richard Brinkerhoff. For sale at all the Bookstores. 1865.

This complete title-page leaves little to be done in a short notice in order to point out the general contents and character of the work. The zeal and industry of the author, in the body of the volume, appear to have been quite commensurate with what he has displayed in the first leaf. If the strength and relevancy of statement were in due proportion, it would make a strong impression. We suspect that greater force of presentation will be requisite to produce any decided change in the convictions of the Christian public in the premises.

The Spencers; or, Chronicles of a Country Life. Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 396.

"The object of this book is to show, in some degree, what good may be done in an unpretending way by persons of ordinary talent in the common course of every-day life, and in natural connection with it, to win souls to Christ." That it has met with the approval of the Board of Publication and the London Tract Society is a sufficient recommendation for the book.

An Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy, and of the Principal Philosophical Questions discussed in his Writings. By John Stuart Mill. In two volumes. Boston: William V. Spencer, 1865.

The Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton has here been subjected to a searching and crucial examination, by an adversary who is a fair match for him, not only as a general thinker, but especially in the department of Logic and Metaphysics. He has, withal, the advantage of Sir William in the clearness and compactness of his style; in making himself easily intelligible to all competent readers; and in the general logical consistency and systematic coherence of his views; while he does not lumber his discussions with huge masses of learning, which, if not alien from his topic, no way help to elucidate it. Hamilton's writings have been constantly receiving friendly and adverse criticism, upon detached portions, and single topics treated in them, from the time of their first publication. But they are now elaborately and thoroughly reviewed by one of the first thinkers of the age. Whatever of his theories and principles survives the ordeal of that adverse public criticism, which has at length culminated in these two volumes, may doubtless be presumed to be the pure gold of truth, coming out of the crucible seven times purified. The residue must pass for dross. And it must be confessed, that most of what was novel and peculiar in the opinions and speculations of that mighty man, *facile princeps* among British, and the peer of the foremost continental philosophers of his day, will not survive the test of adequate and candid investigation.

One thing which must weaken the authority of Hamilton for ever, is the glaring inconsistency and self-contradiction which Mill proves upon him in reference to the great majority of subjects he discussed. The cases are so numerous that we cannot stop to cite them. Many of them we had previously noticed ourselves. A striking instance is when he overthrows that most valuable part of his own writings on External Perception, in which he so ably proves that we have a real knowledge of the real qualities of externals, by his doctrine of the Relativity of knowledge. According to this, we know no objects, and no qualities of any objects, truly and certainly, as they are in themselves. This undermines all certain knowledge, whether of externals or internals, and really inaugurates blank scepticism.

The exposure of these contradictions, on a scale so extensive as we find in these volumes, especially in connection with the overweening dogmatism and contemptuous denunciations of adversaries on the very points in which he thus contradicts

himself, must greatly impair, if it do not for ever destroy his philosophic authority.

Of course, Mr. Mill makes havoc with Hamilton's doctrine of the impossibility of all knowledge of the Unconditioned, the Absolute, the Infinite, and First Cause; and likewise of Munsel's application of it to religion. This work has indeed been done effectually by others. Necessity was laid upon those set for the defence of the gospel. For, if it is impossible to know the Infinite, it is impossible to know God. This makes an end of all religion. Mr. Munsel essayed to parry all attacks upon religion, by a principle which renders religion itself impossible.

Mr. Mill is no less destructive with Hamilton's doctrine of Causality, although in this he has been also anticipated by others. And no wonder. For it really gives us evolution instead of creation, which comes to Pantheism, in place of a Personal God.

He also assails unsparingly all Sir William's peculiar logical doctrines—not always with equal success. We think there is deep truth in the conception of Pure Logic, as the science of the necessary forms and laws of thought, maintained by Hamilton. This does not hinder its application to the discovery of truth, and so becoming an art, according to Mr. Mill's idea, any more than Geometry being a Formal Science prevents its use in Architecture, Engineering, and Surveying. We think that, in a large degree, Hamilton's and Mill's conception of Logic are not so much contradictory as complementary of each other.

But while Mr. Mill sweeps away the errors of Hamilton, while, like Hamilton, he does great service by the exposure of many baseless theories, he is himself eminently a Destructive. He gives his adhesion to many of the worst opinions of Hume, Bentham, and Compte. He stoutly maintains that all our knowledge is relative, in such a sense that we have no knowledge of things in themselves, but only "of the impressions which they produce in our consciousness." He reduces matter and mind to mere possibilities of sensation! He says: "Matter then, may be defined a Permanent Possibility of Sensation. If I am asked whether I believe in matter, I ask whether the questioner accepts this definition of it. If he does, I believe in matter: and so do all Berkeleians. In any other sense than this, I do not." Vol. I., p. 243. "The Permanent Possibility of feeling, which forms my notion of Myself," &c., &c. P. 253. "The logical process loses none of its legitimacy on the supposition that neither Mind nor Matter is anything but a permanent

possibility of feeling." P. 257. "It is precisely as easy to conceive, that a succession of feelings, a thread of consciousness, may be prolonged to eternity, as that a spiritual substance for ever continues to exist." P. 259. The truth is, that Mr. Mill's philosophy ultimately resolves all Being into Sensation or Feeling. But can there be feeling, unless something feels? What then feels? Aye, echo answers, what! This philosophy might seem to be Idealism. But it is quite as much Materialism. For it identifies Mind and Matter as mere "Possibilities of sensation." And since it ultimately reduces all mental activities to sensation, and all matter to sensation, it may be called a Sensuous or Materialistic Idealism, or Idealistic Materialism.

Much may be gathered from the writings of both these mighty men, to instruct and profit, especially in the exposure of unsound opinions. Both teach many destructive opinions. But there is a great difference in the *animus* of the two, as regards religion and Christianity. Hamilton was the ardent supporter of both, and sought to defend even when he used weapons unwittingly, which were fatal to Faith. Mill shows clearly enough that he regards the "theological" method as belonging only to the infantile and rudimentary stage of the human intellect. This is atheism.

With a broad difference, there is a strong analogy between Hamilton and Coleridge. Both drank at the fountains of modern German philosophy. Both sought to correct what seemed bad, and to adopt and propagate what seemed good, of this philosophy, among the English-speaking nations. Both had the marvellous power of genius to arouse the attention of mankind, by the brilliant exhibition of novel views, and by investing familiar truth with all the freshness and fascination of novelty. Both flashed upon the younger philosophic students and thinkers of their day, manifold truths before neglected or ignored, with a light and power which enchanted them, and led them for a while to accept all the deliverances of these new masters as oracular. Both wrote little but fragments, and seldom completed any discussion of more than single branches of any subject. Both were not only fragmentary, but often inconsistent and contradictory. Both, at length, attracted not only admiration, but criticism, which destroyed their oracular authority, by convicting them of flagrant errors and inconsistencies: proving, that except as regards force and brilliancy of presentation, their "new things are not true, and their true things not new;" in short, that they were at once dangerous masters, and most profitable to be mastered.

The Intuitions of the Mind Inductively Investigated. By the Rev. James McCosh, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Queen's College, Belfast. New and Revised Edition. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1865.

When the original edition of this work appeared, we characterized in terms of strong commendation, such as we rarely bestow on any work, and pointed out at some length its distinctive merits.* Those who wish to know more fully the grounds of the high estimate we put upon it, we must refer to this original notice of it. We will just say here, that, in regard to nearly all the greatest issues between Mill and Hamilton, indeed, all the great issues raised by either of these eminent authors, or their respective philosophical schools; and in regard to nearly every great issue raised between the philosophic scepticism and the Christian philosophy of our day, Dr. McCosh quite generally takes the right side. He sheds important light upon them, and contributes much to the elucidation and defence of metaphysical truth, especially at its points of contact and conciliation with Christianity. Defects in style and matter, indeed, it were easy to point out. But, notwithstanding, the work is eminently sound, healthy, and judicious in its tone. It is the only considerable metaphysical work in which the great living philosophical questions raised by the philosophical destructives of our day, against the fundamentals of the Christian Faith, are grasped in their true import and bearings, and adjusted, alike in conformity to the demands of a genuine philosophy, and a pure Christian faith.

We welcome the present edition, both because the first has been long out of print, and various faults in it have been remedied. Those who have desired it for personal examination, and for purposes of instruction, have been unable to obtain it. It was introduced as a text-book into the College of New Jersey, but has been dropped the last two years because it could not be obtained. We are glad this desideratum can now be supplied. For we entirely agree with Dr. Shedd, when he says in his introductory note: "We know of no better book to be employed in the educational course, and hope that it may obtain a wide currency among the seminaries and the colleges of the land."

We are gratified to observe that this edition has called forth the most emphatic encomiums from the leading British Quarterlies.

* See article entitled "Reason and Faith," October, 1860, pp. 650–56.

Voices of the Soul Answered in God. By Rev. John Reid. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1865.

The strong commendation of this book, in a preliminary note, by Drs. Lewis and Shedd, appears to be borne out by such examination of its contents as we have been able to make. The author takes deep and thorough views of sin and grace, and shows that the needs and cravings of the sin-enslaved soul can only be met, and are fully met, by the blood, the righteousness, and the Spirit of Christ. These old, familiar, and cardinal truths are treated by Mr. Reid with a freshness and vigour of thought and illustration, and arrayed in a brilliancy of style, which invest them with much of the charm and power of novelty. He shows himself an original and penetrating thinker, and betrays a generous culture, a wide familiarity with the best authors, with choice extracts from whose writings he often adorns his pages. Without being sponsors for every suggestion or train of thought, we unhesitatingly pronounce it an able and stirring exhibition of vital evangelical truths. It belongs decidedly to the order of what we may best characterize, as *live* religious books.

Expository Thoughts on the Gospels, for Family and Private Use; with the Text complete. By Rev. J. C. Ryle, B. A., Vicar of Stradbroke, Suffolk. St. John. Vol. I. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1865.

We have here a continuation of the Commentary on the New Testament, of which Mr. Ryle had before published four volumes, extending through Matthew, Mark, and Luke. The traits that have been so marked in the author's previous publications are altogether conspicuous in this. He is an avowed and earnest minister of the class known as evangelical, in the Church of England. He utters no uncertain sound on the great points of Christian doctrine and life. He is outspoken and uncompromising for plenary verbal inspiration; against all rationalism and ritualism; in short, for the clear, full, unadulterated gospel. He writes in a plain, strong style. These qualities shine out in this volume, which is fitted to be eminently useful to Christian people. The prolific authorship of Mr. Ryle, with a charge of fourteen hundred souls, apparently well attended to, shows, like the case of Albert Barnes, what industry and system may accomplish.

The Christian Home Life; A Book of Examples and Principles. Published by the American Tract Society.

We welcome all works adapted to promote the organization and conduct of families on a Christian basis, to increase the number of Christian homes, or the benignant and purifying power of religion in those now existing. It is in Christian

homes that we find the true nurseries of the church; and in the lack of them, in the growth of wordliness, voluptuousness, and fashion crowding out religion from our families, that we detect the most ominous symptoms of the decay of religion and morality. This book not only shows the importance of the subject, but abounds in instructions as to the essential requisites to a Christian home. Its teaching is illustrated and enforced by copious examples of the effect of Christian nurture and household religion in training up the most illustrious pillars and ornaments of the church in all ages.

The Value of Physical Science in the Work of Education. An Address delivered July 25th, 1865, upon laying the Corner Stone of the Jenks Chemical Hall, at Lafayette College. By Rev. W. Henry Green, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. Printed by order of the Board of Trustees, Easton, Pa., 1865.

The immense strides of Physical Science, in nearly every department, give it claims to preëminence in liberal education, which Dr. Green has signalized with his wonted force and eloquence. While Physics thus go up, we must also see to it that the Classics and Universities do not go down. How are these two results to be accomplished without still further crowding the college curriculum, already, we fear, too often over-crowded? We see no way except to advance the standard of preparation for college, especially in the classics. Just here, at present, is a most urgent call for progress. How shall it be realized?

Lilian: A Tale of Three Hundred Years ago. Published by the American Tract Society.

Mysie's Work, and how she did it. By the Author of "Try."

The Gulf Stream; or, Harry Maynard's Bible. By the Author of "Poor Nicholas," "The Railroad Boy," &c.

The Penitent Boy, and other Tales; compiled for the Presbyterian Board of Publication. By Edward Howard.

These four volumes furnish good and entertaining reading for children and youth. The last three are from the excellent series for youth published by our Board of Publication, a series which, we are glad to see, greatly surpasses much of the frothy material that creeps into our Sunday-school Libraries, and elsewhere, under the guise of Christian reading for children.

Grace Abbott; or, the Sunday Tea Party. Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 144.

This little work is a practical answer to the question, How is the Sabbath to be sanctified? It deserves a wide circulation.

The Bible Hand-Book: an Introduction to the Study of Sacred Scripture. By Joseph Angus, D. D. Revised edition, with Illustrations. Philadelphia, 1865. 12mo., pp. 727.

This exceedingly useful and instructive book contains in a compendious form the substance of large volumes. With a simplicity of style that excludes all superfluous ornament, it is a model of condensation and perspicuous arrangement. The bare enumeration of topics treated not exhaustively, it is true, nor yet superficially, is amazing, when the moderate capacity of the volume is considered. It contains a summary of the evidences of Christianity, an account of the canon of both Testaments, of the original languages of the Scriptures, of the sources and principles of criticism, and the rules of interpretation, an examination of the quotations in the New Testament from the Old, a classified solution of the principal difficulties of the Scriptures, a brief survey of sacred chronology, antiquities, geography, and natural history. To all which is added a separate analysis of every book in the Bible.

A special ground of commendation, in addition to the learning and ability of its author, is its devout and practical spirit. The reverence with which the Scriptures are constantly treated, and the implicit deference paid to their authority, afford a refreshing contrast to the tone and spirit of many of the more elaborate trans-atlantic treatises upon these subjects. And the sensible hints and suggestions, with which it abounds, will prove of eminent service to sincere inquirers in their own reading and study of the sacred volume.

The American reprint is published by James S. Claxton, successor to William S. and Alfred Martien, and forms a very neat and attractive volume. Its chief blemish is the typographical inaccuracies, which occur repeatedly in the Hebrew words, and have occasionally found their way into the Greek. This is, to be sure, of slight consequence to the ordinary reader, but it disfigures the volume to the eye of a scholar, and will, we trust, be corrected in future issues. In rapidly turning over its pages, we have noted a few errors even in the English text, which stand in contrast with its general accuracy, *e. g.* on page 436 "to" for "of" and "Jacob" for "Job;" on page 445 a line transposed.

THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY

AND

PRINCETON REVIEW.

EDITED BY

CHARLES HODGE, D. D.

"The Biblical Repertory" was begun in 1825, by the present editor. It "was not intended to be original in its general character, but to consist of selections from the writings of the most distinguished scholars." The first four volumes were published on this plan. In 1829, from which the present series dates, Dr. Hodge associated with himself several gentlemen who resided in Princeton and its neighbourhood, and from thenceforward it appeared as a Review, "embracing in its plan the whole range of theological and religious subjects." The title *Princeton Review* was not added till 1837, but it has continued under nearly the same editorial superintendence for forty years, and sustained an honourable reputation for learning and ability both in Europe and America.

Among those now deceased, whose contributions are to be found in its volumes, are

Drs. Archibald Alexander, J. W. Alexander, Jos. A. Alexander, S. Miller, R. Baird, John Breckinridge, J. H. Rice, Monod, Neander, Adger, Hope, Carnahan, Ashbel Green, Yeomans, Kollock, Prof. Dod, Isador Lœwenthal, Joseph Clark, &c., &c.

Among the living writers who have contributed to its pages may be mentioned:

Charles Hodge, D. D., *Editor.*
Lyman H. Atwater, D. D.
William H. Green, D. D.
A. T. McGill, D. D.
J. C. Moffat, D. D.
H. A. Boardman, D. D.
H. R. Weed, D. D.
W. M. Engles, D. D.
W. B. Sprague, D. D.
William S. Plumer, D. D.
John Hall, D. D.
John C. Lowrie, D. D.
Thomas Smyth, D. D.
J. C. Lord, D. D.
John Maclean, D. D.
John Woodbridge, D. D.
John Forsyth, D. D.
T. V. Moore, D. D.
George Burrowes, D. D.
David McKinney, D. D.
Robert Davidson, D. D.
Lyman Coleman, D. D.
J. L. Wilson, D. D.
Jas. M. Macdonald, D. D.
David D. Demorest, D. D.
William M. Scott, D. D.
C. W. Shields, D. D.
S. J. Baird, D. D.
Robert Watts, D. D.
J. H. McIlvaine, D. D.
W. J. R. Taylor, D. D.
T. H. Skinner, D. D.
J. R. Eckerd, D. D.
Edwin Hall, D. D.
Enoch Pond, D. D.
R. J. Breckinridge, D. D.
Philip Schaff, D. D.
C. C. Dewey, D. D.
W. A. P. Martin, D. D.
Gardiner Spring, D. D.
W. G. T. Shedd, D. D.
Rev. J. C. Rankin,
" J. K. Wight,
" T. S. Childs,
Rev. Robinson P. Dunn,
" John A. Todd,
" J. P. Westervelt,
" J. Isidor Mombert,
" J. A. De Baum,
" S. McC. Anderson,
" Albert Barnes,
" E. D. Yeomans.
" H. M. Baird,
" James Matthews,
" G. S. Mott,
" J. J. Abbott,
John S. Hart, LL.D.
S. Tyler, Esq.
S. Colwell, Esq.
Prof. Henry,
F. A. Packard, Esq.
Judge Sharswood,
Chief Justice Lowrie,
Prof. March,
Prof. Stephen Alexander,
Prof. Schenck.

The terms for 1866 are:

For one year's subscription, *Three Dollars*, paid in advance.

For two years' subscription, *Five Dollars*, paid in advance.

Postage paid by the Publisher.

It is now adopted as the Rule of the Office to send the *Review* only to those who have paid.

Published by

PETER WALKER,

821 *Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.*